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Bonum est homini ut eum veritas volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat
invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantum sive confitentum.

S. AUG. EPIST. ccxxxviii. AD PASCENT.

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METHODISM AND ITS METHODS.

History of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, embracing also a Sketch of the Rise of Methodism in Europe, and of its Origin and Progress in Canada. By Rev. P. Douglass Gorrie. New York, R. Worthington, 1881. 12mo., 359 pp.

A Comprehensive History of Methodism. In one volume. Embracing Origin, Progress, and Present Spiritual, Educational and Benevolent Status in all Lands. By James Porter, D.D. Cincinnati, Hitchcock & Walden, 1876. 12mo., 601 pp.

THE Methodist Church in this country, and its general relation to our institutions have not been sufficiently studied. Strange in its origin, its organization, its methods, it began its labors among the poorest and least enlightened portion of the community, but now in the tide of its prosperity claims nearly two millions of members, and shows an ambition for power through the general and local governments that is unexampled in our national history, and in itself a matter of serious concern.

Methodism in America recognizes as its founder, apostle, and legislator the Rev. John Wesley, who lived and died a recognized clergyman of the Established Church of England, presenting thus the strange spectacle of a man professing one religion and establishing another. In his time the Reformation had worked out its fruit in Great Britain. "The religion of the kingdom was a religion of mere forms and ceremonies, of prayers, fasts, and thanksgivings; while Sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, licentiousness, gambling, hunting, etc., were not only permitted, but openly practiced by the clergy of the Established Church. So greatly

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indeed had true religion declined after the Reformation, that Archbishop Leighton in speaking of the Church in his time represents it as a 'carcass without a spirit,' and Bishop Burnet represents the clergy of his times as having 'less authority and more contempt than those of any other Church in Europe,' as 'more remiss in their labors and less severe in their lives,' and such was the fact at the beginning of the labors of the Wesleys and their co-laborers. Darkness,—moral, spiritual, doctrinal,—covered the people."

With such a result a Catholic may well ask whether a reformation that bore such fruits could have been the work of God? Certainly the persecuted Catholic clergy and laity of England cannot be accused in any such terms.

The condition in the British colonies in America was even worse. It is now the custom to throw a religious varnish over the spiritual condition of the colonists; but no student of history is ignorant how subordinate a place religion generally occupied. We hear on every side platitudes about the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth, yet who ever stops to note the fact that the colonists in the Mayflower came unattended by any minister of religion, and had for a time no recognized religious worship. The Protestant settlers in Virginia were almost destitute of ministers; those in Maryland were for years and years in a similar condition, so that most of them in time placed themselves under the ministrations of men who showed such purity of life and such devotion to duty as the early Catholic missionaries of Maryland. When Protestant clergy did come they were so far from imitating the self-sacrificing priests, that during an epidemic they shrank from attending their own flocks, and actually appealed to the legislature to pass laws to punish the Catholic clergy for responding to the calls of those who sought the consolations of religion at their hands. Dr. Coke, an associate of Wesley, and like him to the last a recognized minister of the Church of England, says, "that the churches in America were in general filled with the parasites and bottle-companions of the rich and great," and that, with few exceptions, "they were the most wretched set of men that ever disgraced the Church of God."

John Wesley, the son of a clergyman of the Church of England, was born in 1703, and became a student at Oxford at the age of seventeen. He was evidently superior to those around him in religious feeling and a sense of the deplorable spiritual state of England; but he went on, took orders, and became his father's curate. In all probability he would have done no more than sigh over human depravity, but for the influence of his brother Charles, who remained at Oxford, and formed a little society. "Diligence led me into serious thinking," says Charles Wesley. "I went to the weekly Sacrament and persuaded two or three young scholars to

accompany me; and likewise to observe the *method* of study prescribed by the statutes of the University. This gained me the harmless nickname of Methodist." Returning to Oxford, John Wesley joined this little band, and the two brothers, both ordained, declined preferments, and preached wherever they could, visiting prisons and the poor.

The brothers read Catholic works, and seemed to have caught some ideas of the missionary spirit. Of this we can see many traces. The *Following of Christ* was one of the books Wesley circulated among his followers. For St. Francis Xavier and his wonderful labors he entertained the highest respect, and abridged lives of the Apostle of the Indies were constantly in the hands of the early Methodists. Another personage whose life made an impression on the founder of Methodism was the Venerable Gregory Lopez, a holy hermit in Mexico, whose canonization was solicited by the Church in New Spain, and by the Catholic monarch. His life, too, circulated among Methodists, and it is somewhat curious that in the early part of this century this holy Catholic of our neighboring republic was far better known among Protestants in this country than among Catholics.

The system of missions given by St. John Francis Regis, St. Vincent de Paul, St. Francis de Hieronymo, and by the Jesuits and Lazarists generally, was evidently studied by Wesley as the best mode of reaching the neglected classes in England, and arousing them to a knowledge and love of God. It seems strange that the grace of God did not lead him back to the bosom of the Church in which he found spiritual life, and the preaching of the gospel to the poor, so different from the apathy and remissness of his own, but unfortunately the prejudices in which he was reared formed an impenetrable veil over his heart. Despite the evidence before him he was rabidly unjust and bitter against the Church.

The Anglican Establishment, creature and slave of the state, had no field for him. To it he was simply a nuisance, unnecessarily troubling its somnolent ease. As Macaulay remarks, it showed most strikingly in this case its utter inability to use the services of earnest and devoted men for its work. In the Catholic Church he would have become the head of a great corps of missionaries in an order already recognized, or in a congregation founded by himself to meet the wants of the time. He neither became a Catholic to labor in the cause of truth, nor grew to be a bulwark and stay of the Church of England, but simply added one more to the list of rash and daring men who have assumed an office that only a direct commission from God can authorize, that of founders of religious denominations.

Finding no immediate field in England, he accepted an invita-

tion from General Oglethorpe to go to Georgia as a missionary, and persuaded his brother Charles to accompany him. They arrived in 1736, and commenced their labors, the amiable and poetic Charles, adding to his clerical duties, the civil offices of secretary to Mr. Oglethorpe and Secretary of Indian Affairs, unwittingly giving a precedent to the Methodist clergy of our time to combine ministerial duties and office-holding, yet after all a precedent more to be honored in the breach than the observance. The stay of the brothers in the new colony was neither long nor happy. Charles, after bitter persecution, returned to England, and was, before long, followed by his brother. Both, during their stay in America, showed themselves most strenuous upholders of the Church of England, insisting to the letter on all its rites and ceremonies, and refusing all communion with dissenters. John Wesley did not leave Georgia till he had been arraigned on a series of charges arising out of his strict views of prelacy, and the last of these indictments against the future founder of the Methodist religion and church accused him "of being regarded by all persons of any consideration as a Roman Catholic." This was by no means a trivial affair at that time, for Oglethorpe himself within two or three years from that date, by exciting similar suspicions in New York, sent the innocent non-juror, Rev. John Ury, to the gallows.

Returning to England Wesley resumed his former career, influenced somewhat by the Moravians and their school of German mysticism; and to imbibe still more fully their spirit, he visited Herrnhut. Protestantism had rejected the "ministry of reconciliation" confided by Christ to his apostles when he said to them: "Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them." With Protestants therefore absolution was to be pronounced, not by a priest under the power given by Christ, but by the individual himself under no authority but his own. Adopting the theory put forward by Christ's enemies—"Who can forgive sins but God alone," they insisted that sins were to be confessed to God only; but as God does not thereupon by any angel or other ministry assure the penitent whether his sins are forgiven or retained, the sinner has no means of ascertaining this vital fact. Calvinism will tell him that if he is one of the elect his sins are forgiven; if one of the reprobate, they are not. Each one, therefore, absolves himself or gives way to despair, as he believes or disbelieves in his election. The mystics, whose ideas Wesley adopted, insisted that there must be some interior movement of the soul to give the sinner assurance of his pardon. When he experienced this he could pronounce himself absolved. That our Lord is nowhere recorded as having laid down such a system, but plainly contradicts it by

giving the pardoning power to his apostles, seems to have weighed lightly with men who professed to draw all their doctrines from Scripture. This self-absolution from sin, on what may be a mere delusion, is however the corner-stone of Wesley's system. When John Wesley at last felt the assurance that he could pronounce himself absolved from sin, he was to his own mind fully empowered to guide mankind in the true way of salvation, so that he stood forth not only self-absolved but self-ordained to convert and save the world.

On the 1st of May, 1738, forty or fifty of his followers agreed to meet with him every Wednesday evening in order to engage in free conversation, begun and ended with singing and prayer. Though ministers of the Church of England the Wesleys and Whitefield had no positions, and few friends among the clergy of the Establishment. The churches were not open to them to preach. For a time they preached in the open air, but as some permanent place would be required, the corner-stone of the first Methodist meeting-house was laid in May, 1739. For a time there were certain affiliations with the Moravians, but Wesley soon cut loose from them; then Whitefield and others who leaned to Calvin's theory of predestination drew off, and John Wesley was left to mould his followers and be moulded by them. Though disowned by his own Church he clung to it, formally disavowed all intention of separating from it, and maintained the necessity of her orders for lawful preaching or ministry. As some of his lay followers set up ere long as preachers, he was forced to yield on that point, because he knew that no bishop in England would ordain these fervent but unlettered men. Gradually, however, other ministers of the Church of England joined him, and in 1744 Methodism counted as its clergy six of these, who held at that time the first conference recognized by Methodist annals. For years they labored, spreading to Ireland and Scotland, meeting strong opposition and not unfrequently violence, but gaining in numbers and strength, although some dissensions arose, and occasionally numbers would leave, either from a preference for Calvinism or from fear of separation from the Established Church.

In the conference of 1771 there were one hundred and twenty-five preachers, and Methodism claimed thirty thousand members. At this meeting Francis Asbury and Richard Wright offered to go to America to begin the work beyond the Atlantic, and their offer was accepted. Yet at this time and later Wesley clung to the Established Church; his meetings were not held at the time of its services, which he attended himself, and urged his followers to attend, as he required them to receive communion there at the hands of the Anglican clergy. When they were repelled, he and

the other ordained ministers in his society administered communion; but where his lay preachers attempted to do so he checked them.

Wesleyanism came to America not as a new denomination, but as a movement in the Church of England, adhering to its orders, its ministry, and its doctrine. In America it found a new and broader field. The people in many of the colonies where the Anglican Church was established by law, were almost utterly neglected, with few clergymen, and still fewer of them zealous, and not a single bishop in the length or breadth of the Colonies, so little had the Church in England or its crowned head cared for its organization or extension in America.

Methodism had, however, preceded the advent of these envoys. Among the emigrants who drifted over from Ireland in 1760 was Philip Embury, a carpenter, who had been a local preacher. Roused by Barbara Heck, a Palatine, he began to preach in his house on Barrack Street (Park Place), New York, his first congregation numbering only five persons. Some years after Captain Thomas Webb, of the British army, who had been a local preacher in England, but was stationed at Albany as barrack-master, joined Embury in his labors. The congregation increased so that in 1768 a chapel was erected in John Street.

Others who had joined the Methodists in England or Ireland seem about the same time to have begun preaching in different parts, gathering little flocks to listen to their homely, but earnest and impassioned appeals. The arrival of Wesley's envoys gave life and unity to these little bodies. Other preachers followed, and Methodist itinerants traversed all parts of the country. The Colonies were, however, in the heat of the great political controversy which was soon to result in an appeal to arms. Wesley took strong ground against the Colonies, and wrote a violent denunciation of their cause. His preachers in America were nearly all from England and Ireland, all Tories in inclination, and the flocks they had gathered were mainly of the same political leaning. The Methodist body cannot lay claim to a single member of the Continental Congress, or a single man prominent in the defence of American liberty. Still adhering in form to the Established Church of England, they were as zealous upholders of the British crown and supremacy. Indeed, one of their body, whom they now try to repudiate, was killed while raising a Tory regiment. But though some of the preachers returned to England, others remained, and kept the work alive within the British lines and in less disturbed parts of the country.

The close of the Revolution brought up the grave question, what was to be done to maintain their system. The Church of

England had never had bishops in America, and though many of its adherents in Virginia and elsewhere, like Washington himself, had been the staunchest of patriots, public feeling was not favorable to it. From the Anglican clergy in America the Methodists could, judging from the past, expect no fellowship. Methodism had already in America an organization of its own, its conferences, its itinerant preachers, and had already shown its strong hand by suppressing one of the enterprising members who attempted to print Methodist books on his own account. It was a religion without a creed and without a ministry of its own, without a form of worship. John Wesley resolved to manufacture them for the American market. Falling back on Lord King's *Account of the Primitive Church* he maintained that bishops and presbyters were the same order, and consequently had the same right to ordain. He had never exercised the right in England, for he adds "here there are bishops who have a legal jurisdiction. In America there are none, neither any parish ministers. . . . Here, therefore, my scruples are at end." "I have accordingly appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint superintendents over our brethren in North America; as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them by baptizing and administering the Lord's supper. And I have prepared a Liturgy little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted national Church in the world)."

Of this assumption of power by his brother, Charles Wesley, in a letter to Dr. Chandler in America, says: "I can scarcely yet believe that in his eighty-second year, my brother, my old intimate friend and companion, should have assumed the Episcopal character, ordained elders, consecrated a bishop, and sent him to ordain the lay preachers in America. I was then in Bristol at his elbow, yet he never gave me the least hint of his intention. How was he surprised into so rash an action? He certainly persuaded himself that it was right. Lord Mansfield told me last year, that ordination was separation! This my brother does not and will not see; or that he has renounced the principles and practice of his whole life; that he has acted contrary to all his declarations, protestations, and writings; robbed his friends of their boasting; realized the Nag's Head ordination, and left an indelible blot on his name as long as it shall be remembered."

The amended Liturgy has vanished utterly; it is merely a curiosity of the past, like Benjamin Franklin's amended Book of Common Prayer. The twenty-four Articles of Faith which Wesley gave in his book have, however, been retained, with the addition of one more relating to civil rulers, intended, doubtless, in 1784, to

relieve American Methodists from the charge of disaffection to the government of the United States.

Mr. Wesley himself subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, was a minister of that Church, and as such ordained Dr. Coke by imposition of hands and prayer, claiming through its orders apostolic succession, yet he deliberately rejects fifteen of the articles which he had frequently subscribed! They retained, however, the strange statement in regard to the canon of Scripture: "In the name of the Holy Scriptures we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church;" a statement false in fact and false in logic. False in fact, for doubts existed as to several of the books, and have existed to this day among Anglicans and Methodists. False in logic, for it makes God's act of inspiration depend on man's doubt; and makes a book inspired as long as it is received, and uninspired when doubt arises.

Like all Protestant bodies it maintained that the Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, and that no man can be required to believe what is not read therein nor may be proved thereby. Yet in the interpretation of Scripture they worship the mighty "Not," and in the very points where they denounce the Catholic Church, interpret the plain words of Scripture by introducing a negative, while Catholics take the words in their plain and obvious sense.

Thus as to the primacy of Peter: "Thou art Peter (a rock), and on this rock I will build My Church." Protestant interpretation: "I will *not* build My Church." As to the mission of the Apostles: "Go, baptize all nations, teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded you." Protestant interpretation: "Not whatsoever I have commanded you, but what is hereafter to be contained in certain writings to be inspired." As to the forgiveness of sins: "Whose sins you shall forgive they are forgiven." Protestant interpretation: "They are not really forgiven." As to the eucharist: "This is My body." Protestant interpretation: "This is *not* really My body."

Wesley clung to the idea of the apostolic succession in the Church of England, and his brother's reference to Nag's Head showed that the question was one they had at heart. Modern Methodists ridicule the idea utterly, and on of the works under review adduces the silly and oft-refuted story of Pope Joan with all imaginable seriousness as an argument against apostolic succession.

The Methodist Church in America was thus created with a hierarchy, bishops, presbyters, and deacons, a liturgy, and creed. Wesley, however, did not use the word bishop, and even wrote

indignantly to Coke for using the word instead of superintendent, but it was a mere quibble, for his meaning was clear.

In spite of this step the division between Episcopalians and Methodists was not absolute. As the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States was organized, the bishops of that body, wiser than those in England, endeavored to secure the earnest Methodist preachers and their followers. Bishop White sought an interview with Wesley in England. "I wished," he notes on the back of a letter from Mr. Wesley, "to have held a conversation with Mr. Wesley concerning his recent system respecting America, . . . but I consider this letter as a civil evasion." Yet Wesley's new bishops in America showed a desire to unite with the Episcopal Church. Writing to Bishop White, Dr. Coke, in 1791, says: "I am not sure but I went farther in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley, from whom I received my commission, did intend. He did, indeed, solemnly invest me, as far as he had a right to do, with Episcopal authority, but did not intend, I think, that an entire separation should take place. . . . But what can be done for a reunion, which I much wish for, and to accomplish which Mr. Wesley, I have no doubt, would use his influence to the utmost?" "My interest also is not small, and both his and mine would readily and to the utmost be used to accomplish that (to us) very desirable object, if a readiness were shown by the bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church to reunite." Writing to Bishop Seabury he styles his separation from the Church in England an error which he had recanted, professed the most earnest desire for reunion, and proposed that the two houses of the convocation of the clergy should consent to his and Mr. Asbury's consecration as bishops of the Methodist Society in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

But the blow had been struck, and the Methodist Episcopal Church in America went on to build up its own system of faith, and worship, and discipline. The modes adopted for maintaining the fervor excited by the preaching of the itinerant and other ministers were different from those of other denominations. Members were admitted after a probation, and are liable to expulsion, not only for denying any of the doctrines held by the body or for actual sin, but also for using or dealing in intoxicating liquors, while smuggling and bribery at elections are made special grounds of cutting off a member from that body. Each member is under a class-leader, who has generally twelve committed to his care, and who is appointed by the preacher in charge of the circuit or station. He meets his class weekly, inquires into their spiritual condition, exhorts, reproves, advises as he deems necessary; he collects contributions, and reports to the ministers and stewards. Thus each one is under

direct supervision. The preachers, exhorters, stewards, and class-leaders in each circuit or station meet quarterly for the details of government and as a court of appeal, and fix the amount to be raised for the fuel and table expenses of preacher and presiding elder. Above them was the annual conference, convoked by the bishop, but in which only travelling preachers took part; and every four years a general conference assembled, in which the bishops presided, the members consisting of one delegate for every twenty-one preachers in an annual conference.

Such a complete system of supervision and control of the laity was never devised or exercised in any body from the earliest heresies to our times. The members are under constant supervision and control, constant excitement to fervor and perseverance, their daily life and family controlled, and yet the power of the Methodist body is in the hands of the conferences, from which all lay delegation and representation have till recently been excluded. The itinerant preachers, who ridicule all idea of apostolic succession and must admit that their power emanates from their flocks, maintained this authority and resisted all innovation, while they recognized that the system is without any sanction, and professing that church government is not of positive or binding force. The immense power thus wielded by this body, and the manner in which it is exercised, is seen in several cases.

The claim of the laity to a share in the government, and to a modification in this plan of secret control over them, soon led to discussion. At a very early period in England, Kilham advocated in a pamphlet *Progress of Liberty among the People called Methodists*, but was arraigned and expelled, on which he founded the "Methodist New Connection." The same agitation was revived in America soon after 1820, and the attempt was made to change the old system, "because its government secured to the itinerant ministers unlimited exercise of legislative, ecclesiastical, and judicial powers, to the exclusion of other ministers and all the people."

The stern hand of repression was however exerted, and the result was the establishment of the Methodist Protestant Church in 1830; but it never attained any large development, although it left in the Methodist Episcopal Church many who shared their views, and were resolved on pressing them in due season; but the rulers of the old organization regarded the new one with undisguised animosity. One of the historians, a sturdy adherent of the Methodist Episcopal Church, raises an objection to the new organization which to Catholic ears seems strange coming from a Protestant of any denomination. "Like other democratic churches," says Mr. Porter, speaking of the Methodist Protestant Church, "they lack energy in government—a *head*."

In time, however, the adherents of lay delegation moved again in the matter, and learning from experience in England and America, proceeded with more caution. Their cause was advocated with great skill and ability in *The Methodist*, an independent paper, remarkable for its attractive form and popular treatment of subjects. The question of lay delegation appeared at every General Conference, and in 1860 a committee actually reported in favor of it, although when submitted to a vote, nearly two members voted against it for one in favor of it, showing how strongly the lay members were influenced by the itinerant preachers. In 1872, however, the influence of the late war in weakening the power of the clergy in all Protestant denominations was seen in the Methodist Episcopal Church. The old barrier was broken down, the required majorities in favor of lay delegation were obtained almost without a struggle, and in 1872 the representation of the lay members in the General Conference went into effect. This departure from the practice of a century is so recent that its effect can scarcely be judged, but the change will doubtless lead to other modifications of the whole Methodist system.

The decline in the influence of the Protestant clergy in this country since the year 1860 has been very marked. Several causes seem to have combined to produce this result. The dignified old ministers of other days, schooled and grounded in their creeds and systems, had been succeeded by more worldly and superficial men, who could exert less real influence but were always straining for a short-lived popularity with the masses. In the Methodist body the earnest but often unlettered preachers of the old time, with their homely eloquence, had been replaced by men who aspired to a higher social position, who gave more time to literature, and who thus lost the hold which early Methodism possessed over the lower classes.

With the war came the temptation to the clergy to seek their own advancement; the active part taken by them individually and in bodies in the political affairs, the aspirations of many to office, and the bait of lucrative appointments destroyed the *morale* of their whole clerical body, and within the last twenty years the newspapers teem with charges against Protestant ministers, ecclesiastical trials, depositions, and expulsions.

The Methodist clergy were especially active in the North during the Civil War. Although the Wesleys and Whitefield began their labors in a southern colony and Methodism has always had its adherents in the Southern States, it was from the outset strongly opposed to slavery, and in this country has been from the first a powerful anti-slavery organization. None who held slaves were allowed any controlling influence unless they manumitted them.

An itinerant preacher whose wife inherited slaves was expelled for refusing to free them. A bishop was suspended till he complied. This led to fierce discussion; but as early as 1845 the Methodists in the slave States drew off, and formed at Louisville the Methodist Episcopal Church South, adopting nearly the same creed and system except in regard to slavery. The Supreme Court of the United States at last settled the rights of the two organizations to the common property.

This left the Methodist Episcopal Church North a strong and united anti-slavery body, and it became one of the powerful agencies in building up the Republican party. Other denominations had some Abolitionists, Free-soilers, men opposed to the extension of slavery, who became Republicans, but the Methodists went into the party in a body, and the whole influence of its widespread organization was exerted in behalf of the Republican party when it stood as the opponent of the Democratic. The result was seen, not only in the action of Methodists who had belonged to the Democratic party, but in men who, without joining the Methodist Church were within its reach by reason that their wives or daughters were members. A Methodist church member or husband of a member is almost universally a Republican, and few of them fail to be active in its cause.

The Methodist press was thoroughly Republican, and a body that thus gave itself to one political party would scarcely be merely human if its opportunity did not beget political aspirations, and a desire to secure office and the control of government.

The press is in the hands of the Methodist Church, more than in that of any other denomination, a power. The Methodist Church holds the complete monopoly of publishing books and periodicals for the reading of the members. No private publishing or book-selling is tolerated. As early as 1773 Robert Williams, a preacher, reprinted some of Wesley's sermons and other books, but "the Conference disapproved of his course and required him to sell out and quit." As the historian adds: "This placed private publishing under embargo, and contributed no doubt to promote the connectional establishment, called 'The Methodist Book Concern.'" After the Revolution, the plan was organized in 1789, Rev. John Dickens was constituted "book steward" and commenced the publishing business in Philadelphia. Like Williams he put his own capital, six hundred dollars, in the business, but it was merely a loan; the business and its profits belonged to the Church, or as they prefer to say to the Conference. It will seem strange to Catholics that the first book issued by the Methodist Book Concern was *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis.¹ The Book

¹ This fact escaped the late Rev. Mr. Finotti, who failed to note the edition in his *Bibliographia Catholica*. The volume must be very rare.

Concern, with the monopoly of supplying the reading to the whole denomination, thrived and prospered. The modest capital of six hundred dollars on which it commenced in 1789 had become in 1873, \$1,052,448 at the principal house in New York, with a branch at Cincinnati possessing a capital of \$467,419. Besides this they paid the Methodist Episcopal Church South \$190,000, and gave them the branch establishments at Richmond, Charleston, and Nashville. We can easily understand a Methodist writer declaring the Book Concern to be "an element of power which few appreciate, and which should be nursed and cultivated." Great excitement was caused a few years since by charges of fraud in the conduct of this immense business establishment, and in regard to it a change may before long be made.

The Concern publishes more than two thousand works, and prints love-feast tickets, Sunday-school tickets, Church membership certificates, and several periodicals: *The Christian Advocate*, *Sunday School Advocate*, *Missionary Advocate*, *Ladies' Monthly Repository*, *Christian Apologist*, and a *Quarterly*, the use of the word Methodist being, as will be noted, generally avoided. In 1850 the annual sales were \$200,000, giving a profit of \$42,161, besides \$19,700 paid as Conference dividends for the support of the bishops.

But with this wealth and prosperity, with Gothic churches replacing the plain old meeting-houses, the denomination has lost some of its power over the less educated classes, by whose aid it was built up. The old-fashioned, homely, but eloquent appeals have almost disappeared; the camp-meetings, those great revival instrumentalities, have become modernized, and in many parts have led to a combination of seaside resort and camp-meeting, that is very strange, but which is perhaps more a speculation than otherwise. In these little summer towns Methodism can be seen and judged, and some idea formed what amount of liberty a community would enjoy completely under the control of its adherents. The Puritan idea of the Sabbath is enforced as stringently as it ever was in Connecticut; no liquor is allowed to be sold, no public diversions are allowed. A point that will strike a Catholic as strange is the small part the Scriptures have in their services. To one accustomed to a service, like the Mass or Vespers, made up of Scripture or redolent of it, the almost utter absence of biblical extracts in the religious services of those who are constantly talking about the Bible seems inexplicable.

When the division between men's minds in the North and South which rent the Methodist Episcopal Church into two bodies seemed to threaten the same result to the country, the Northern section of that Church, which was, as we have seen, thoroughly identified with the Republican party, adopted its cause with the greatest zeal

and energy. As one of their historians says: "The platforms of the two parties were squarely antagonistic, involving morality and religion. The Church, therefore, could not evade the contest. Ministers would be expected to take sides, as they had *not* previously done, where the issue was about finances." "But though many of our preachers and people entered the army, the work of God did not entirely cease."

The Methodist Episcopal Church in a body as a component part of the Republican party thus went into the war, so as actually to suspend in part its ecclesiastical life and character. It does not seem to have done this from any intense feeling of national allegiance or fidelity, but in the spirit that the administration for the time being was carrying out a favorite Methodist idea, and that the Church should use the government for that end.

General Grant, if not himself a member of the Methodist Church, was under its influence through his wife and family; and was thus a most acceptable candidate to that body. He was the first regular attendant on their services who had appeared as a candidate for the highest office in the republic. In the nominating convention and at the polls he had the full and earnest support of the Methodist Episcopal body, and on his accession to the Presidency he showed himself to be controlled by it as no President had ever been by the religious denomination to which he nominally belonged. In the distribution of public offices at home and abroad, Methodists and Methodist ministers were constantly provided for, and as though even the immense number of offices did not suffice, a new and strange one, that of visitor of American consulates, was devised to enable the pastor of the church which President Grant attended, the Rev. Mr. Newman, to make a tour of the world at the public expense. That the administration has gone down to history tainted by well-sustained charges of the grossest dishonesty and fraud, shows that the overpowering influence of the Methodist Church was not exerted for the best interests of the country.

In nothing, perhaps, was the dexterity and method of this denomination shown more clearly than in the manipulation of the Indian Department under General Grant. The war, by its crushing and terrible prostration of the South at the feet of the Republicans, had opened a vast field for missionary labor among the emancipated negroes of the conquered territory, and the Methodist Episcopal Church North began to push its organization throughout that portion of the country, where the Church South was still weak and all but powerless. One would have supposed this field enough for its zeal; but the Indian tribes, with the large amounts of money flowing through the corrupt Indian Department at Washington, was a temptation too strong to be resisted. A plan was

devised, of course solely with a view to the glory of God and extension of Christianity, to allot the agencies to the different religious denominations and their missionary societies; and the State actually gave these bodies the right to nominate government officials. The Indian agents were to be nominated by the denomination to which the agency was assigned; and this assignment was made without any regard to the missionaries who were actually laboring in a tribe or the Church which they had founded there, and to which the converts belonged. When the ukase went forth the Christian laborers who had been toiling and were beginning to be stimulated by hope of success were ordered to depart, and a new set of religious teachers imposed on the Indians by government came to manage things, temporal and spiritual, and their creed became for the time being the established Church within the limits of that agency. Thus a religious denomination obtained an agency, it named an agent of its creed, who was accordingly appointed by government, and a mission was established by the Church to which he belonged. The wife and daughters of the missionary frequently became the teachers in the agency school, and others of the family or creed had the monopoly of the trade.

The Methodist missions had not been the greatest in number or in extent of labor, still less in results, but of 74 agencies, 13, somewhat more than one-sixth, were assigned to them, and these agencies contained 65,746 Indians out of a total of 236,000, much more than a fourth of the whole aboriginal population.

The powers assumed by these sectarian agents showed the intolerance of their nature and training. In one Western agency a Methodist agent drove out the Catholic missionary and informed the Indians that he alone was authorized to baptize their children, and his letter to Washington complaining of the Catholic priest who questioned the divine right of a government Indian agent to baptize is set forth in the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

This was but a sample of the way in which this denomination availed itself of the opportunity afforded by the elevation of one of its flock to the chief magistracy of the nation. Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Unitarians, Protestants of various denominations had filled the Presidential chair, but in no case had any religious denomination attempted on that ground to obtain a lion's share of the offices or influence. This shameful initiative was left to this body. Whenever and wherever any national celebration or function admitted the services of a clergyman, a Methodist bishop or preacher appeared; of this the opening of the Centennial Exhibition may serve as an example.

When President Grant's second term was drawing to a close, he

was openly nominated for a third term in a Methodist conference, ostensibly assembled as a religious body, but which acted as a solid part of the Republican party, affecting no disguise, and apparently seeing nothing at variance with the principles of our government in this indecent action.

The election did not see General Grant as a candidate; but a Methodist, Rutherford B. Hayes, was the candidate of the Republican party. The contest was a close one, and by most unblushing frauds the result was such that on the papers presented neither candidate could be declared elected. A tribunal unknown to the Constitution was created, the Methodist candidate was declared elected, the parties to the frauds were rewarded with office, and the Methodist influence at the seat of government was continued for four years more.

The election of General Garfield broke this sectarian influence, and it was time. A new and unexpected danger to the welfare of the country has been developed in this action of one denomination, and safeguards, dictated by prudence and patriotism, must be devised to prevent any religion from making itself virtually the established Church of this country. The assassination of President Garfield by one who sought the restoration of the Grant influence has elevated to the difficult and responsible position of Chief Magistrate one who is an earnest and active adherent of General Grant and the principles which he represents, and who must look largely for support to the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who constitute so important and powerful a portion of the Republican party. To what extent President Arthur can free himself from their control is a question which time must solve; but everything seems to indicate that the Methodist influence over the national government and the foothold it has acquired will continue for the next term, and in all probability until a general indignation is aroused at the unwise course which this religious denomination has seen fit to adopt, and which must ultimately be as destructive to its influence in the sphere of religion as it will certainly be in the sphere of politics.

COUNT JOSEPH DE MAISTRE.

Mémoires politiques et Correspondance diplomatique de Joseph de Maistre, avec explications et commentaires historiques, par Albert Blanc. Paris, 1858-60.

Quatre chapitres inédits sur la Russie, par le comte J. de Maistre. Paris, 1859.

Œuvres complètes du Comte Joseph de Maistre. Paris, 1856.

HOW difficult it is for the Anglo-Saxon mind to understand the politics, the institutions, and even the literature of Continental Europe! How apparent are the insular habits of English thought touching religious and political life not in harmony with it! What contradictions, to the English-speaking people, are involved in the history of the Papacy, and how inextricable they seem through the distempering passions of three centuries of alien and unfriendly opinion! In the struggles of the Holy See with European Powers, more than in any other class of historical phenomena, "the eye," as Thomas Carlyle says, "sees only what it brings with it." Deep-seated as these prejudices are, and entering into deadly antagonism with every form and expression of Catholic life, they are not wholly ineradicable, for like all violent mental or moral perturbations, in due course of time they spend their strength and are succeeded by a calm, even though it be the calm of exhaustion, which is a more tractable condition than the prior abnormal excitement. No explorer of the intricate questions, which the conflicts of the Papacy have awakened, can ever forget his delight and satisfaction on first reading the treatise—*Du Pape*—of Count Joseph de Maistre, the keenest, wittiest, and most brilliant of that coterie of polemics who defended the Royalist cause at a period when the passions of men knew no limits, and when penury and exile were the price of adhesion to principle. More philosophic than Baron Von Eckstein of the *Catholique*, more learned than Vicomte de Bonald of the *Mercur*, and more zealous than Mallet-Dupan of the *Mercur Britannique*, Count de Maistre has left an influence upon the thought of his times far greater than that of any of his contemporaries. We remember how heartily we appreciated the misgivings which the detached sentence from the *Ecce Homo*—"Habit dulls the senses and puts the critical faculty to sleep"—created in the mind of the author of *The Invitation Heeded*, and the consequent investigation which that isolated quotation led to. A sentiment of kin to this from De Maistre, frequently quoted by Catholic writers, lived in our memory and suggested a similar train of thought in

historical study. The seeming paradox of De Maistre that "for three centuries history has been only one grand conspiracy against truth" was startling enough to turn the balance and disturb one's mental equipoise. Such, however, was our first acquaintance with the name of Count Joseph de Maistre, and we thought, here perhaps is a writer of another school who has embodied the results of his historical studies in an aphorism even more sententious than that which we had already learned from a deistical writer of the eighteenth century, who had said that "we are too apt to carry systems of philosophy beyond all our ideas, and systems of history beyond all our memorials."¹ Attracted to the writings of Count de Maistre by a desire to discover the grounds upon which he had developed this terse historical dictum floating about in the current Catholic literature as the *coup de maître* of a recognized leader, we now candidly confess that we can never sufficiently acknowledge our intellectual obligations to the great Savoyard publicist, and in order to discharge in part at least the debt of gratitude which we bear him, we propose to direct the attention of others who may be interested in the questions of religion, philosophy, and politics, to the light which his patient study and laborious research have thrown upon these and cognate subjects.

The character of De Maistre, formed by a happy interpenetration of lively wit and logical acuteness, combined with fine natural powers and colored by the circumstances of his age and position, is one of the most fascinating in the literature of Catholic Europe. As displayed in his writings, his character enhances one's desire to become familiar with his career, for of him it can be said, and the remark is true of few writers, that the life he lived was entirely in accordance with the principles which he enunciated in his works. There are points of resemblance which remind us of the late Dr. Brownson, although De Maistre is distinguished from him and from every other Catholic publicist by many marked individual traits, which give him as unique a position in Catholic Europe as that of Montalembert and Ozanam, of Cochin and the Prince de Broglie. Regarded nearly half a century ago by one of the finest non-Catholic scholars² of England as superior to the gifted but erratic De Lamennais, and still maintaining his place in the world of letters in spite of the many able champions which the Church has called since his day to the public arena in her cause, Count de Maistre is a grand specimen of the old Royalist of Europe whom no threat could intimidate and no prospect tempt. He enforced his Royalist and his religious principles with a dauntless courage

¹ Bolingbroke, *Of the Study of History*, letter iii., vol. ix., p. 58.

² We refer to Archdeacon Hare, one of the authors of *Guesses at Truth*. Crabb Robinson's *Diary and Correspondence*, vol. ii., p. 19.

and an intellectual power which won for him the respect and admiration, if not the sympathy, of the Republican opposition. These are a few of the reasons which induce us to recall his memory, and which we believe are sufficient to renew an interest in the works which his learning and his zeal have bequeathed to Catholicity.

Joseph Marie de Maistre, born at Chambéry, the capital of Savoy, on April 1st, 1754, sprung from an ancient and honorable patrician family of French origin, that had settled in the kingdom nearly a century before, when Savoy belonged to the Sardinian States. His father was a man of talents and of social and civic position, and gave to his children all the advantages commensurate with his own station and the regulations of a Christian home. He was President of the Senate of Savoy and Conservateur des Apanages des Princes. Among the earliest lessons taught in the domestic life of Catholic Europe, in which the ancient faith moulds and guides the conscience, is that of obedience. The discipline of the home, while, in some of its aspects, it may appear austere to American eyes accustomed to latitudinarian views of training, is of an hereditary and established character. Parental authority is recognized as delegated from God, and, if need be, it is asserted as dogmatically as any power divinely committed to men. As obedience is the foundation of all true happiness, the habits it engenders, stronger than law itself, become not only fixed, but the sources from which springs all real usefulness in the mental and moral world. This affectionate submission in youth, which is so noticeable in the early years of De Maistre, is the prelude to that self-control upon which so much depends in any career of life. The plastic boyhood of Joseph de Maistre was thus fashioned. The vigilant eye of a Christian mother guarded every avenue of his heart and his mind, and in speaking of her, he says: "*Ma mère était un ange, à qui Dieu avait prêté un corps; mon bonheur était de deviner ce qu'elle désirait de moi, et j'étais dans ses mains autant que la plus jeune de mes sœurs.*" Even when he was a student at the ancient university of Turin, with its magnificent library, and free from the restraints of home, the same high sense of filial duty would not permit him to read a book without receiving the permission of his parents. We discover in this noble surrender to parental authority the kindred solicitude for maternal approbation which so delighted Châteaubriand in his first interview with Frederic Ozanam, when a student in Paris.¹ The mother of De Maistre was as remarkable for her qualities of mind as for her qualities of heart. She had mingled in the highest intellectual circles of her day, and had that acquaintance with public affairs which brought to her decisions a moral discrimination that would have been honorable to the acumen of a well-trained publicist.

¹ O'Meara's *Life of Ozanam*, p. 22.

Questions which affected the fortunes of the Church in the memorable conflicts of revolution and counter-revolution greatly interested as well as saddened her. When the news of the edict of the Parliament of Paris of 1763, expelling the Jesuits from France, reached Savoy, Joseph de Maistre was a child of nine years of age, playing with noisy delight about his mother's room. The outbursts of his innocent mirth ill accorded with the undertone of sadness which this renewal of persecution brought to her. Turning to her son, she said: "You must not be so gay, Joseph, for a great misfortune has happened." The strange words and solemn voice made an impression, which, while he understood it not, lived among the memories of his youth; for half a century afterwards he writes from the Court of St. Petersburg to an old friend: "There is nothing I value so highly as family feelings; my grandfather loved the Jesuits, my father loved them, my sublime mother loved them, my son loves them, and his son shall love them if the King gives him leave to have a son."

Having completed the course of study at the university, De Maistre now turned his thoughts to a public career, for which he was fitted by liberal education and hereditary tendency. He entered the magistracy not without misgiving as to the question of vocation, and soon occupied the position of senator in the councils of his country. Having married Mademoiselle de Morand at the age of thirty-two, we now see him pursuing his professional path, guided by principles of public duty well defined, and in the quiet enjoyment of those domestic pleasures which made his home the centre of his hope and his joy. Happy and contented in all his surroundings at Chambéry, full of ardor in the prosecution of his professional life and in the studies of the closet, De Maistre had just reached that period when a brilliant success gave promise of a serene and cloudless future.

But a restless spirit was at work in the heart of society,—a spirit nurtured by a false philosophy,—which was soon to make itself felt not only in Sardinia but throughout the entire Continent. It was destined to carry ruin into countless homes and scatter their inmates as chaff before the wind. Among the victims of its rage stood Count de Maistre, and the sufferings which he endured we shall presently see in the course of our narration. The amphibious country—as Piedmont is called by an Italian poet—had developed, out of various communities, chiefly through aggregation of territory, a distinctly national character, at the time when new federative families were springing into being, and before the boundaries of their respective domains had been clearly defined. Savoy, oscillating for a considerable period between Italian and French influences, was finally merged into Piedmont, and became thoroughly

Italian in government, manners, and habits of thought. It has been satirically said by her political enemies that it took the House of Savoy eight centuries to build up an insignificant kingdom, whose extent of territory was not beyond a four days' journey.¹ Conspicuous as the remark may be, we may confidently challenge an historical parallel for healthy growth less interrupted, and for an independence less aided by fortuitous strength. The elements which combined to make Savoy both prosperous and happy, were the spirit and energy of its inhabitants, their devotion and their earnestness, their intelligence and their moderation. These qualities in the peasantry, when united to like traits in a long and illustrious line of rulers, whose interests were the interests of natives of the country, would naturally produce a type of character both vigorous and self-reliant, the surest guarantee of national success and progress. But the era for a general upheaval was at hand. The daring spirit which the writers of the eighteenth century had evoked in France had at length responded, and the Revolution broke out, spreading disorder and bewilderment in its march. The storm, which was destined to wreck the social fabric of Europe, was not slow in making its appearance in Savoy. The French invaded it in 1792, and the duchy became the République des Allobroges, and its inhabitants were compelled either to take the oath of fealty to the new government or to seek safety in exile. Property was confiscated, and homes were desolated. Among those which fell into the hands of the invaders were the ancestral possessions of Count Joseph de Maistre, whose person was an object of suspicion and of hatred to the commissaries of Sans-culottism, now intrenched as the representatives of the new régime. In a delicate state of health Madame de Maistre had gone to Aosta, at the foot of the Great St. Bernard, not many miles distant from Turin. A brother of her husband was canon, and afterwards bishop, of Aosta, hallowed as the birthplace of St. Anselm, so dear to English Catholicity, and as the scene of the labors of that other great saint, whose name is as familiar in the mountain pass as in the hospice which bears it. It is of the canon, and a brother who had been a colonel in the Sardinian service, that Lamartine says in *Les Confidences*: "Tossed for a long time by the events of the Revolution, driven from one shore to another, they were like those rough stones of their own mountains, which have been rolled by the avalanche into the stream, which the torrent has worn and rubbed and polished for centuries, which have become bright to the eye and smooth to the touch, but which always remain stones, nevertheless, beneath the surface that has polished them."²

¹ "Quatre étapes de territoire." Cattaneo, *Insurrection de Milan*, Paris, 1848.

² Note xxviii., p. 237.

Hastening to Chambéry to share the fortunes of her husband in the new order of affairs, Madame de Maistre was in no condition to bear the fatigues of the journey or the excitement which awaited her on her return to the scenes of their early married life. The privacy of home was violated, and the curses and threats of a sanguinary soldiery brought terror to every heart save that of Count de Maistre, whose exalted courage derived its strength and support from the deep religious principle upon which it rested, as upon a rock. "Ce fut avec une profonde sagesse que les Romains appellèrent du même nom la force et la vertu. Il n'y a en effet point de vertu proprement dite, sans victoire sur nous-mêmes; et tout ce qui ne nous coûte rien, ne vaut rien."¹ The agents of the new government not only demanded of Count de Maistre the oath of allegiance, but also a contribution to its exchequer for meeting the expenses of war. He complied with neither exaction, and to the latter he answered: "I will not give money for slaying my brothers who serve the king of Sardinia." Madame de Maistre, when in her usual health, was not devoid of the spirit of bravery and of fortitude which animated her husband; but in her weakened state, beholding the Count in the hands of fifteen brutal emissaries of a foreign power maddened to frenzy by his unyielding convictions, she at length gave way to paroxysms of terror, and took to her bed through nervous exhaustion. The anguish of travail was thus hastened, and amidst the din and tumult of civil war, then devastating the ancient homesteads of Savoy, her youngest daughter, Constance, was born into the world. Perils and hardships thickened fast on every side, and Count de Maistre saw that resistance to the behests of a Revolution, which was destined to proscribe and impoverish some of the finest spirits of the age, was wholly unavailing, that it exposed not only himself but his family to insult and persecution of every description, and that life itself was endangered if he continued to dwell within the range of its fury. Leaving his youngest child, too frail to encounter the risks of a journey, under the care of her grandmother at Chambéry, he abandoned the home, endeared by associations of family and kindred, to find a refuge for his wife and children at Lausanne. Thither many *émigrés* from France and Italy had been driven by the progress of the revolutionary sentiment, and in thought, as in suffering, he was not without companionship in this asylum of expatriated nobles and scholars. Having received a ministerial commission from the King of Sardinia, Count de Maistre immediately acquired a position in Switzerland in which he could secure protection for his compatriots, and serve the counter-revolution by the

¹ Soirées de St. Petersburg, i., p. 246.

use of his pen. Elsewhere in Europe the talents of kindred thinkers were at work. Presses as remote as London and Hamburg were sending forth innumerable pamphlets, which evaded the strictest surveillance, and made their way into France. An intellectual warfare, earnest and profound, was thus conducted in every centre of activity into which it could be carried. Writers of Calvinistic and Catholic antecedents, at irreconcilable variance with each other as to religion, were united in their efforts against the principles advocated by men whom Burke felicitously called the ablest architects of ruin that the world ever saw. About the same period that Count de Maistre was preparing for publication at Lausanne the *Considérations sur la France*, in which he discussed the fundamental doctrines of the philosophy of history, M. de Bonald was issuing from the press, which a few French *émigrés* had set up at Constance, his *Théorie du Pouvoir Politique et Religieux dans la Société Civile*, and M. Mallet-Dupan, at Hamburg, his *Correspondance Politique* and *Le Spectateur du Nord*. Châteaubriand, in exile and penury, foresaw the frightful excesses into which France was rushing with irresistible energy, and was writing, in a dreary and squalid garret in London, his *Essai Historique, Politique, et Moral sur les Révolutions*, in which he appealed, with the eloquence for which he was distinguished, to the precedents of both ancient and modern history, which he applied to the now existing order of affairs in his distracted country.

Count de Maistre's life at Lausanne, however great its trials and anxieties, had its peculiarly bright side. His temper was always full of courage and singularly independent of surrounding circumstances. His letters are entirely free from vain regrets and personal repinings; on the contrary, they show a Spartan endurance, which one hardly expects to find as part of the philosophy of so young a man. In one of these he says: "My property is all sold and I have nothing left;" and in another: "All my estates are confiscated, but I do not sleep the less for that." Like all exquisite natures, he was keenly sensitive to the influences of natural scenery, and the very altitude of the hills seemed to take him up at times far above the small interests and contentions of the common world. By a kind of inspiration, their summits led him to forget terrestrial things, and on their heights his ideal spirit detached itself from the narrow and sordid cares of the earth. The days of his sojourn in this place gathered moral and intellectual strength for the coming years. In charming walks, under the shadow of perpetual rocks and pines, his hours of solitude taught him how happy and serene a human soul might be in the midst of adversities as stern as the stony spires which towered above him. He had learned the true companionship of nature and his own soul. He apprehended the

Christian import of the paradox which Cicero has preserved as the saying of Publius Scipio: "Nunquam minus solum, quam cum solus esset."¹ Count de Maistre was one of those rare characters gifted with the moral and intellectual beauty which wins and retains affection, and with that indescribable personal charm which attracts to itself whatever kindness there is in the atmosphere, as plants absorb the moisture from the air. He was happy in the circle of choice friends gathered about him at Lausanne, whose love and appreciation followed him through life, and the memory of whom was a solace and a benediction in the years which he afterwards passed under the inhospitable skies of St. Petersburg. The death of Madame Huber, to whom he was warmly attached, called up the recollections of those happy days in Switzerland in which he enjoyed the culture and refinement of her home, and he has left this picture of his early friend: "You cannot fancy how present the poor woman is to my mind's eye. I see her constantly before me with her tall straight figure, her slight Genevese primness, her calm reason, natural *finesse*, and grave pleasantry. She was an ardent friend, though cold in all other respects. I shall never pass such evenings again as I have spent at her house,—my feet on the fender, my elbow on the table, thinking aloud, and skimming along on the wing over a thousand subjects, surrounded by her worthy family. She is gone, and I shall never replace her. When one has passed the middle of life—and I have long passed it probably—such losses are irreparable. Separated forever from all I love, I learn the death of my old friends; the young will one day learn mine. In truth, I died in 1798; the funeral only is put off. These lugubrious fancies form no contrast to public events, which are far from being *couleur de rose*. Some few thankless foreigners may be as you say sadly Russian, but as to me I am Russianly sad."

At the request of Charles Emmanuel IV., Count de Maistre and his family left Switzerland in 1797, and repaired to Turin. But he did not linger long here, for the French Revolution rushing like a torrent over Europe, the tricolor soon waved in triumph over the territories of the King of Sardinia. The King abandoned his Continental possessions and retired with his court to the island which had given the name to his kingdom. Among those who followed him thither to share his fortunes was Count de Maistre. But the chances and disappointments of war allowed him no rest for the sole of his foot. In the closing days of December, 1798, we again behold him going forth with a Prussian passport as a citizen of Neufchatel, and sailing down the Po with his family amid dangers and hardships which would have tempted a less intrepid and deter-

¹ De Officiis, iii., i.

mined man to yield to the superior power of the Revolution, and make the best of things. He, however, was a stranger to compromise, and understood not its terms. Before he reached Venice in safety he was wearied with the vexations and delays of the journey. A memorable and dangerous encounter with a detachment of French soldiers who boarded the vessel at a stage of the passage is worth relating. It is an evidence of the self-possession of our hero. Being on board, the soldiers demanded the passengers to show their passports, which they examined. Finding nothing upon which they could hold the travellers, they next engaged to entrap them by their language. When Count de Maistre's turn came, the French officer addressed him: "Citizen, you say that you are a subject of the King of Prussia, yet you have an accursed accent. I am sorry I did not send a ball through that carriage of aristocrats." "You would have done a fine feat," replied the Count; "you would have wounded or killed two young children, and I am sure that would have given you pain." "You are right," responded the officer, "I would have been more sorry for it than the mother." At length, however, this perilous journey drew towards its close, and Venice was to shelter him in peace for awhile. Few *émigrés* of the times have had more of that sustained and resolute heroism which steadily pursues an ill-rewarded course under most adverse conditions. In Venice so far as comfort was concerned he was more poorly off than ever. Absolute poverty now stared him in the face. The Austrian minister offered him lodgings in his private hotel, but Count de Maistre consented to occupy only one room on the ground floor with his wife and children. There are no sufferings which can come to a refined man, we fancy, more severe than such as the necessitous condition to which Count de Maistre is now reduced in a foreign city. But the greater the sensitiveness the greater the endurance of men true to the principles in which they believe. Here Count de Maistre lived, firm and conscientious, sustained by an abiding faith, and devoting to those Venetian days a zeal in study and writing which seems to us one of the finest examples of patriotic duty—"toujours ce mot austère et saint"¹—afforded by the history of the French subjugation. And his example recalls to us the touching letter of Lord Perth from Stirling Castle, in which he was a prisoner of state for two years in the days of William of Orange, to Bossuet, through whose writings he became a Catholic. Sharing the fate of his royal master, James II., Lord Perth writes to the Eagle of Meaux: "I am suffering now both for my king and also for my God; and if there

¹ This was the beautiful expression of the Abbé Perreyve, in reply to a French soldier leaving for the Crimea, who had said to the saintly Perreyve, "Chacun son devoir, Monsieur l'Abbé."

is a noble greatness in suffering for the love of one's sovereign, how much more for one's religion and one's conscience?"¹ Count de Maistre stood not alone in his trials. Whatever of sorrow he endured, it was his wife's part to share, and whatever of good he accomplished, it was hers to encourage and sustain. The picture which this self-sacrificing hero presented in his vicissitudes, gathered around him friends to aid and to sympathize. To all their words of affection and confidence, he returned the same splendid utterance, full of Christian heroism: "All this is but the movement of the wave; the current may lift us up higher to-morrow, and then it will be difficult for us to steer our course."

With the close of the century Count de Maistre's sojourn at Venice terminated, and for a short time at least, he was again to enjoy an honorable station and the society of friends in the island of Sardinia. Being called home by his sovereign, Charles Emmanuel, who had now appointed him to the highest legal position in his kingdom,—régent de la Chancellerie royale,—he took up his residence in Cagliari. The duties of his new office were arduous and exacting, leaving him but little leisure for the cultivation of those literary studies in which he was so profoundly interested. For the dissatisfaction which he may have felt in surrendering all his time to the demands of public station, he had the compensation, however, of being in a home of his own, surrounded by his family and friends. Fortunate was it for Catholic literature that Count de Maistre was to spend but two years in this legal office, which almost entirely suspended his literary occupations. In 1802 he was commissioned by the Sardinian government, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. Petersburg, at which capital he was destined to spend fourteen years, the most important and laborious of his life, during which he produced those immortal works—"monumentum aere perennius"—which have made his name familiar to scholars everywhere, and endowed him with an imperishable fame.

Taking leave of his wife and children, he began his journey, which was more formidable then than now, when railways are common on the Continent. He could travel night and day regardless of comfort, whilst all places and hours were made subservient to his intellectual pursuits. Count de Maistre arrived at St. Petersburg on May 13th, 1803, and did not leave it till May 27th, 1817. His residence covered a period of unusual interest in the history of Russia. About two years before, Paul I. had been assassinated, under the shadows of night, by a band of Russian noblemen who had entered into a conspiracy to rid the empire of that half-demoniac tyrant. Never, even in the dark annals of Russia, had

¹ Life of Bossuet, p. 342.

a more execrable monster in human form sat upon a throne—never one with vices more colossal. He had employed all the machinery which his debauched mind could suggest, in wrenching from his subjects every vestige of right. He knew no law, human or divine, superior to the dictates of his own whimsical and disordered brain, and the edicts which he promulgated one day were often abrogated the next. He was devoid of every kingly attribute, and dead to the commonest instincts of man. His misgoverned empire had passed into the hands of his son Alexander, who, after the assassination, was proclaimed emperor. Coming to the throne through the intervention of conspirators, and conniving at the act by which he gained his power, it is not surprising that Alexander I. saw the necessity of vigorous and elaborate reforms on every side. In addition to the discontents rife everywhere and calling for pacification by a wise and enlightened public policy, his own mind turned naturally into liberal channels, for he had been trained by César de la Harpe from early youth in the principles of humanity and toleration. Count de Maistre made his entrée as a diplomate at the Court of Alexander when that emperor was inaugurating those reforms which, in part at least, redeem his name from the infamy of his subsequent retrogression. The society of St. Petersburg, more especially from the reign of Paul I., who came to the throne between the Reign of Terror and the Consulate, had always a considerable French element of the highest character. Its salons were graced by many *émigrés* of nobility who had found safety from the revolutionary storms which raged in Southern Europe. And while a residence there was not wanting in some of the agreeable features which a man like Count de Maistre could appreciate, still it bore but a poor comparison with the charming society of Switzerland. The splendors of court life in themselves were never attractive to him, and he found all his pleasures in those intellectual pursuits to which he now applied himself with his usual *entrain* and energy. After a residence of two years, he naively pictures his daily life to a lady friend: "My life is very like something you know,—the motion of a clock—*tic, tac*. Yesterday, to-day, to-morrow, and always. I can with difficulty drag myself out, and I often refuse dinners to indulge in the pleasure of staying a whole day at home. I read, I write, I learn, for after all one must know something. When nine o'clock comes I order myself to be dragged to some lady's house, for I always give the preference to women; I know, Madam, that you are not of the same opinion, but never mind, tastes differ. Somewhere or other then I try before the day is over to resume that native cheerfulness which has kept me up till now; I blow upon its flame as an old woman tries to light her lamp by the embers of yesterday's fire. I strive to forget the visions of broken

heads and arms which are constantly haunting me; then I sup like a young man, I sleep like a child, and wake like a man, that is to say, very early; and then I begin over again, always turning in the same circle, and invariably placing my foot in the same place, like a donkey in a mill."

Separated from his family and the friends to whom he was devotedly attached, Count de Maistre longed at times for that intellectual intercourse with kindred minds, of which nothing in the gay court life of the Russian capital could take the place. He valued the kindnesses which he received at court, and the generous hospitality so lavish in the higher circles of St. Petersburg. But as we have seen, such were not the supreme needs of an intellect and a soul fashioned like his. Work, hard and incessant work, was Count de Maistre's remedy for all the ills of life, but in spite of this, there came to him in moments of keen isolation, an intense desire for the scenes and associations of other years. It was the longing to roll back the mists which rise between the present and the past,—the thought so delicately expressed by Tennyson in one of the finest of his minor poems.¹ To Lausanne and the delightful friendships which enshrined it as almost a sacred place in his memory, Count de Maistre looked back with mournful pleasure. To an old Neufchatel friend, Madame Huber, he recalls in an exquisite letter those charming days,—a letter, which Sainte-Beuve says, a Ducis could not surpass.² It would be a pity to spoil such a gem by translation: "Jamais je ne me vois en grande parure, au milieu de toute la pompe asiatique, sans songer à mes bas gris de Lausanne et à cette lanterne avec laquelle j'allais vous voir à Cour. Délicieux salon de Cour! C'est cela qui me manque ici! Après que j'ai bien fatigué mes chevaux le long de ces belles rues, si je pouvais trouver l'amitié en pantoufle, et raisonner pantoufle avec elle, il ne me manquerait rien. Quand vous avez la bonté de dire avec le digne ami: *Quels souvenirs! quels regrets!* prêtez l'oreille, vous entendrez l'écho de la Newa qui répète: *Quels souvenirs! quels regrets!*"

The life of Count de Maistre at St. Petersburg was never ex-

¹ In the Valley of Caunteretz:

"All along the valley, stream that flashest white,
Deepening thy voice with the deepening of the night,
All along the valley, where thy waters flow,
I walked with one I loved two and thirty years ago.
All along the valley while I walked to-day,
The two and thirty years were a mist that rolls away;
For all along the valley, down the rocky bed,
Thy living voice to me was as the voice of the dead,
And all along the valley by rock and cave and tree,
The voice of the dead was a living voice to me."

² *Causeries du Lundi*, tome iv., p. 160.

empt from anxieties the most wearing. His salary was hardly sufficient to meet the ordinary expenses of living, but this was a small matter to him. Other and greater solitudes weighed more heavily upon him. To represent a despoiled and impoverished king, at the court of a nation which alone seemed to possess the power of frustrating the ambitions of Bonaparte, to awaken sympathy at that court for the fallen fortunes of his royal master, and to do all these things by the sheer force of genius unassisted by any of the occult resources which diplomacy commands, was indeed a task which might well have burdened the thoughts of one more skilled in the arts and intrigues of courts than Count Joseph de Maistre. He watched with eagle eye from his eyry in the North the progress of events in the South. He at times grew impatient for news, although he possessed his soul in perfect calmness, for he had an unshaken faith in the ultimate end towards which the meteoric career of Napoleon was tending. "I am relegated at one of the poles," says he, "and know nothing," and yet no man of the times knew Bonaparte better, or exercised a clearer prevision as to the results of his struggles for universal empire. His brother, Count Xavier de Maistre, best known to our generation by the little volume, *Voyage Autour de ma Chambre*,¹ a perfect and unique book of its kind, abounding in ingenious thoughts and philosophical reflections, left the military service of Sardinia at the time of the French occupation of that country, and subsequently emigrated to Russia. He was a man of versatile talents, and possessed in a high degree the literary and artistic expression. Painter, chemist, and man of letters, he soon won through the influence of his brother, the ambassador, the esteem of Alexander I., and preferment was not long in coming to him. He held positions both in the civil and military service of Russia, and finally settled down in St. Petersburg, to devote himself to the cultivation of literature and art, and here he produced those books which have been translated into all the civilized languages, and which have been the delight of so many readers. The two brothers were kindred in thought and in study, affording each other that mutual aid and encouragement which such a union of affections and pursuits would naturally develop. It was for Count Xavier de Maistre that his brother sketched with

¹ We think the reader will appreciate the exquisite touch of the literary artist, in the following passage from the *Voyage*. It happily describes the pleasures of the author's meditative brother, the ambassador: "C'est un excellent meuble qu'un fauteuil; il est surtout de la dernière utilité pour tout homme méditatif. Dans les longues soirées d'hiver, il est quelquefois doux et toujours prudent de s'y étendre mollement, loin du fracas des assemblées nombreuses. Un bon feu, des livres, des plumes; que de ressources contre l'ennui! et quel plaisir encore d'oublier ses livres et ses plumes pour tisonner son feu, en se livrant à quelque douce méditation, ou en arrangeant quelques rimes pour égayer ses amis! Les heures glissent alors sur vous, et tombent en silence dans éternité, sans vous faire sentir leur triste passage." Chap. iv., p. 5.

his pen in an animated vein, half serious, half comic, some scenes from his early domestic life as an ambassador of the Russian court: "This is the second winter," says he, "I have passed without a fur pelisse,—which is very much the same thing as to have no shirt at Cagliari; when I leave the court, or the imperial chancellor's, a very shabby lackey throws a shopman's cloak over my shoulders. As the attendance of a single servant is considered impossible here on account of the climate and the work, in order to have a second I have taken a thief, who was on the point of falling into the hands of justice, and I have proposed to him to become an honest man, under the shadow of my diplomatic protection. For the last few months I have managed to get on pretty well; the *traiteur* who used to feed, or rather poison me, having removed, I cannot get him, so I have made up my mind to share my servant's mess. The want of servants in this country, and in my situation, is one of the most singular torments that can be imagined, and one of which you can form no idea where you are. However, I do not find that I am looked down upon, but quite the reverse. What amuses me exceedingly is to see people come and ask for my support, which they do frequently."

The outward circumstances in the career of Count de Maistre were so shaping themselves that the interests recalling him to Sardinia were lessening. His son Rudolph, having reached the age of sixteen years, was now exposed to conscription if he remained at Turin. It was impossible for him to be false to the country and false to the king whom his father had served with unswerving devotion, through the disappointments of many checkered years. This thought was sufficient to supply the motive to flight, if the young man needed any other than that of his recognition of right principles. Nothing remained to Rudolph, but to join his father, at St. Petersburg, from whom he had been separated for about four years. This is the plan determined upon, and when next we see him he is an officer in a regiment of the Russian Guard, enduring the hardships of the campaigns in a spirit not unworthy of his lineage. Count de Maistre's letters at this period are especially pathetic. His anxieties have increased now that his son is exposed to the dangers of war. "None know what war is," he says, "save those who have sons engaged in it." The shadows of his life seem to deepen. Burden after burden bears upon him by day and by night, and his natural cheerfulness almost forsakes him. He pictures the gloomy forebodings which haunt him: "*Enterrant mes journées monotones, je me jette sur un lit, où le sommeil, que j'invoque, n'est pas toujours complaisant. Je me tourne, je m'agite, en disant comme Ézéchiass: De mane usque ad vesperam finies me. Alors des idées poignantes de famille me transpercent. Je crois entendre pleurer à*

Turin; je fais mille efforts pour me représenter la figure de cette enfant de douze ans, que je ne connais pas. Je vois cette fille orpheline d'un père vivant. Je me demande si je dois un jour la connaître. Mille noirs fantômes s'agitent dans mes rideaux d'indienne."

Animated by patriotic feelings in behalf of his countrymen and zeal for his sovereign, Count de Maistre conceived the idea of going to Paris, to seek a personal interview with Bonaparte. He entertained the opinion that if he were allowed to confer with the usurper face to face, he might obtain some redress for the loss of the Continental possessions of his king. He was too well acquainted with public affairs and the character of Napoleon to expect Piedmont to be restored to Charles Emmanuel, but he anticipated that good results would attend his negotiations, if he could secure an audience consonant with the magnitude of his mission, and which his high character and reputation would seem to warrant. The proposal irritated his sovereign, who regarded it as inconsistent with the duty of an ambassador and with the dignity of the throne. Whether the plan proposed was a wise one or not, we do not pretend to determine, but we do argue that it proceeded from the purest motives on the part of Count de Maistre, and was entitled to a delicate consideration from his sovereign. When we remember the surrender which he made for his king,—fortune, home, family, and all the associations which men hold dear,—we are not surprised at the fine irony contained in his reply, or at the chagrin which such a faithful servant should feel in being so thoroughly misunderstood. Count de Maistre showed that his intended visit to Paris was to have been made in his private and not in his diplomatic character, and that he apprehended no dangers in meeting Napoleon. He then adds with admirable effect a dignified regret, which Charles Emmanuel could not fail to appreciate. "I had not much fear of Bonaparte," says he; "the first quality of a man born to subdue and lead others is to know men. Without this quality he would not be what he is. I should be glad to think that his majesty deciphered me as well."

A great crisis, often predicted, had at length arrived, and the downfall of Bonaparte was at hand. The day of deliverance from his usurpations identified with misgovernments, both tyrannical and flagitious, had dawned, and Count de Maistre saw with mixed hope and fear the end of a despotism which had pulled down the old French institutions. But what was to take their place? He hailed the deposition of Napoleon with joy, while he watched the European coalitions growing out of it with alarm. He had never underestimated the superior abilities of Bonaparte, who was likely at any moment to command resources equal to any emergency. On the

contrary, he had always maintained that it was worse than folly to ridicule a power that had destroyed institutions consecrated by the veneration of ages, and made them a mockery in the eyes of the multitude. He met such expressions engendered by hate on the part of his compatriots with a satire as delicate as it was incisive: "Quand j'entends parler ici dans les salons de ses fautes et de la supériorité de nos généraux, je me sens le gosier serré par je ne sais quel rire convulsif aimable comme la cravate d'un pendu." Although the events which culminated in the destruction of the man who bestrode the world like a Colossus,¹ they failed to produce results entirely satisfactory to Count de Maistre. The annexation of Savoy to France by the provisions of the treaty of Paris was a bitter disappointment. He soon saw that the restoration of the House of Bourbon, perhaps gratifying enough in itself, was not destined in the course of affairs to call into power men in whom he reposed much confidence.² They belonged rather to that class of minds to whom the remark of an acute critic may be applied,— "n'ont rien oublié, ni rien appris." He opposed the arbitrary divisions of kingdoms in order to create and protect a balance of power. He believed that this principle, recognized as a cardinal feature in the adjustment of treaties, was a violation of the eternal fitness of things. The treaty of Paris, therefore, was not a permanent solution of European difficulties. It was but an armistice between opposing forces. Out of such statecraft would spring kindred disorders which he deplored. But however gloomy his views of public affairs then appeared, he was not a pessimist. The same belief in the Divine Beneficence which had sustained him in exile sustained him now, and the sublime confidence which he uttered in one of his earliest publications animated him in the midst of every new complication, the outcome of which he could not clearly foresee: "There is no chastisement which does not purify; there is no disorder which the principle of eternal love does not turn against the spirit of evil. Amid the general disorganization, it is delightful to foresee the plans of the Almighty. We shall never be able to understand everything during the course of our pilgrimage; often we shall fall into mistakes; but are we not reduced to surmises in every possible branch of knowledge, with the exception of the exact sciences? And if our surmises are plausible; if they are in accordance with the laws of analogy; if they are supported

¹ Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, act i., sc. ii.

² In the year 1802, during the Consulate, Count de Maistre wrote: "The Bourbons of France are inferior to no reigning family: they have a fair share of wit and goodness, they possess that self-respect which springs from ancient greatness, and lastly the useful knowledge that misfortune teaches; but although I think them very worthy of enjoying royalty, I consider them quite incapable of restoring it. The hand of a usurper and a man of genius is alone firm and rough enough to accomplish that work."

by universal ideas; if above all, they are soothing and calculated to render us better, what is there wanting to them? Even if they should not be true, they are good; or rather, if they are good, is not this a proof that they are true?"¹

There is no character from which we are more inclined to recoil than from the man of pure intellect, no matter how powerful and imposing that intellect may be. We shrink from the rational mind unwarmed by the emotional in man, and leave it to dwell in its desolate and solitary grandeur as an abnormal creation. We have seen, however, enough of Count Joseph de Maistre, in spite of the charges which unfriendly critics make, to discover that he was not deficient in natural affections, and that his nature was neither cold nor languid.² Whatever of good or whatever of evil the fall of Napoleon may have accomplished for the progress of national life, it brought one supreme joy, wholly unalloyed with pain, to Count de Maistre. He had now the happiness of meeting his wife and children from whom he had been so long separated. The infant Constance, whom we left twenty years before at Chambéry in the care of her grandmother, had now grown to beautiful womanhood. The picture of so much loveliness developed during the weary years of his exile, and the recollections of the trials and privations which it awakened, quite overpowered him, for he had now turned his sixtieth year, and the world to him was not as bright and illusive as

"When life was young and truant hope was new."

We will not dwell upon the scenes of that reunion, so gentle, so tender, nor would we disturb its serene and lofty peace. It is better to leave to the imagination of the reader

"The thousand still, sweet joys of such
As hand in hand face earthly life."

During the years which Count de Maistre had passed at the Russian capital he had formed many associations, which he was reluctant to break up. He was respected and honored by Alexander I., over whom he had exerted no small influence for good; but that unfortunate monarch had now reached a stage in his strange career when the potent spirit of evil seemed to have seized him. Count de Maistre had determined to continue his residence at St. Petersburg, but untoward events in the public policy of

¹ *Considérations*, etc., chap. iii.

² Who that reads this passage, full of tenderness, taken from a letter written from St. Petersburg to one of his brothers, would pronounce Count de Maistre either cold or languid in his affections? "A six cents lieues de distance, les idées de famille, les souvenirs de l'enfance me ravissent de tristesse. Je vois ma mère qui se promène dans ma chambre avec sa figure sainte, et, en t'écrivant ceci, je pleure comme un enfant."

Russia were likely to transpire which his loyal nature could never countenance even by his presence at court. The career of Alexander I. is one of the most melancholy in history. It reads like an ugly chapter drawn from the lives of the Cæsars. In the early part of his reign he had excited high hopes by his broad views and tolerant mind. But the blood of a vile and ignoble ancestry flowed in his veins. His father, Paul I., who, as we have seen, fell by the hands of assassins, was an infuriate madman, and his grandmother, Catharine II., called the Semiramis of the North, the friend of Voltaire and D'Alembert, was one of the most profligate of her sex,—a Lady Macbeth in the enormity of her wickedness. It was under her tutelage that Alexander was brought up. His environment, save in one particular, was altogether evil. He was a silent party to his father's assassination, if not an actor in the fatal scene. With all these wild memories haunting his steps, and with madness and murder tainting his blood, is it strange that Alexander could not dispel the shadows which hung over him, or escape the deadly influences with which the consummate duplicity and cunning of courtiers had surrounded him?

From the times of Catharine II.,¹ the Jesuits had been kindly treated in Russia, and at her request they had established colleges at Dunabourg, Orcha, Vitepsk, and at Polotsk. Paul I. had encouraged their labors, and called them to St. Petersburg. When Alexander I. ascended the throne, he continued to show the same generous appreciation of the order which had marked the reigns of his predecessors. The schools of the Jesuits had now grown into important institutions in the literary progress of Russia. Following the principles of the *ratio studiorum*, and guided by admirable discernment, they had at first adapted their course of study to the rudimentary needs of the empire, and as these were met the curriculum was expanded, so that at the period of which we speak their colleges had attained a reputation quite commensurate with that which the Jesuits had won in older European fields. Since the conversion of Princess Alexis Galitzin early in the century, the number of converts to the Catholic Church among distinguished Russian families had greatly increased, and the example of that brilliant and gifted woman, Madame Swetchine, whom Count de Maistre had assisted in her progress toward Catholicity, exerted a powerful influence in the higher circles of society. Quietly as the Jesuits were pursuing their work in different parts of the empire, the conversions among the aristocracy could not fail to arrest attention, and an opposition to the Order, founded neither on justice nor equity, gradually assumed an imminent activity. No

¹ Like Frederick II. of Prussia, Catharine II. forbade the publication of the brief *Dominus ac Redemptor* of Clement XIV., suppressing the Jesuits.

tenable grounds of complaint had been lodged against the Jesuits with the government; they had violated no laws; they had interfered with no public policy. But what of that? The autocrat recognizes no law superior to his will,—“*Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sic pro ratione voluntas.*”¹ When the power behind the throne seeks to poison the mind of royalty, prejudice often does its work more effectively than reason. But the other day we witnessed the parallel in France in a like persecution of the Order. The illustrious publicist, Judge Black, one of the few really great minds now left to us in the public arena, as fearless as he is always magnanimous, has so well described the present crusade against the Jesuits by a government calling itself a republic, that we quote his words as entirely applicable to the then state of affairs in Russia under Alexander I. “Without conviction, without trial, without an accusation of any specific offence or defined misdemeanor,” says he, “a religious society is deprived of its property and denied the right to instruct its disciples or propagate its faith, or impart even secular knowledge to the pupils who gather in its schools. Is this liberty, equality, and fraternity? Is it the common justice which every government owes to its subjects? For my part, I never could understand how it was honester to rob a church than to rob anybody else, nor do I see why a man or a body of men are supposed to put themselves beyond the pale of legal protection by adopting a creed which their political rulers suppose to be erroneous. I have listened with proper docility to the arguments of French infidelity, but they are not convincing. The disbelief of this government in the cosmogony of Moses and its contempt for the morality of Christ is not a satisfactory reason for plundering people who perversely but conscientiously adhere to the faith of their fathers.”²

Count de Maistre had watched the current of thought against the Jesuits and the insidious attacks on their good name. He apprehended the gravity of the situation, and especially the extreme difficulty of meeting impalpable insinuations, delicately and persistently fostered by astute minds, Machiavelian in their subtlety. With all the logical acumen which a trained intellect could employ, he pleaded the cause of the Order with the emperor. The eloquence of such a frank and earnest soul, stirred against such muniments of injustice reared by craft and fraud, made Alexander, for a time at least, irresolute. But what chance was there for conviction

¹ Juvenal, Sat. vi., 223.

² The Weekly Republic of Washington, August 15th, 1880, p. 412. Judge Black again refers to the “present persecution of the Jesuits by the infidel republic of France” in his caustic reply to Mr. R. G. Ingersoll in the *North American Review*, August, 1881.

to secure any permanency in the mind, when, before the arguments had time to reshape themselves, stratagems of every kind were called into play to defeat them? These zigzag movements, however, did not long continue. The indecision which had stayed the cruel edict against the Jesuits was at last overcome, and in the opening days of 1816 an imperial ukase was promulgated, banishing them from St. Petersburg and Moscow. Four years later they were expelled from all Russia and Poland, thus completing another act in the dark drama which kingdoms and principalities united in playing for their extermination. Count de Maistre acted as it might naturally be expected that he would act. His mission at the court of Alexander was now ended. "In a country like Russia," said he, "there should be no cloud between the sovereign and a foreign minister." Without hesitation he wrote to his king requesting to be recalled, and it was on the 27th of May, 1817, that he took final leave of St. Petersburg. A squadron was about to be sent to the French coast to convey the Russian troops home. In token of the esteem in which Count de Maistre was still held by the emperor, he was granted the privilege of embarking on one of these ships, the *Hamburgh*. He landed at Calais, and, after a few weeks stay in Paris, he reached Turin toward the close of August.

No man ever returned to his native land after a long career in diplomacy which was more honorable and consistent in every particular, and no country ever presented an indefatigable servant with a warmer and sincerer welcome. A European fame, ripened slowly but surely during an almost continuous absence of five and twenty years, brought new honors and troops of friends to crown the evening of his days. Appointed to one of the highest offices of the kingdom,—*Régent de la Grande Chancellerie*,—he employed those closing years in discharging the duties of his public trust, and preparing for publication writings which had beguiled the weary days and sleepless nights during the usurpations of Napoleon. Meantime, the health of the Savoyard publicist was gradually undermined. The death of his brother Andrew, Bishop of Aosta, a prelate distinguished both for learning and piety, was a great affliction, and came under circumstances when the shock was peculiarly saddening. A family reunion had been arranged for the 19th of July, 1818, at the residence of Count de Maistre. Revolutions, as we have seen, had broken up homes, the inmates of which were now again to meet face to face after a long separation. Many had arrived in happy anticipation of the event, which was speedily converted into a scene of distress. On the morning of the day before the gathering, after an illness of a few hours, the Bishop of Aosta died in the arms of his brother, Count Joseph. "We are

desolate, thunderstruck," writes he, a few days later to Madame Swetchine, "more dead than he!" Sorrows upon sorrows clouded the waning years of his life. An undercurrent of indescribable sadness is quite visible, and is bearing him along through the inevitable changes with which all earthly life is fraught. He feels that the hand of death is gently but surely touching him. He writes to M. de Marcellus: "D'autres épines s'enfoncent dans mon cœur; mon esprit s'en ressent; de petit il est devenu nul; *hic jacet*; mais je meurs avec l'Europe; je suis en bonne compagnie!" A slow paralysis is by degrees sapping his strength; but his country again needs his clear judgment. Rumors of the revolutionary agitation of the year 1821 in Piedmont lead to the assembly of a council of ministers, in which certain legislative questions are to be discussed. Count de Maistre attends, and makes the last speech of his life in opposition to the changes proposed, as the time is inopportune. His final public utterance, in behalf of the country he had served so loyally, closes with these words: "Gentlemen, the ground is trembling under our feet, and you would fain build." At length the end came, and on the 26th of February, 1821, after a life of sixty-seven years, very memorable in European history, Count Joseph de Maistre died as he had lived, the exemplar of all that is pure, of all that is heroic, and of all that is worthy of this earthly existence.

Thirty years have now elapsed since M. Jules Barbey d'Aureville, a young French author, adopting the piquant expression, we believe, from a political novel of M. Ballanche, published a series of literary portraits, entitled *Les Prophètes du Passé*. The significant title embodied a paradox which pleased the Radical critics, with whom it became the sobriquet of that class of conservative writers who were wedded to the past, who revered ancient institutions, who admired the stability of olden times, were averse to sudden changes, and suspicious of novelties in civil or ecclesiastical polity. In the light of this interpretation of the title, Count Joseph de Maistre certainly occupies a chief place among the prophets of the past, although he was the advocate of much in the secular order of nations with which we have little sympathy, and to which, indeed, we attach but little importance. But the critics pressed the phrase into wider service, and included in their condemnation any writer who opposed the revolutionary tendencies of the times. If we can utter any prediction with regard to the logic of events, humanly speaking, that prediction can be founded on no surer evidence than that furnished by experience, which is the cumulative argument based upon antecedent probabilities. If a theory of induction can be derived from the principles of human nature which govern men invested with civic powers, it demands a point of view

both profound and comprehensive, an intuitive gift both analytical and imaginative, that is able to summon with panoramic skill those historical precedents which assume almost the force of law in the conduct of affairs. No such system of induction, however full, can be unerring in its results, for it can establish at best only that kind or degree of probability, at which we arrive, when we reason from the course which a man follows in one situation to the course he will follow in another. In truth, the motive power in human nature expresses itself in a universal language; and the external aids which history supplies co-ordinately with the internal means of common-sense and natural perception,—these and these alone are the safest guides for its interpretation. Count de Maistre, even when far removed from the scene of action, was fond of indulging in prophecy as to the turn of public affairs, and, like all minds intent upon guessing at results on insufficient data, he made some lamentable failures. The political prophet in our age, with the multifarious means at command which we have indicated, plays no higher part than that of the guesser, and the best guesser after all, as Euripides has said, is the best prophet.¹ Count de Maistre lived to witness respectively the failure and the fulfilment of his political predictions, and in none are his mistakes more signally apparent than in those which relate to the foundation of our seat of government at Washington, in the beginning of the century. He predicted that the city would not be built, that if built it would not be named in honor of the first President, and that it would not be the capital of the republic. It is amazing that a man of such rare sagacity, of such unrivalled skill of combination, and of such perfect mastery of the weapons of logic, should establish a declaration so positive on the slenderest hypothesis. Count de Maistre simply assumed that, as these three designs were integral parts of the plan which the founders of Washington had in view, one or two, or all of them, must fail of accomplishment, because no preconceived arrangement as to government was ever likely to be carried out in its original entirety. It would be interesting to trace how far the monarchial opinions of such a lucid mind modified such ludicrous speculations about a republican capital, but we cannot enter upon an abstract question so remotely connected with an illusion which Count de Maistre himself saw dispelled not many years after the announcement of his prophecy. As we have exhibited a notable instance of his failure in discerning future events, let us see how far he was successful when he confined his passion for subtle foreshadowing to a condition of public affairs with which he was more intimately acquainted. The following verses represent very tersely the popular sentiments when Napoleon was elevated to the Consu-

¹ Μάντις ἄριστος ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς. Dindorfus—*Fœtæ Scenici Græci*, p. 124.

late, and they contain, as far as the French people are concerned, as clear an expression of the popular will as could be reached by any one who studied the temper of the times:

"Ceux qui veulent de lui ne veulent pas de roi,
Ceux qui veulent un roi ne veulent pas de lui!"

Among the contemporaries of the Savoyard publicist, the name of no writer occurs to us who foresaw as clearly as he the dazzling but short-lived career of Napoleon and its almost tragic end. Certainly no adherent of Count de Maistre's political principles understood, as did he, either the drift of the usurper's plans or the motives which animated him at every stage of his eventful destiny. His prophetic ken discerned every move of Napoleon's will with as much precision as the practiced eye of the chess-player detects the aim of his antagonist, and while his compatriots indulged in a fierce hate which blinded them to signs visible and intelligible to calmer minds, he was exempt from that prevailing political strabismus which affected the vision of so many of the staunchest opponents of Bonaparte. In the person of the future prisoner of St. Helena he recognized the genius of destruction: "Un grand et terrible instrument entre les mains de la Providence." The public men of the times which followed the overthrow of Napoleon were by no means deficient in that kind of ability which successfully grapples with momentous questions, and while their talents for statesmanship were developed to a remarkable degree, they did not equal the Savoyard publicist in clearness of foresight as to the probable issues which were hidden from view. In the last year of his life he felt the premonitory movings of revolution, and his speech at the council of ministers presaged the impending storm which broke over Piedmont in the month succeeding his death.

Men, unable to understand the elevation of Count de Maistre's mind, have tried to ally the vehemence and pertinacity of his predictions with a vulgar superstition, the offspring of ignorance and imbecility. But they have altogether failed. A mind so fertile as his, and so little restrained by the desire for concealments in conduct or in language, underestimated the danger to which his honesty of thought and honesty of expression exposed him. A school of political writers and diplomatic tricksters, moulded by the base principle of Talleyrand,—"*La parole a été donnée à l'homme pour déguiser sa pensée,*"—which outvies Machiavelli himself, could not

¹ De Maistre said in 1807: "A usurper who is arrested to-day that he may be hanged to-morrow, is not to be compared to an extraordinary man who holds possession of three-fourths of Europe, who has compelled recognition from all monarchs, who has allied himself with three or four royal houses, and who has taken more capitals in fifteen years than the greatest captains have taken cities in their lives. Such a man springs from the people. He is a great and terrible instrument in the hands of Providence."

be expected to comprehend a freedom of utterance in a publicist who had nothing to fear and nothing to hide. "En général," says Count de Maistre, "les grands écrivains craignent le néologisme; un sentiment secret les avertit qu'il n'est pas permis d'entreligner l'écriture de nos supérieurs." In De Maistre's day Talleyrand was beyond doubt one of the master-spirits of diplomacy. What a contrast their lives present! Our age has rendered its verdict as to both, which we believe posterity will pronounce final. No man better understood the power of language than Talleyrand, who possessed an epigrammatic force and felicity of expression peculiar to himself. His gift of speech, like his practical wit, conspired to selfish purposes, and enabled him to serve three rival sovereignties in the highest positions of state. "All degradation, whether individual or national," says De Maistre, "is straightway announced by a degradation exactly proportional in the language. How could man lose an idea, or even the integrity and uprightness of an idea, without losing the word, or the accuracy of the word, that expresses it; and how, on the contrary, can he have either new or better thoughts without its becoming manifest immediately in his speech?"¹

It is a wild moral paradox, too common at all times, which countenances one ethical code for the private citizen and another for the public functionary. It is worse than idle to attempt to reconcile the principles of double-dealing and deceit in the conduct of diplomacy with those of frankness and integrity in the conduct of life. If the former are the guides of action in the one case, they will be in the other, and *vice versa*. He who is treacherous and mendacious in the administration of affairs of state, is not to be trusted in the business relations of private pursuits. The laws of honor and honesty are inexorable, and by them we determine the worth of character in every station of life. Talleyrand cajoled royalty, negotiated important treaties, counselled judicial murder, changed his principles to suit the times, and took the oath of allegiance we know not how often. He paid the price and he gained the reward. He reached an old age soothed by no happy memories, but darkened by a settled melancholy which his execrable career had prepared for him. The diplomatic ethics which Count de Maistre followed harmonized perfectly with his recognition of the essential difference between right and wrong,—a difference as fixed and eternal as the Author himself who created it. While he may have achieved no startling successes as a diplomat, yet he obtained that kind of confidence and sympathy which consistency always exacts, even at the hands of political enemies. His opinions were courted by different nations, and on questions as divergent as

¹ Soirées de St. Petersbourg.

those of public education and financial policy. Louis XVIII., in 1804, addressed him a letter of thanks for his work on the French Revolution; Napoleon ordered his name to be erased from the list of French emigrants, permitted him to return to France, and to retain such titles of distinction as he had received in the service of the King of Sardinia. Even in autocratic Russia there still exists, we are informed, a manuscript, which he prepared at the request of Alexander, relative to the administration of affairs in that empire. The highest praise which M. Lally-Tolendal could award to the memory of Mallet-Dupan, the liberal Protestant of Geneva and the personal friend of Count de Maistre, applies with singular aptness to the latter. These were his words in the *Courier de Londres*: "Personne n'est moins trompé que lui; personne surtout n'a moins que lui voulu tromper les autres."

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

"WHAT is an abbey?" might be a difficult question to answer—in the exceptional instance of Westminster. Most English dictionaries associate the word abbey with monastic or conventual institutions; but no guide-book of Westminster Abbey would go so far as to assert that the Abbey *is* monastic or conventual. A small guide-book, called *A Historical Description of Westminster Abbey, its Monuments and Curiosities*, printed for the vergers in the Abbey, suggests the idea of a book which is designed to contrast two distinct dispensations. The old Abbey was intensely Roman Catholic, in every symbol, inscription, and effigy; the new Abbey, of Protestant renovation, is only Christian so far as "it cannot help itself." Whatever is Christian is of the past. We must admit that the choir services are orderly and pretty, and the music devotional and soothing; but if we come to examine into the backbone of the whole thing, we find that there is no backbone to be examined into. The sentiment of Christian devotion remains with the débris of once-Catholic doctrine; but, as an effect without a cause, the sentiment and the débris have no sympathy with the grand Catholic pile. Why there should be a chapel of St. Benedict, of St. Edmund, of St. Nicholas, of Abbot Islip; or why there should be a chapel of the Blessed Virgin; or

why there should be a screen to veil mysteries of which the present religion knows nothing; or why there should be "miserere stalls" for monks and canons, when the canons are most certainly not monks, and have no intention that their sons should become so, are questions which our guide-book does not answer, and which it might be indiscreet to insist upon. "Laudator temporis acti" would not be a fitting motto to be placed over the stalls of the present canons. Still less could it be placed over their homes. The very picturesque and comfortable residences, in which most of the Abbey clergy dwell at ease, are not suggestive of the monastic idea, save only in certain outlines ineffaceable. Lady Augusta This, and the Honorable and Reverend Mrs. That, do not sympathize with the conventual idea. They are excellent friends to the poor, and admirable types of modern virtue, but they are not precisely of the spirit of this Abbey. How they were introduced into the Abbey we all know. It was by the conversion of the Abbey into a conventicle. To turn to our guide-book—which is at least honest, if not critical—we are told that "by the robberies made by Henry VIII. upon the Abbey, and the ravages it sustained during the unhappy civil (?) commotions, its ancient structural beauty was in great measure destroyed." But a good many other things were destroyed in the Abbey besides its ancient structural beauty. The institution of "the Religious" was destroyed. In the place of the monastic came the wedded clergy; and we can hardly expect that the ladies of the nineteenth century should find fault with such domestic innovation.

To walk through the Abbey is to continually ask oneself the question: What is the relation between the Church and its furniture? Anything more exquisitely beautiful, more profoundly instructive and even inspiring, than the outline and mind of the fabric we do not often meet with in any church; but the paltry monuments—to this Protestant or to that Dissenter, to this Calvinist or to that Scotch Presbyterian—do not harmonize with the idea of the Abbey any more than with the idea of the Roman Catacombs. They are simply out of place. They are a satire on themselves, not on the Abbey. They are also in painful contrast to the Catholic shrines. When we visit the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, or even the burial-place of the saintly Queen Matilda, we recognize the fitness of the veneration, and do not grudge the narrow place in the House of God. Even the chapel of Henry VII., designed for royal use,—the burial-place of Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, of Queen Mary of England, and of other well-reputed Catholic personages,—is consistent with the idea of a Catholic abbey—of an abbey which is, in many senses, national. But illustrious personages are mingled in their death who, when

living, had different religions. Queen Elizabeth lies here. On her monument is the assurance that she was "the mother of her country . . . in her reign religion was restored to its primitive purity . . . she was for forty-five years a virtuous and triumphant Queen; truly religious . . . and, after a calm and resigned death, she left her mortal part to be deposited in this church, *which she established upon a new footing.*" Byron's sarcasm, "he lies like an epitaph," would not be appropriate to this last line. The "new footing" was also a new headship, a new doctrine, a new ritual, a new clergy, a new "modus vivendi," a new everything. We cannot wonder that the (Protestant) chronicler, who approves this royal epitaph, disapproves of the ancient traditions of the Abbey. "There were so many miraculous stories," says the chronicler, "related by monkish writers, that the recital of them now would hardly be endured." The institution of a wedded clergy had disproved them! That the consecration of the Abbey was always believed to be supernatural shows credulity which married canons must compassionate. That Sebert, King of the last Saxons, who died in 616, asked Miletus, Bishop of London, to consecrate the Abbey, but that St. Peter came from heaven to do it, on the night which preceded the proposed ceremony, is a fiction which modern enlightenment rejects; and with at least perfect consistency and Protestant faith. It is due to the late much-respected Dean Stanley,—a refined writer, if not a Catholic Christian,—to say that he speaks without cavil of a tradition which, as a Protestant, he could scarcely believe. "We see in this tradition," writes the Dean, "the union of innocent fiction with worldly craft, which marks so many legends both of Pagan and Christian times." (This is begging the question—but no matter.) "It represents the earliest protest of the Abbots of Westminster against the jurisdiction of the Bishops of London. It was recited by them long afterwards as the solid foundation of the inviolable right of sanctuary in Westminster. It contains the claim established by them on the title of the Thames fisheries from Gravesend to Staines. A lawsuit was successfully carried by the Convent of Westminster against the rector of Rotherhithe, in 1282, on the ground that St. Peter had granted the first haul." Now whatever the interpretation which the Dean may put upon all this, one thing remains absolutely certain,—that for centuries the tradition was believed. And we know what was involved in such a belief,—what a simple, yet deep Catholic spirit. Dean Stanley had little sympathy with that sort of spirit—albeit he was a gentleman and a scholar.

Indeed the late dean of Westminster, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, who now lies in the chapel of Henry VII., was a man of thoroughly "liberal" mind in the educated and the Anglican sense.

He was representative of that school which combines personal culture with a broad—the broadest possible—"theology." His notions of Christianity was that it was an amiable institution for uniting all people of all views. And in this amiable spirit he warmly welcomed to his Abbey the devotee of any Protestant idiosyncrasy. A pupil of Dr. Arnold,—who was reported to have maintained that "his butler had as much power to administer the sacraments as himself,"—Dean Stanley had caught the "breadth" of that conviction, and had consecrated it with his own kindly nature. His argument for the present "breadth" of the Abbey, in regard to tombs, monuments, even creeds, is so good as to be worthy of being set down. He argues that the Abbey is the grandest English national symbol of centuries of change and development; and that just as the constitution is historically chronicled in the monuments, graves, and writings within the Abbey, so the ecclesiastical Abbey at least truthfully embodies ecclesiastical vicissitudes and strifes. We accept the explanation as sufficient. We may not quite approve it as to theory, but there is no doubt of its being accurate as to facts. There are three points of view from which the Abbey may be regarded as national in the Great Britain sense: the royal, the constitutional, the schismatical. The first two senses we may take together, since they have been but temporarily parted for a thousand years. Yet we have to go further back than the beginning of the constitution to learn the beginnings of "Westminster." Whether originally founded by King Sebert (A.D. 616), upon the ruins of a pagan temple of Apollo,—or even possibly, at a still earlier date, purposed, if not founded, by King Lucius,—it is only when we come to King Edward the Confessor that we care to fix the Abbey's paternity. The birth of the Abbey made a new epoch in English history. Religiously, constitutionally, and architecturally, the Abbey was a splendid innovation. It was the first cruciform church built in England. Its massive roofs and pillars (so strangely contrasted with earlier fabrics, with the wooden rafters and beams of Saxon churches) seemed prophetic of that stability which was to mark English Catholicism down to the period of the so-called Reformation. Moreover, it was built "at the royal expense,"—which means, by royal command and with royal aid. "About one-tenth of the property of the kingdom was spent within fifteen years on its infancy." The Abbey also was the "establishment" of the monastic system, in the sense of royal maintenance or endowment; for just as there had been monks in the Minster of the West,—Benedictines established by Dunstan,—so now again the special temper of the royal Abbey became conspicuously the temper of Catholic monks. Add to this, that the King's palace and the King's Abbey

grew together in the closest union and fellowship ("Old Palace Yard" still abuts upon the Abbey), and we have a new formation of the scheme of English royalty, which was "kingship consecrated by Catholicism." Further down in history, many centuries later, Henry III. almost rebuilt the Confessor's Abbey; the central tower, the choir, the transepts, the cloisters, all disappearing from the old scene; and yet the new Abbey was still called the Confessor's Abbey, for his remains were magnificently enshrined in it. The same principle of royal gifts and royal alliance—the harmony of the throne and of the altar—were conspicuous in the second as in the first Abbey; and so vast was the expenditure of Henry III. on the rebuilding, that even his subjects protested against it. Some writers have thought that this protest was the first beginning of what is called "the power of the purse" in the House of Commons; but it is probable that in the stormy reign of Henry III., involving his country in heavy burdens, this particular outlay was but a fragment. Hallam, in his *Middle Ages*, does not allude to it. But Hallam had little sympathy with pious kings. Other historians have been more catholic. Lingard tells us that Henry III. heard three Masses every day; and, when in France, he used to keep the French peers so long waiting, by stopping to hear Mass at every church he passed, that the French king ordered all the churches on the road to be shut. Few Protestants would write graciously of such a monarch. But Dean Stanley has this kindly tribute to a Catholic king—whose motto was "*qui non dat quod habet, non accipit ille quod optat*"—"His enormous exactions have left their lasting traces on the English constitution, in no less a monument than the House of Commons, which rose into existence as a protest against the king's lavish expenditure on the mighty Abbey which it confronts."

It is this version of Catholic interests with national story—this parallelism of civil and religious life—which is our apology for regarding Westminster Abbey as something more than a mere English Catholic Church. There is no monument in Paris, in Florence, even in Rome, which is its equal in range of suggestiveness. There are many much older monuments in the world, but not one which so epitomizes a nation's life. When the river Thames was the chief highway of English life, the chief inlet and outlet of English commerce, and so came to be called "Father Thames," because it was the father of the Capital City; in the days when the Thames's boundaries were either utterly unpeopled hills, or forests full of wild deer and wild boars; when salmon was caught close to the site of Westminster Abbey, and the "Strand" of the river was almost tenantless; in those days—without attempting to fix a date—the first idea of the Abbey had its birth. And, as we have

said, the king's palace, and the legislature,—both the House of Commons and the House of Lords,—and whatever is comprehended in the word politics, were all twined by association round a Church which to this day is the “Church of the Coronations.” The “Stone of Scone”—which, by a pretty tradition, was said to be the stone on which Jacob (or, some thought Abraham) laid his head—is still inclosed in the Coronation Chair; and from Edward I. to Queen Victoria every sovereign has been throned upon it; though in earlier times “the abbot sate there on festivals.” Parliament, as we have said, met at Westminster, in one or other of the precincts of the Abbey. Hallam is of opinion that, previous to the thirteenth century, “the Commons sat at the bottom of Westminster Hall, and the Lords occupied the upper end;” and the prelates—among whom would be the Abbot of Westminster—had always their place in the upper House. Thus the Parliament, and the Abbey, and the king's home, and the law courts, were blended in national development. The royal monuments were also blended in the same spirit. They began, it is supposed, with King Sebert, and they ended with Mary and Elizabeth. The two queens were buried in the same grave. Strange yet unhappy reconciliation! The reason why the royal monuments ended with Queen Elizabeth is probably because princes, who up to that time had been supreme, and had been credited with the prescription of “divine right,” then ceased to be the sole masters of the people; for between the death of Queen Elizabeth and the birth of the Great Rebellion was only a short space of twenty-two years; so that the growth of the people's power became symbolized in monuments to as many humble as high-born British subjects. Thus historically both the tombs and the monuments mark the epochs of political variety. We may smile when we see a monument to “Tom Browne,” or to Mrs. Siddons, in the same church with the shrine of the Confessor; we may ridicule a memento of Courayer, who wrote a vindication of Anglican orders, and who, dying an infidel, does not seem to have had much place in “the Church of the holy traditions;” we may be critical upon monuments to comedians or tragedians, “harlequin figures,” as Charles Lamb says, “with inscriptions which cool a farrago of false thoughts and nonsense;” we may ask why courtiers and playwrights, musicians and craftsmen, should be honored along with noisy heretics, or with the mild but schismatical John Wesley. All such misgivings are set at rest by the explanation of Dean Stanley: “The temple of silence and reconciliation exemplified the wide toleration of death—may we not add, the comprehensiveness of the true religion of the Church of England!” We will not cavil at such a kindly explanation. Besides we know that in some Catholic churches—we

may name the Campo Santo at Pisa, and we might name, too, Strasbourg and Rheims—there has been much mutilation of old monuments, and much substitution of new; so that, in point at least of *taste*, we have to admit that Catholic chapters have not always shown regard to the purest harmony; but when we come to the *doctrine* of Catholic piles, the exposition of old truths by new monuments, Catholics cannot plead guilty to such wholesale contradictions as are found in every nook of the London abbey. They may plead guilty to false sentiment, not false doctrine. We allow that Henry III. most ruthlessly destroyed the venerable Norman Church of the Confessor; that Henry VII. razed to the ground the graceful Lady Chapel which Henry III. had so devoutly built up; but it was not from heretical motives that this was done; it was only from a questionable enthusiasm. When we come to the time of the so-called Reformation, we find a new doctrine, with new tastes. There is little now left in the Abbey to show of what religion it is—save only its structural form. No crucifix, no altar of the Blessed Virgin, no holy water stoop, no confessional, no altar lamp, not even an apparent font. The font is stowed away somewhere out of sight. We admit the historic value of the Abbey, but we cannot feel respect for its guardians. In point of age, we know we are in a world of poetry. The origin of most cathedrals is commonplace and prosaic, when compared with the origin of Westminster. Historically it is a storehouse of dynastic changes. Plantagenet and Tudor, Stuart and Oliver Cromwell, Dutch William and Hanoverian George, all have some memento in this “comprehensive” church, which Dean Stanley says is “now the church of the true religion of the Church of England.” We must contemplate such a medley with mixed feelings. We may be edified by the union of secular with religious grandeur, which is so picturesquely set forth within the Abbey; by the lesson which is taught by the laying side by side the dust of the most kingly and the most cloistered; by the equal honoring of high virtues and high birth; we may be much interested in being told of the vast political pageants of which the Westminster precincts have been the theatre—of the clash of arms which has pursued fugitive warriors almost within the gates of the Right of Sanctuary; and we may be amused by the record of the wranglings of Anglican divines—overheard from the Chapter House and the Abbot’s Place, from the Dining Hall and the Jerusalem Chamber; but when we come to ask, what have modern centuries given us back, in place of the old Catholic Westminster Abbey—well, let Dean Stanley give the answer.

“The English and Scottish Confessions of 1561 and 1643, the English Prayer Book of 1662, and the American Prayer Book of

1789—which derived their origin, in part at least, from our Precincts—have, whatever be their defects, a more enduring and lively existence than any results of the medieval councils of Westminster.” Now seeing that these “Confessions” were almost exclusively Presbyterian; that these Prayer Books, partly Zwinglian, partly parliamentary, were substitutes for the Adorable Sacrifice of the Mass; and that any such Protestant services as they contain can be “read” as fittingly in a meeting-house as in a church; we are at a loss to comprehend how a highly cultivated gentleman could express such a fantastic opinion. And yet Dean Stanley was an exalted type of that broad church school of Anglicanism which at this day is dominant in the establishment. He was so broad as to be said to be “Catholic!” “His was a Catholic spirit,” wrote a critic in the *Contemporary*, in a recent article on the late respected Dean; and the *Times*, and the *Daily Telegraph*, and the *Standard* gave him the same equivocal praise. It must all depend on what we mean by the word Catholic. And if we can get at this novel apprehension, as advocated by the Dean and his admirers, we shall be able to judge in what sense the new Abbey can be said to be more Catholic than the old Abbey. Let us put the hypothesis in this way: If a man is a Catholic because he believes that an abbey church should both contain a lady chapel and a Protestant pulpit; an altar to St. George or to St. Anthony, and a memorial to Cromwell or to Ireton; a sculpture to St. Edmund or to St. Oswald, and an “in memoriam” of Courayer or William the Third; a shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, and an inscription to the child-king, Edward VI.,—“on earth of the Church of England and Ireland the Supreme Head;” a hundred tokens of one immutable Catholic faith, and a hundred tokens of a hundred mutable Protestant heresies; well, we concede that there may be Catholics of that kind, just as we concede that the recent “Ecumenical Methodist Council” was undoubtedly ecumenical in its own way. Or again, if we should speak of Westminster cloisters, where for centuries monks said their divine office, but where now we see the ladies (and the perambulators) of the extremely comfortable clergy of the Abbey, and also stray amusement-seeking wayfarers, who “tip” a verger for a bit of information, or make a sketch of some fragment of Catholic effigy, we admit that there is an exceptional Catholicism in the apprehension of the identity of exact opposites. Or, once more, when, from the *outside* of the Abbey, we note the structural fitness for Catholic worship,—the maimed rites which have supplanted the old worship seeming to mock both the outside and the in,—we can appreciate what is meant by a Protestant Catholicism—which includes both the Mass and “dearly beloved brethren,” cloistered monks and honorable and

reverend married gentlemen, the religion of the Confessor and of Dean Stanley, or a dedication by St. Peter—and by Dr. Tait. It is not with disrespect but with lamentation that we record such nineteenth century oblivion. And it is worth observing, at this point, that the religious services in the Abbey have been for centuries exceptionally Puritan. Pompous as has been the pageantry of coronations, and gorgeous as are the symbols of the monarchy, the services in the Abbey have been, since Oliver Cromwell's days, almost ostentatiously demure. In St. Paul's Cathedral ritualism has found a home; and even Westminster is now beginning to catch the spirit; but for more than two centuries the Abbey has taken a pride in looking like a tomb of the ancients, and in celebrating what has been happily described as "a funeral service over a defunct religion." The fabric was so eloquently Catholic, that the ritual had to be framed to protest against it. Horace Walpole said of the fabric; "Though stripped of its shrines and altars, it is nearer converting one to Popery than all the regular pageantry of Roman domes." The deans and chapters, always knowing this, took good care—and no doubt with perfect success—not to "convert any one to Popery" by the services. Dean Stanley says, in his peculiarly quiet way, when speaking of the mighty change in the nation's faith, "The abbot was converted into a dean." And the dean became mainly a preacher. "The most lovely and lovable thing in Christendom" became a temple for very long sermons. Preaching, not worship, became the ideal. Indeed the congregations must have been in danger sometimes of that calamity, which Sidney Smith has facetiously called "being preached to death." Dr. Barrow, in the time of Charles II., was "only allowed by the dean to preach the first half of his sermon; and that half took him one hour and a half;" and, in the time of Cromwell, a preacher "repeated forty times over that if there were no kings, no queens, no lords, no ladies, no gentlemen, no gentlewomen in the world, it would be no loss at all to the Almighty." After the Restoration, the sermons became more loyal, but none the less lengthy and dry; for even under Queen Anne, a preacher was so long about it, that "the dean jogged a friend who bore him company, and said, 'Let us go home and fetch our gowns and slippers, for I find this man will make night work of it.'" But what else had such men to do but to talk? Dean Stanley has seemed to imply that even such weary pulpit orations might be an improvement on the old uses of the Abbey. Because the sacrifice was not there, therefore everything that *was* there might be endured for the gain of the loss! Besides, had they not the Prayer Book—or one of the many Prayer Books—which had supplanted the Roman Catholic Missal? Had they not men's words, and men's voices, to comfort

them in "the abomination of desolation?" We may wonder at, though we are unable to explain such phenomenal apprehensions of "the Catholic spirit." A spirit which can admire "the council of Presbyterians, with a sprinkling of Independents, dressed in their black hoods and Geneva bands . . . with their thirty lay assessors to overlook the clergy . . . and which council, having discussed the thirty-nine articles so far as the sixteenth, was commanded by the Parliament to take up the question of the liturgy," can only be Catholic on the ground that it regards the Parliament as the Holy See of divine truth and inerrancy. A spirit which can respect the Westminster Confession, "sanctioned," as Dean Stanley tells us, "by the occasional pressure of the armies of an English king;" or which can meekly bend the head to "the final alterations made by Parliament in the Prayer Book;" and can regard such profane travesties as "more enduring and lively than any results of the mediæval councils of Westminster;" or, finally, a spirit which can comment on the horrid sacrilege made on altars, and on everything that was holy or Christian, by the "lay committee" of the illegitimate Queen Elizabeth, with the simple, brief, approving sentence, "the change was now complete," can only be Catholic provided that to be so is to reserve all one's sympathies for Protestantism. Still, the spoliations might have been very much worse; and for such mercies the Dean expresses gratitude. The Catholic Abbey might have been utterly defaced, whereas it was only utterly Protestantized. Just as John Carter, the author of *Ancient Sculptures and Paintings*, found his highest gratification, when contemplating the Abbey, in the fact that "it had not been whitewashed," so the Dean appears content that "the Abbey still stands," though its first purpose—the Holy Mass—has been obliterated. Perhaps we cannot expect more from Anglican deans. The royal, the constitutional Abbey is monumental, and therefore richly interesting to everybody; but, to a Protestant, the Catholic Abbey must be like Cleopatra's needle—a puzzle to Londoners, on the Thames embankment.

Let us dismiss such deeply painful reflections, and conclude with one word of satisfaction. There are Englishmen who can remember the coronation of Queen Victoria, on June 28th, 1838. The Abbey, densely crowded with a pageant of spectators, most of them persons of high rank, was the scene of the inauguration of a perfectly new epoch in the liberties of the Catholics of England. That coronation was the last, but also the first—in the sense of the renewed life of the Catholic Church. In no reign, since that of Henry VII.,—if we except only the short reign of Queen Mary,—have Catholics enjoyed so much quietude as under the mild sway of the amiable Queen Victoria. Of the thirteen sovereigns crowned

in Westminster Abbey, from the time of Queen Elizabeth to the present reign, the only sovereign who has done *no harm* to Catholics is the sovereign who has now reigned forty years. James I., "the learnedest fool in Christendom," and an odd mixture of a Calvinist and a High Churchman; Charles I., a High Churchman because despot; Charles II., secretly a Catholic, though a timid one, and caring more for his lap dogs than for his subjects; James II., a would-be friend to Catholics, but so imprudent as to make Protestants his enemies; William of Orange, a Dutch Calvinist or Predestinarian, whose chief claim to the throne was that he was *not* a Catholic; Queen Anne, a high and dry churchwoman, who remembered the cost of Catholicism to her father; George I. and George II., dull Protestants; George III., a most respectable Nothingarian; George IV., a fine gentleman of pleasure, who opposed the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act; and William IV., a mere cipher in English history;—all these sovereigns were absolutely worthless to English Catholics, so far as Catholic liberties were concerned. The Catholic Emancipation Act was brought about by political motives, outside the sphere of royal agency. All that the Georges had to do with it was to oppose it. But of Queen Victoria we may say, that she has been the first Protestant sovereign who has never shown any Protestant prejudice; and this is high praise, in Protestant England. Since the 18th of June, 1838, there has been nothing in the conduct of Queen Victoria to cause Catholics to regret her coronation. Westminster Abbey, it is true, contains no special, new feature, imparted to it by the present good Queen; but then the Queen has nothing to do with Westminster Abbey—save only to appoint a new dean; and even this she does only on recommendation. The prime minister is really the dean-maker. Dr. Bradley, who has but just now been appointed, was the personal friend of Mr. Gladstone, and he possesses all that "breadth" which distinguished his predecessor—even if it does not distinguish Mr. Gladstone. Dr. Bradley will protect the "historical" Abbey, but will not in any way change the "religions." He is a scholarly Oxford Don, with those high and dry tendencies which eliminate the soul out of Christianity. Now her majesty, on the contrary, has an immense amount of warm sentiment; which she has exercised largely towards Catholics. Were it not in questionable taste, it would be easy to enumerate personal kindnesses which the Queen has shown to Catholic priests and Catholic laymen. In this respect she is probably the superior of all the sovereigns who have been crowned in Westminster Abbey since Queen Mary. And there would be a fittingness in the restoration of the Abbey to its original and lawful

Catholic guardians, during the reign of the kindly Queen Victoria, —if such an hypothesis can be gravely entertained,—for, now that Catholics have been restored to their just liberties, they might also be restored to their just possessions. Since the death of George II., no English sovereign has been buried within the precincts of Westminster Abbey; but when Queen Victoria comes to die (and may this be far, far away) it would be a beautiful realization if she could rest in peace in the Catholic Abbey, and her requiem be said by Catholic priests, around the altar of her great ancestor, the Confessor. Unlikely as this is, we may yet trace the tokens of an advancing Catholic sentiment in the great metropolis. St. Paul's Cathedral—always a rival of Westminster Abbey, since the days when the two became Protestant—is putting on robes of devotional sentiment, quite distinct from its old cold, hard Protestantism. The services at St. Paul's are most decorous, and its altar, such as it is, is suggestive. The most distinguished of English Catholic architects, Mr. John Francis Bently, has recently designed a cross for the Cathedral, which is placed in one of the side chapels. There is no longer any repugnance to crosses. Breadth has given way to Catholic sentiment. May it give way, before long, in the Abbey. Meanwhile, we shall go on hoping that the Church of the Coronation has not seen the last of Catholic sovereigns; and that the prophecy of the Franciscan monk may be fulfilled,—“After a long winter there shall be a spring.”

ARCHBISHOP MACHALE.

Evidences and Doctrines of the Catholic Church. By Most Rev. John MacHale, Dublin: 1827.

Letters to Mr. Canning, Lord John Russell, Lord Stanley, the Times, Newspapers, etc.

TO glance at the career of John MacHale is to go over the history of the most changeful and eventful century that the world has yet known. In the events that mark this time he played, among his own people at least, a great and conspicuous part. He influenced his time, and always in the direction of right and liberty and justice. A man of this kind belongs in a sense to the world as much as to his own people. It is only natural, therefore, to find this Irish prelate's writings and letters and sermons eagerly caught up and translated into foreign tongues; as natural as to find O'Connell accepted by Europe as the type and model of a great liberal statesman,—a man who in the senate and on the public platform did the work that a Washington accomplished in the field.

MacHale was an O'Connell in the priesthood. He was in his own lines as great a statesman as he was an earnest and holy churchman. It is almost an open secret that from the day he first conquered English ears by his bold and vigorous letters on public questions in Ireland, English statesmen before attempting some new experiment in Irish legislation were always anxious to be favored beforehand with the opinion of John MacHale. For they knew him to be a right interpreter and dauntless exponent of the feelings and wishes of his countrymen. "A growl from St. Jarlath's," as the London *Times* used to head his remarkable letters, was sure to be heard through all England, and not with disregard. His influence over his countrymen was second, if second at all, only to that of O'Connell, his sincere friend and admirer, who early dubbed him in his broad, free imagery "the lion of the fold of Judah." It is pleasing to note that in all his long life and through all the changes of time and circumstances, the Irish people, generation after generation, never lost their whole-hearted affection for the man whose life spanned a century of battle for their rights. "He looked just like an old warrior wearing out," said a Protestant gentleman to the writer, describing a visit he paid the archbishop during the late famine year, with a view of devising some joint means of relieving the poverty-stricken districts. And he literally died in harness. One of his last public acts was to disavow and repudiate an impression that had got abroad, that he was unfavorable to the Land League and had denounced the "no rent" manifesto of the League leaders. His secretary was instructed to write to the press that his

grace had "abstained from pronouncing any opinion on that grave question."

It is easy to understand the archbishop's steadfast and rooted hostility to English rule in Ireland. He never disguised that hostility. He never disguised anything, least of all his invincible opposition to open and shameless wrong done in the name of law. When John MacHale was born, an Irish Catholic was still a Pariah in his own land. The penal laws were only lightened a very little. But he was born to stirring times amid the roar of the first French Revolution, and just subsequent to the recognition of the independence of the North American Colonies, two events that did so much to change the face of the world and challenge the rule of kings. Henceforth the people were to have a voice in their government, whether that voice were wisely exercised or not. The breath of freedom was abroad in the world, stirring things greatly and working through some dark and foul channels up to good and to right. It fanned the temples of young MacHale away up in far Mayo, and strengthened his loins for a contest lasting through a patriarchal lifetime.

It was to modern eyes a strange world into which the Mayo peasant's son was born on that Sunday, March 6th, 1791, two years after the formation of the American Union, and five years previous to the issuing of Washington's Farewell Address. John MacHale was a little toddling child of three when the head of Louis XVI. rolled on the block. Pitt's enmity to the French Republic was fully reciprocated in France, and Ireland, as usual in England's foreign complications, showed itself as a dangerous spot in the body politic. Hence it became necessary to do something for her, to throw her some sop by way of granting her relief from the evils under which she groaned.

Those evils were monstrous and abominable. The words are weak rather than strong in describing them. And it is necessary to go into them to some extent, in order to show the character and the worth and the work of the man who to the last day of his long life resolutely battled against them. It is happily almost impossible in these days to realize the intense hatred towards Catholics held by the English government and people, and the intolerable tyranny exercised over the Catholics of Ireland, who formed four-fifths of the population of the country. The spirit of the days of the good Queen Anne still ruled when the "Act to prevent the further growth of Popery" was introduced (1703). The terms of that act made it a penal offence for "any Popish person" to send his children abroad to be educated without special license from the lord lieutenant and from privy councillors. In 1709 it was enacted that "whatsoever person of

the Popish religion shall publicly teach school, or shall instruct youth in learning in any private house within this realm, or shall be entertained to instruct youth in learning . . . by any Protestant schoolmaster, he shall be esteemed and taken to be a Popish regular clergyman and be prosecuted as such, and incur such pains, penalties, and forfeitures as any Popish regular convict is liable to by the laws and statutes of this realm." The punishment for a regular Popish priest under William III. was transportation, and in case of return to the country death, with the pleasing accompaniment of drawing and quartering, as for high treason. These enlightened enactments were further improved on in the reigns of George II. and George III. It was practically a penal offence to be a Catholic at all, and an unpardonable offence to be an educated Catholic. In 1727 all Catholics in Ireland were excluded from the parliamentary and municipal franchise, and so remained until 1793. They were governed as cattle might be governed, with no more voice than cattle in their lot. In 1737 Ireland was treated to "Townsend's golden drops," so called from the act passed by recommendation of Lord Townsend, then viceroy, to raise the premium for a Catholic priest's apostasy from thirty to forty pounds. In 1758 the lord chancellor, announced on the bench, and with reason, that "the laws did not presume a Papist to exist in the kingdom, nor could they breathe without the connivance of the government." Dr. Johnson considered that the ten persecutions of the early Christians were not worse than the savage, the demoniac statutes passed at this period against the Catholics or native race in Ireland. Burke wrote of the "vicious perfection of these laws," which he described as "a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man."

While this magnificent system of government prevailed in Ireland, Irish soldiers were winning distinction in foreign service on the battle-fields of Europe. The battle of Fontenoy (1745) first opened the eyes of George II. to the value of the men whom these laws had banished from the empire. A few concessions began to be made, and these were quickened by the rising of the Jacobites in favor of Charles Edward. But it was still true up to 1775, the year of O'Connell's birth, that "an Irish Papist can neither inherit, acquire, nor bequeath,—for in all these cases he is liable to be defeated or disquieted . . . A Papist shall not be a divine, a physician, a lawyer, or a soldier; he shall be nothing but a Papist. . . . If he becomes a trader or mechanic, he shall scarcely enjoy the rights of a citizen; if a farmer, he shall not cultivate or improve

his possession, being discouraged by the short limitations of his tenure." This will sufficiently account for John MacHale being a peasant's son. Catholics could only rise above the condition of helots by subterfuge or connivance with a few kind-hearted Protestants. It accounts also for O'Connell being compelled to seek abroad an education prohibited him at home.

The revolt of the American Colonies again quickened the British government into still further concessions. The existence of Catholic clergy began to be tolerated. In 1771 the British government had grown so liberal as to allow Catholics in Ireland to take a lease of fifty acres of bog and half an acre of arable land for a house, provided the holding was not within a mile of any town. What a condition for a people! As soon as France acknowledged the independence of the American Colonies a bill for the partial relief of Catholics was passed, and Catholic schoolmasters were allowed to open schools by obtaining a license from the Protestant bishop of the diocese. England's foreign difficulties and the formation of the Irish volunteers for the protection of the coasts showed to both England and Ireland how important a part of the empire was the latter country. This led to Grattan's demand for legislative independence, claiming that the Irish were a free people, that the kingdom of Ireland while attached to the imperial crown is a distinct kingdom, "with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof;" that the king, lords, and commons of Ireland should govern Ireland, and that no parliament should govern the country but the Parliament of Ireland. This perfectly right and natural demand was granted in 1782, and an Irish Parliament assembled in College Green to legislate on Irish home affairs. Englishmen now call it traitorous to agitate for a demand already conceded by the English crown and legislature. The subsequent history of the Irish Parliament and the manner in which the act of Union with England was brought about in 1801 call for no detailed mention here. To say that the Irish Parliament was all that could be desired would be to close one's eyes to the facts. In the first place, four-fifths of the nation were unrepresented in it. The Catholics had no voice there any more than they had in the English Parliament. Ireland was governed by a dominant Protestant minority, much as France is governed to-day by an atheistic minority. Circumstances sometimes combine to favor such abortions of legislation. The Catholic petition for the redress of grievances and removal of disabilities was rejected by this parliament of a minority. This led to the formation of the Society of United Irishmen, their

¹ Smyth's Ireland, Historical, and Statistical. From Earl Macartney's Pamphlet, written in 1773.

negotiations with the French government, and the disastrous rising of 1798.

John MacHale lived through these scenes, which unquestionably produced a lasting impression on the receptive mind of the lad. He hardly remembered the arrival of the French fleet, under Hoche, in Bantry Bay in 1796. But he did remember the insurrection, its most cruel repression, and the tardy landing of Humbert's small force in 1798. He remembered their march on Ballina; and he remembered the horrible incident of a Catholic priest at Crossmolina, who had given some refreshment to a couple of French officers, being afterwards taken and hanged at Castlebar. Castlebar was where MacHale received the first rudiments of the classics at the age of twelve or thirteen. Previous to that—thanks to the laws of an enlightened empire—he was compelled to study under a hedge. A "hedge schoolmaster" was, literally, the future archbishop's first instructor, and of all the instructors that ever were, surely those are of the noblest who went from district to district, braving the cruel laws, trying gently to cheat them, living on the charity of the poor, and with the single purpose of imparting such light of knowledge and of faith as they possessed to the persecuted little ones of Christ.

It is wonderful how a people will live and grow under the severest conditions. They are open and sensible to the lightest pressure. The Relief Acts of 1774 and 1778 were already working wonders among the Catholics of Ireland. They afforded a gleam of hope, and no people in the world will cling to even a phantom of hope as will the Irish. Catholics who were in trade invested such savings as they had scraped together in land, and soon quite an important body of Catholics showed themselves in the chief cities,—men of means, of will, and of intelligence. Yet in the year of John MacHale's birth all the Catholics of Ireland could not find a member of the Irish Parliament to present their annual petition for a removal of disabilities. Edmund Burke presented a deputation of Irish Catholics to George III., who received them favorably, and a relief act was passed in 1793 by which Catholics were admitted to the franchise. The admission, however, only allowed them to vote for a Protestant. At the same time Catholics were admitted to take degrees in Trinity College, but were allowed no place in the board or body corporate, or as professors or fellows. The professions, with somewhat similar restrictions, were also opened to Catholics. A Catholic was allowed to practice at the outer bar, but could not be a king's counsel or a judge. And the College of Physicians closed their ranks against all Catholic intruders, by making it a rule that a degree of arts in the Dublin University was a necessary qualification for a fellowship. As a Catholic could

not obtain such a degree, he was necessarily excluded from fellowship, and this state of things continued down to 1843. Admission was free to the army and navy, save certain grades, as also to the magistracy. The ecclesiastical College of Maynooth was founded and endowed by the government in 1795.

Meanwhile young MacHale was picking up knowledge under a hedge. Thence he went to Castlebar, where, under the new concessions, a school had been opened. Here he remained about two years, getting what smattering he could of the classics. Discovering the divine vocation, he was sent to Maynooth in 1807, being then sixteen years old.

The boy's mind was wonderfully acquisitive. He had that greed for knowledge that is one of the chief characteristics of his race. No nation has deeper reverence for learned men than the Irish, and none a keener appreciation of intellectual worth. A dull speaker, a poor actor, an indifferent singer may capture an Irish audience once, by accident and for politeness sake, but never a second time; while the faults, or even vices, of those with any worth in them at all are nowhere more charitably condoned than among this people. It was not MacHale, it was all his race that flew to the founts of knowledge—knowledge of any kind as soon as they were opened to them. It was a love of knowledge for knowledge sake rather than with a view to advancement in life. Even Mr. Froude testifies to this noble characteristic of the race, and recounts how the Kerry boys, who could often hardly speak the English tongue, were well versed in their Latin and their Greek.

In Maynooth the young student's mind received the careful drill and discipline needed to polish and round it, and make it a complete and perfect instrument. His advance was rapid and remarkable. Whatever came to him his mind assimilated. The classics opened up to his imaginative yet solidly cast mind a new and delightful world. Homer he loved as a friend and master, and later on occupied such leisure moments as he could snatch from a life full of exacting labor to turn the old Greek into mellifluous Irish. He did the same with Moore's Melodies and with portions of the Bible. His native tongue he prized above all tongues, as he prized his own land above all lands. An amusing instance of this was given the writer by a friend who wrote to the archbishop some years back, begging him to settle a disputed point. The dispute was with an English acquaintance, and it arose over the archbishop's knowledge of his native tongue. The Englishman insisted that Archbishop MacHale knew no Irish at all, and that the stories told of him in this regard were fiction. A bet was the result, and the archbishop himself was written to as the one most competent to decide. With his usual kindness and sense of fun he sent back a

prayer-book to the writer of the letter; a prayer-book printed half in English, half in Irish, and translated by his own hand. With the prayer book came a letter saying that in his cathedral he always preached to his people in English and Irish, his sermons usually occupying about thirty minutes. Ten of those minutes he devoted to English and the remaining twenty to Irish, which he considered about a just proportion, not in preaching alone, but in all things.

His success in the higher range of philosophical and theological studies was no less marked than in the classics, and he was soon called to assist Dr. Delahogue, a learned French *émigré* whom the Revolution had banished from France, in the chair of dogmatic theology. At twenty-three he was ordained priest by Dr. Murray, the archbishop of Dublin. Soon after, Dr. Delahogue's health failing, the young priest succeeded him in the professorial chair, which he occupied up to 1825, when he was called to assist Dr. Waldron, the bishop of Killala, as coadjutor, with right of succession, and was consecrated under the title of Bishop of Maronia *in partibus*.

MacHale's career at Maynooth as student and professor thus stretched from 1807 to 1825. Those were eventful years in the world and eventful years in Ireland. MacHale, though a model of piety through all his life, was by no means a cloistered recluse. Piety and patriotism were to him equivalent terms, or twin loves rather. His keen gray eyes had not been closed on the world all these years, nor did the walls of Maynooth shut out the scenes and sounds of the conflicts raging abroad. He could never forget the scenes of his early youth, and his heart burned within him as he witnessed the degradation of his country and the disabilities heaped upon the men of his race and faith. This resentment deepened as knowledge grew upon him and showed him the bitter injustice of it all. This Irishman could never bring himself to see that there should be a good law for the Englishman, but a bad law for his own countrymen; a good law for the Irish Protestant, but a bad one for the Irish Catholic. His desire, which became one of the chief aims of his life, was to see Catholic and Protestant on a position of political equality.

It was at a meeting of Catholics held in Dublin in January, 1800, that O'Connell, then a young man of twenty-five, rose to make his maiden speech in public. The speech was in opposition to the proposed destruction of the native parliament and projected union between Great Britain and Ireland. It had been charged against the Catholics that they were in league with the government against the union, with the understanding that they should be granted emancipation. This charge O'Connell denounced as a calumny

against his coreligionists, and declared that they would rather reject emancipation than accept the union. The union went, nevertheless, and the legislative power over Irish affairs was transferred to an English Parliament. In 1809 a general committee of Catholics was formed, with the Earl of Fingal at the head. O'Connell was an active member, but the association was opposed and its efforts were rendered futile by the government. The failure of this led O'Connell to form the new Irish Catholic Association in 1823, which was to unite the Catholics of all the country in active co-operation for the removal of their disabilities.

The clergy had thus far stood aloof from at least any open participation in the agitation for the people's rights. But the events abroad had stirred men. The Napoleonic wars were now over; Napoleon was fast in St. Helena; and the reform movement in England, which lay in abeyance during those wars, was now taken up and pressed forward with a new vigor under the leadership of Lord John Russell. In 1822 a famine occurred in Ireland, and the wretched condition of the country was to some extent brought home to the English people. Still nothing was done to relieve the Catholics. A series of letters under the now famous initials J. K. L. had appeared in the press, full of forceful and eloquent pleading against the iniquity of the penal laws, and exposing with faultless logic the injustice done to the Irish people. They raised an embittered controversy both in England and Ireland. They were a great aid to the cause and scheme that O'Connell had at heart. In defence of an unusually violent attack on J. K. L. appeared a letter signed *Hierophilos*. From that time forth the name of *Hierophilos* became in the controversies of the time as well known as that of J. K. L. As is now known one of the writers was the illustrious Dr. Doyle, the bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, the other a young professor in the new foundation of Maynooth, and destined to become the future archbishop of Tuam. "Hierophilos" soon changed to "John of Maronia," then to "John of Killala," and finally to the world-renowned "John of Tuam."

The famine raised the hopes of Protestants in England and Ireland. It was thought that the Catholics, one-third of whom consisted of indigent poor, might be starved into conversion, and sell their souls for a basin of soup. Associations with this apostolic end in view were formed, the most notable of which was the Kildare Street Association, whose avowed purpose was to evangelize the Irish peasants after the manner indicated. Against such people and their practices both Dr. Doyle and Professor MacHale sharpened their pens to venom. To North, a lawyer of some note and a prominent member of the association, who had asserted that the Scriptures were perfectly plain to him, MacHale wrote:

"You have discovered no difficulties in the Scriptures. I will not suppose you have not read them, it would be injurious to your party; though it must be confessed that the genius of your piety is fonder of lingering on Parnassus than on Zion [North was inflated and pompous in his style]. Were I to assure you that I found no difficulties in the law, and hence it was obvious to each individual, you might be inclined to bend the gravity of your muscles. What may be clear to some may be comparatively obscure to others, and while the mind of Mr. North sheds a train of glory over the paths of its inquiry, others must grope their way by the feeble light of criticism and conjecture."

It was not to men like North and associations like that of Kildare Street that the young professor confined his attentions. He attacked everything, for everything in the government's treatment of the Irish people invited attack. Like Dr. Doyle, Professor MacHale was summoned before committees and examined as to his letters, which were then regarded much in the light of treason, the style of studies in Maynooth, the condition of his countrymen, and the like. The committees in both cases received considerably more information than they anticipated, and there was truth as well as humor in the Duke of Wellington's remark when asked if "Doyle, the Popish bishop, was still under examination by the Lords." "No, by —," was the duke's answer, "but the Lords are still, I regret to say, under examination by Doyle, the Popish bishop." Here is how "Hierophilos" wrote to Canning:

"It cannot be pretended that the policy which has been adopted towards Ireland was ever inspired by the charity of the Christian religion. In vain does England boast that her councils are guided by justice, tempered by freedom, and softened by religion. In her conduct towards Ireland I have proved that she has departed from all. Without any necessity, she still closes against Catholics the portals of the constitution, in defiance of Locke, of Blackstone, of Paley, and other great names whom they venerate as the oracles of her legislation. Notwithstanding her boasted freedom, as far as it regards Ireland it has been all that was harsh, intolerant, exclusive, and imperious, in the ancient republics."

These were bold utterances in those days, and acted on the Irish people as well as on the English ministry. Every letter was stamped with the same spirit,—the spirit of a free man armed with the keenest reasoning faculty, and not to be stifled or strangled at the mandate of a government foreign to his country and his people. His letters established his fame abroad, while his learning and ability in the college had already marked him out for promotion; and on the appeal of the bishop of Killala for a coadjutor, Professor MacHale was selected to assist him.

In the wider field he now entered he came still more prominently forward as a resolute and dauntless champion of the people's rights. Dr. Doyle and Archbishop Murray had already joined the Catholic Association, and this step exercised a great influence on the movement through all Ireland. The association progressed with wonderful rapidity. It had branches in every parish. A Catholic rent

of £50,000 a year was raised for the objects of the association. Of this sum, £5000 was annually set apart for the education of Catholic priests for Irish emigrants in America, as if with a prophetic instinct of what was to follow. A similar sum was devoted to the education of the Catholic poor. Fifteen thousand pounds were allotted to the press organ of the association, and a like sum to cover law proceedings. Five thousand pounds covered the parliamentary expenses, there being a London agency for the presentation of petitions and so forth, and another five thousand were expended on the erection of chapels and parochial houses in poor localities.

The association soon covered Ireland, and its funds were poured into it freely. The government suddenly found itself confronted with a popular power and popular leaders whom it could not disregard. Instead of granting the reasonable demands of the people, it undertook, as in our own days, to suppress the association, condemning it as unlawful. But O'Connell's ingenuity in driving his famous coach and four through any act of parliament saved it, and the government found itself defeated.

By aid of this great engine the movement for Catholic emancipation was pressed on with irresistible force against all the power of the British government and people. The Catholic bishops of Ireland petitioned the government to inquire into the whole question of Irish education. A royal commission was appointed for that purpose, June 14th, 1824, and one of the principal witnesses cited to report on the royal College of Maynooth was the newly appointed coadjutor bishop of Killala. The testimony regarding his early studies is most interesting as descriptive of the man :

"The commissioners understand that you at one time filled one of the professors' chairs of Maynooth ?

" ' I did.'

" ' You did so until a very late period ?'

" ' Until June or July, 1825.'

" ' You held it about five years ?'

" ' I held the situation of professor for five years. I was first lecturer or assistant to Dr. Delahogue for six years, and then I became professor on his resignation; altogether I delivered lectures for eleven years.'

" ' Were you, at all, connected with the college previously to that ?'

" ' I had been a student there, seven years before.'

" ' From what diocese was you recommended ?'

" ' From the diocese of Killala.'

" ' At what place of education had you been previously to being admitted into Maynooth ?'

" ' At Castlebar.'

" ' How long were you there ?'

" ' I should think nearly two years.'

" ' Into what class did you enter at Maynooth ?'

" ' In the second class of humanity.'

" ' Had you, in the short space of two years, been able to acquire so much acquaint-

ance with the Greek and Latin languages as to enable you to be placed in the second class of humanity?’

“ ‘Yes; I do not think the time was much longer than two years; I was reading classics in a country school for six months before I went to Castlebar.’

“ ‘Has any part of your study been in foreign countries?’

“ ‘No; I have never been on the Continent.’ ”

Such was the kind of man that the government had refused education to for centuries. He was simply a type and example of the swiftness with which his countrymen seize upon their opportunities and turn them to the best advantage. What was thought of “Hierophilos” best appears from a portion of the same examination :

“ ‘Had not the letters of “Hierophilos” been in the course of appearing for two or three years in the newspapers, prior to the appearance of the letter to Mr. Canning (Foreign Secretary from 1823, Prime Minister, in 1827)?’

“ ‘They were in the course of appearing from the year 1820.’

“ ‘Then through the course of four years at least the letters of “Hierophilos” had been before the public?’

“ ‘Yes.’

“ ‘At the time you published the letter to Mr. Canning, are we to understand that you had been actually recommended for the appointment of bishop?’

“ ‘I had been recommended, I dare say, two years before. I had been recommended to Rome three or four years before my appointment. When I was understood to be the author of “Hierophilos,” I would not have been recommended if there was anything in these letters that was thought of an improper tendency.’ ”

O’Connell feeling himself strong enough at last issued his famous address to the Clare electors, June 24th, 1828, and startled the world by daring to aspire to a seat in the Parliament that undertook to transact the affairs of his country. The result is known. Peel in his four hours’ speech introducing the Catholic Relief Bill in the House of Commons (March 5th, 1829), said :

“ Sir, I have for years attempted to maintain the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from Parliament and the high offices of state. I do not think it was an unnatural or unreasonable struggle. I resign it, in consequence of the conviction that it can be no longer advantageously maintained. . . . I yield, therefore, to a moral necessity, which I cannot control, unwilling to push resistance to a point which might endanger the (Church) establishment which I wish to defend.”

And here it is not foreign to the subject, while it is profoundly instructive in view of the present condition of Ireland, to quote the opinions of the Duke of Wellington on introducing the same bill into the House of Lords. He had more bitterly opposed it than Peel even, but like him had to yield to necessity or put before the house as an alternative civil war, to avoid which he avowed himself willing to sacrifice his life. There is nothing in his opinion “which destroys property and demoralizes character to the degree that civil war does.” And as for the people on whom, as to-day, the

English press and certain sections of the English public urged the government to wage this cruel war, the Duke of Wellington thus testifies in words too little known and considered :

"It is already well known to your lordships, that of the troops which our gracious sovereign did me the honor to intrust to my command at various periods, . . . at least one-half were Roman Catholics. My lords, when I call your recollection to this fact, I am sure all further eulogy is unnecessary. . . . We must also confess that without Catholic blood and Catholic favor no victory could ever have been obtained."

He goes on to say that if on the eve of any of "those hard-fought days" he had addressed his Roman Catholic troops in the spirit of the government, thus :

"You well know that your country either so suspects your loyalty, or so dislikes your religion, that she has not thought proper to admit you amongst the ranks of her citizens; if on that account you deem it an act of injustice on her part to require you to shed your blood in her defence, you are at liberty to withdraw. I am quite sure, my lords, that however bitter the recollections which it awakened, they would have spurned the alternative with indignation; for the hour of danger and glory is the hour in which the gallant, the generous-hearted Irishman best knows his duty, and is most determined to perform it."

But he adds, had they chosen to desert, no efforts could have crowned the English arms with victory. He said: "It is mainly to the Irish Catholic that we all owe our proud pre-eminence in our military career," and confessed that whenever, as he almost daily did, he met with any of those brave men and saw them "branded with the imputation of divided allegiance, still degraded beneath the lowest menial, and still proclaimed unfit to enter within the pale of the Constitution," he felt almost ashamed of the honors which had been lavished upon him.

The Catholic Relief Bill was passed, and the first great rent made in the iron chain of the Penal Laws. Bishop MacHale's influence in aiding the movement had been very considerable, and O'Connell's letters to him testify the esteem in which he held him as a friend and co-laborer in the national cause. That friendship was never broken till death parted them, and the prelate's advice was constantly sought by O'Connell in all the movements he subsequently entered on.

While at Maynooth MacHale had published his work on *The Evidences and Doctrines of the Church*, which ran into several editions, and was translated into French and German.

In 1831 he paid his first visit to Rome, whither his fame had preceded him. There he preached a course of sermons, which were taken up and translated into Italian by the Abbot de Lucca, Apostolic Nuncio at Vienna. While on his travels he wrote home a series of letters descriptive of the people and scenes through which he passed. These letters were much admired, and

showed that the bishop was something beside a controversialist and polemical writer. Scarcely had he returned than he donned his armor again. A state of famine was more or less chronic in his country, and the chief blame for that miserable condition of things he rightly laid at the door of the foreign government. While the peasants were starving, or on the verge of starvation, they were compelled to pay tithes for the support of a church alien to themselves and to their faith. How long it takes in history to remove such wicked abuses! Dr. MacHale laid the axe to the root of the matter by flatly refusing to pay tithes, thus setting a conspicuous example to the whole people. In one of his final letters to Lord John Russell on the subject he laid out the following plan of action :

"I shall freely declare my own resolve. I have leased a small farm, just sufficient to qualify me for the exercise of the franchise, in order to assist my countrymen in returning those, and those alone, who will be their friends, instead of being what the representatives usually are, their bitterest enemies. I must, therefore, confess that after paying the landlord his rent, neither to parson, nor to agent, nor to any other individual, shall I consent to pay, in the shape of tithe or any other tax, one penny which shall go to the support of the greatest nuisance in this or any other country."

The tithes were finally abandoned, but as usual as a matter of unavoidable necessity, not as an act of justice and good sense. The question of national education next came up, and here Dr. MacHale took a decided stand, and impressed his views and policy upon O'Connell.

Bishop MacHale's position, as also that of Dr. Doyle and O'Connell, was briefly this: that for the Catholics of Ireland, that is to say, for four-fifths of the nation, there should be a system of Catholic education; that this was owing to them in right and justice. The spirit of proselytism was abroad, and was encouraged by the English government. People who tried to buy souls for a basin of soup were not likely to neglect such an opportunity as the control of a nation's education would place in their hands. Consequently the bishop suspected, and with reason, any "mixed" scheme of national education. It must be remembered that Catholics in England and Ireland stand to-day in very different relations politically from those they occupied at a period when emancipation had only just been forced from the government. The Protestant minority was still the dominant power in the land. The government system was finally adopted, and resulted not so much in a mingling of Catholic and Protestant pupils as in a practically complete separation of the two classes. All things considered, it were better to be openly honest in both regards. Oddly enough the well-known phrase "godless education," which is on every lip to-day, originated in this dispute. It fell from the lips

of a Protestant, not of a Catholic, but was taken up and accepted by O'Connell as a happy condensation of the case. It fell from Sir Robert Inglis, member of Parliament for Oxford University, in denouncing the system of Queen's colleges as a "gigantic scheme of godless education." What Dr. MacHale, who had by this time succeeded to the see of Tuam on the death of Dr. Kelly in 1834, thought of the scheme may be gathered from the following letter to Sir Thomas Reddington, in declining an offer to appoint him visitor to the Queen's College :

"SIR : I am in receipt of your letter of the 3d instant, stating that you are directed by the lord lieutenant to inform me that the Queen has been pleased, by warrant under her majesty's sign manual, to appoint me to be a Visitor of the Queen's College, Galway. Having the strongest conviction that the aforesaid college in Galway, together with the other Queen's colleges in Ireland, is fraught with grievous and intrinsic dangers to the faith and morals of such of the Catholic youth as may resort to them,—a conviction in which I am fortified by the repeated solemn condemnation of those institutions by the successor of St. Peter, who has commanded the Catholic bishops of Ireland to take no part in forwarding them,—I could not without a betrayal of the sacred duty I owe to the flock confided to my care, as well as the guilt of disobedience to the head of the Church, accept the proffered office. Were I even free to accept it without a risk of disobedience, I feel that, far from diminishing, I should be augmenting, the inherent evils of those institutions by giving a sanction to professing Catholics to associate themselves with the enemies of our faith, and thus give them effectual aid in carrying out a system fatal to religion under the specious pretence of affording it protection. I beg, therefore, respectfully to decline the office of Visitor of the Queen's College, and have the honor to be your obedient servant,

"† JOHN, Archbishop of Tuam."

O'Connell welcomed emancipation as a stepping-stone to repeal of the union, which simply meant giving Ireland control over its own affairs, such as had previously been granted by the Crown, but with the changed condition that all the Irish people should have adequate representation in the Irish Parliament. Dr. MacHale was heart and soul with him in this, and remained so to his dying day. The history of the repeal agitation and its failure is known. O'Connell, broken in health and heart, staggered to the English Parliament to make a last appeal for his countrymen, then under the dread shadow of the famine, and went abroad to die. That famine (1845-47), like all the famines that afflict the Irish people, is directly traceable to a government whose system of laws invites such awful visitations, while it takes no adequate measures to prevent them, but when the worst comes to the worst relies on the charity of foreign peoples to come forward and save the lives of its starving subjects.

During those dread years the Archbishop stood at his post, as did all his brethren of the episcopacy and clergy. The action of the English government during the time of trial certainly did not tend to soften his opinion of its complete unfitness to deal with

Irish questions. Again, as in 1822, the Protestant missionary societies swarmed into the country with their soup and their Bibles, especially into the more afflicted districts, comprising the Archbishop's own ecclesiastical domain of the West. The missionary funds to "evangelize" the starving Irish overflowed. Enormous sums were raised to assist the dying people, provided they drank in Protestantism with their soup. A premium was set on starving apostasy. No gospel, no relief. And this was Christian charity and philanthropy! How the Archbishop of Tuam received and welcomed such assistance may be imagined. Thousands of conversions were reported, and the heart of England, that had not been saddened by the famine, was gladdened by the good tidings of the success of the soup-gospellers. Cheered by such news, Archbishop Whately, who was the principal compiler of the books of the Irish National School Board, boasted triumphantly to William Nassau, Senior, that it was the use of those books that prepared the Irish for the wholesale conversions reported. When examined into the whole miserable business turned out to be a fraud. The Irish people died rather than betray their conscience. Perhaps this helped more towards the disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland than anything else. "Have you made her Protestant?" asked John Bright, scornfully, in urging the Disestablishment Bill in 1869. "No! Where you were in the days of Elizabeth you are to-day. So far from making her Protestant, Ireland is the most ultramontane, as I believe, country on the face of the globe. Then cut it down! Why cumbereth it the ground?"

From the famine, the loss of O'Connell, and the abortive rising of the Young Irelanders, Ireland suffered so much that it sank into a sleep of lethargy resembling death. As a means of rousing the exhausted people Lord John Russell brought forward his wholly absurd Ecclesiastical Titles Act, and raised a new "No Popery" cry, which, as usual, was eagerly caught up by a large section of the English people, the professed friends of liberty, of civil and religious freedom, all over the globe. Catholic prelates in Great Britain and Ireland were forbidden by law to use their ecclesiastical titles or promulgate papal decrees, and all because Dr. Wiseman chose to assume the title of Archbishop of Westminster, where the seat of his diocese lay. At once a growl indeed was heard from the old lion of St. Jarlath's. As in the tithe case, so here, he openly defied the unjust law, and hastened to send out a letter denouncing it, signed with the old bold signature, "John of Tuam." A letter from Rome arrived just at this juncture requiring to be read by all the pastors in Ireland. Dr. MacHale mounted his pulpit. "I will not," he said, "place any of my priests in a position from which I might be supposed to have shrunk in my own

person. Therefore I will violate the Ecclesiastical Titles Act by reading in my cathedral a forbidden proclamation, and I hereby invite all whom it may concern to set the law in motion against me." The law thought it best not to interfere, and John of Tuam remained John of Tuam to the last.

The earlier scenes and struggles of the Archbishop's life have been dwelt on with some minuteness in order to show the actual condition from which he helped his country and people to emerge. As years grew upon him and a new and somewhat improved condition of things arose, the venerable man on whom the weight of time and the ceaseless toil of a long life were pressing firmly though gently, gradually withdrew from public politics and devoted himself chiefly to the affairs of his large diocese. Nevertheless, his counsel was always sought and was never found wanting by those who strove to bring about some measure of good to the country, nor did his pen wholly rust, though less active than before. He assisted at the Council of the Vatican, and was one of those who exercised the freedom of debate there afforded by giving his judgment against the opportuneness of the definition of Papal infallibility. But once the Holy Spirit had spoken through the council, he was one of the first to promulgate the decision among his flock. In June, 1875, occurred his jubilee, or fiftieth anniversary of his consecration, at which the whole Irish race may be said to have assisted. A marble statue of the people's prelate was unveiled in Tuam, and a beautifully illuminated address was presented by the Catholic members of Parliament. The address was delivered by Mr. A. M. Sullivan in a speech of great eloquence. As the orator truly said: "There is no public man at present living who can so fearlessly look into the past, and so confidently seek there his triumphant vindication, as this illustrious man beside whose statue I now stand. As the eagle may gaze on the sun, so may the eye of John of Tuam gaze into all the past of his life, and be there undimmed by a trace of inconsistency,—a public act that he could regret or wish amended."

It was in this same year that the centennial of O'Connell was celebrated in Dublin, and indeed wherever the Irish race was spread. At the Dublin celebration the most honored and venerable figure was that of the great leader's steadfast friend and supporter, John of Tuam. As he passed through the streets of Dublin he was greeted with an ovation by the populace. Little children, as well as aged men, seemed to know by instinct the noble face and figure of the man whom the hero long since passed away had named "the lion of the fold." A similar ovation greeted him when he rose to make a speech at the banquet, and the sounds and the sentiment of the speech breathed the old free air of the Connemara

hills as side by side with the Liberator he proclaimed from their summits or from under their shadow the great doctrine of Repeal. The whole company rose with him as he responded to "the memory of O'Connell." He hailed the event of the celebration as "one of the most significant and cheering presages of the nation's approaching autonomy, exercising the right of self-government, which no people ever lost to any extent, without being, in a corresponding degree, treated as slaves." This was the keynote to the whole speech, the speech of a prelate-statesman. Speaking of O'Connell's example and influence, and looking to the changed condition of things, he said: "If the energy of one man succeeded in lifting the inert mass of a nation out of a state of torpor, and infusing into it the life of freedom, now felt by thousands of its children, who can calculate the magnificent results to the people's prosperity when those thousands of freemen are placed at the starting-point in the new race, now to be run, to reach the goal of the complete autonomy of Ireland?" The liberty sought by O'Connell he claimed to be that large liberty of the Catholic heart which, having broken the chains that bound the Catholic, "could not view with a tranquil indifference the Protestant or Dissenter, of whatever kind, whose tenets were not subversive of social order, excluded from the protection and honors of the state."

That was the last great public appearance of John of Tuam. He retired to his native hills and spent his declining days in patriarchal simplicity among the flock that fairly worshipped him. His heart was saddened by another dread famine, that of 1879. As a mark of the confidence and esteem in which he was held large sums of money collected in this country were sent directly to him for the relief of his people, without passing through the hands of any committee or caretakers. "He was to my mind, the very picture of one of the patriarchs of old," said a distinguished American priest to the writer, "or like one of the Christian bishops of the early centuries, living and laboring from night to day wholly among his people." There he was at home, all gentleness and kindness. His visitations of his diocese were gala days for the people. They would flock out in crowds to welcome him wherever he went, and his presence among them was like the sunshine. There habitually accompanied him what might be called a body-guard of beggars, who lived on his bounty, and knew no other father than he. During his long life he built or rebuilt over a hundred churches in his diocese, and the hand of John of Tuam will be long remembered with honor in the West as that that upheld the faith and its freedom through an episcopate of more than half a century.

It has only been possible here to give the barest outlines of so large a life, which has written its own story in such firm and lumi-

nous characters on the scroll of time. He will always be held up as the model of a patriot priest. And how much more nobly does such a life stand out in the world's history than those of so many men, the accomplishment of whose often petty and generally selfish ambitions, has earned for them the title of Great. By the measure of true manhood John MacHale was very great; great in his dauntless courage, great in his singleness of purpose, great in his faith, great in his patriotism, great in his piety and learning. There was not a grain of smallness in all the man's being, nor a small act in all his long life. He was a whole-souled man in everything he undertook. With the same earnestness and profound conviction that he bent before the altar of God, he rose up and turned to face an empire and its statesmen and rebuke them for their oppression and wrongdoing. He had the large and all-embracing heart of a mother for his people; and it was this delicate union of womanly tenderness with manly strength that made up the sweet, simple, perfect character of John MacHale. It is hard to think that the noble figure has at last sunk below the horizon that it so long illumined, standing out with such sharp distinctness from the hurried and blurred surface of our days with its resolute head touched tenderly by the hand of Time, its firm yet tender mouth, its deep-set eyes looking luminously out of a wholly honest soul, the feet planted away in another century, but the face looking ever hopefully forward to the dawn of the brighter century to come. He died November 7th, 1881.

PROTESTANT ISMS AND CATHOLICITY IN THE
UNITED STATES.

Dictionary of Religious Denominations. By Dr. Roswell Hitchcock.

Progress of Christianity in the United States. By Dr. Philip Schaff.

Princeton Review, 1879.

Catholic World. New York, 1871.

Sadlier's Almanac and Directory, 1881.

ANY one reading attentively the works of the well-known Lord Macaulay, cannot fail to observe that if, of all the British essayists treating of kindred subjects, he is thought by non-Catholics to be one of the most impartial critics of Catholicity, he is in reality one of the worst, because most covert, perpetrators of the modern English contempt of Catholics; and still he is a writer who is his own best refutation by the numerous testimonies he gives to the venerable Church of the ages. No man can so well answer Macaulay as Macaulay. When he has made a thrust at you with his keen polemical sword, ere the blow has fairly fallen you find his sword-handle in your grasp, to return him a Roland for his Oliver. Such is the fortunate propensity of so many able non-Catholic writers to witness against the sects and for the Church, that Dr. F. W. Marshall's *Christian Missions* is considered simply unanswerable from the fact that of the eleven hundred volumes cited in its composition nine hundred and forty-seven are written by non-Catholics. In a humorous light it is Shakespeare's episode of Prince Henry and Poins, who, it will be remembered, put up poor Jack Falstaff to rob the moneyed travellers, and who, having retaken the booty, were compelled to restore it to the royal treasury. In these pages non-Catholics—even bishops, doctors, and ministers—shall testify to the downfall or emasculation of their own and their fellow-Protestants' isms.

"A house divided against itself shall fall," is not only Scripture, but also experience of every day.

Protestantism is that divided house, and its severed members testify against it now to show its more and more nearly approaching dissolution, as its first builders imitated the upraisers of Babel and were confounded in their tongues and separated in their tribes, forever. Of the first three Protestant isms, Lutheranism can claim no solidarity with Calvinism; their first principles are as divergent

as the north and the east. Neither can Calvinism any more claim common life with Anglicanism, than Anglicanism can with Catholicity. All sects—that is, cut off from different parts of the tree which was to overshadow the nations; sections clipped off the rock of Peter, they fell of their own dead weight, and they never will coalesce among themselves any more than they will reunite with their first source of life, unless they revivify by shaking off their independent death and putting on the common life of unity with the parent trunk, or the Rock of Ages.

These three divisions were subdivided in the lifetime of their founders or shortly after their death: Lutherans into seven or eight sects, Calvinists into five or six, Anglicans into fully as many before the end of the reign of Elizabeth, who was really the foundress and establisher of the ism in its separate form as both schism and heresy. Thus we have at least eighteen or twenty denominations or religious fractions within fifty years of their primitive foundation. These have produced upwards of three hundred offshoots in as many years. We seem, however, to be wasting time showing the defenders of the Reformation that their hundreds of sects are destructive of the ground principle of Christianity, viz., unity of doctrine, one code of morals. We have advanced so far that many not only seem to think but do think that the multiplicity of opposing sections of "believers" is a positive advantage.

The United States is truly the paradise of propagation of indefinite numbers and shades of denominations. There are nearly as many in the Union as can be enumerated in all the world besides,—not less than fifty or sixty.¹

The latest apologist of denominationalism in the United States is Dr. Philip Schaff, in the *Princeton Review* of September, 1879. He dares to proclaim that "American denominationalism is the necessary outcome of the Church history of Europe,"—which might be honored with a conditional *transeat* if it were not blasphemously added: "It is overruled by providence for the more rapid spread of Christianity!" But with all its advantages, Dr. Schaff cannot but covertly envy the sublime unity of the Catholic Church, for he continues: "The Roman Church, with all its outward uniformity, has as much carnal animosity among its monastic orders as there ever existed between Protestant sects." Say you so, Dr. Philip Schaff? This sounds as if it might have been

¹ The existing sects that have made themselves any name are more properly divided into 40 greater and about 100 smaller. Buck's *Theological Dictionary* gives 116; Hitchcock's *Religious Denominations* some 120, many of which are found to have collapsed.

penned by some of the editors of the Jewish reptile press in Prussia,—and we are tempted to exclaim with the poet, “Jew, I thank thee for that word!” A three-hundred-sided Christianity must necessarily have as many faces as it has sides, and each side is bound to be obliquely if not diametrically opposed to every other. “As there *ever* existed between Protestant sects” is incredible in a doctor of theology and laws. What has become of the quarrels of, for example, Luther with Carlstadt and Hesshusius, both of whom he maltreated and banished; Calvin’s burning of Servetus, indorsed by the gentle Melancthon;¹ Henry VIIIth’s butcheries of Catholics for denying the supremacy and of Protestants for heresy! No one need fear the stirring up of bigotry by these and other examples. The cause of the first Reformers on the score of bloody persecutions has been given up by all earnest and honest non-Catholic writers. The corypheuses hunted down one another pitilessly. But where do we find recorded that the Augustinians, from whose ranks Luther seceded, ever banished or burnt the Dominicans, whom they envied the preaching of the indulgences? Who has handed down that the strong and subtle Jesuits—some 13,000 or 14,000 in number when suppressed—ever ripped up members of the other “monastic orders” to obtain the front ranks they acquired in fighting and conquering the rising isms? But one would scarcely need to go back beyond colonial times in the United States to find abundant examples of how the “brethren dwelt together in unity” and exercised no “carnal animosity” against one another. In Boston alone, in 1635, Roger Williams, founder of the Baptists, Rev. John Wheelwright, Ann Hutchinson (afterwards murdered on Long Island), and Aspinwall, were banished for heresy; in 1650 Sharp was lashed for having embraced the new sect of the Baptists, and in 1659 three persons were hanged as Quakers,—not to speak of the long and bloody wars waged against both Baptists and Quakers as “denominational”

¹ Calvin, Ep., 187. The Genevan is not generally credited with the imprisonment, banishment and death of also Valentine Gentilis, Jerome Bolsec, Favre, Perrin, Judge Peter Ameaux, Henri de la Marc, and lastly poor Jacques Gruet, who was beheaded and had his head nailed to a post for accusing Calvin of persecution and for proofs of impiety found in his writings. In Nuremburg, 1577–1617, 350 were executed for sorcery and heresy; 345 getting off with simple mutilation. Many of these were non-Catholic.

² Marcus Willson’s Outlines, p. 338. Dr. Heylon (Baker’s Chronicles) credits Henry VIII. in 38 years—to 1547—with the execution of 2 queens, 1 cardinal, 2 arch-bishops, 18 bishops, 13 abbots, 500 monks, 64 noblemen, 124 citizens, and 110 females. S. H. Burke, Men and Women of the Reformation, New York, 1872, makes his victims reach the enormous number of 80,000! of whom a large proportion were Protestants.

dissenters, as Bancroft relates after contemporary colonial historians. All which—and much more that might be adduced—proves that the older divisions into separate sects were not exactly a parting in peace like that of Paul and Barnabas (Acts xv.), but were accompanied by mutual bloody persecutions and vituperations, the latter not yet having died out on the lips of the doctor of theology of Union Theological Seminary, as witness his giving place in statistics by name to only twenty-three or twenty-four sects out of over fifty, and his insulting references to many minor sects, which have precisely the same reason of being and right of rebellion as the larger ones had, viz., the reason and right of private interpretation.

Dr. Roswell Hitchcock's *Dictionary of Religious Denominations*¹ (article "Protestants") lumps the Protestants in the United States at 25,000,000, but his own figures, in detail, foot up but little above 8,000,000.

Dr. Philip Schaff's series of three tables, respectively: 1, of 1870; 2, comparative, of 1776 (or 1780–90) and 1876; 3, of 1878 inclusive, besides being self-contradictory, differ *toto cælo*, even *cæteris paribus*, from the figures of Dr. Hitchcock's book, though the same Dr. Schaff has a long and eulogizing recommendation of Hitchcock's work inserted among the nearly five hundred approbations appended to the *Complete Analysis*.

Here are specimens of Dr. Schaff's tables: 2, of 1876; and, 3, of 1878, both taken, in his own words, "from official records and . . . leading men of different churches:"

STATISTICS OF 1876.			STATISTICS OF 1878.		
	Ministers	Churches		Ministers	Cong's.
Baptists,	13,779	22,924	All Baptists,	20,292	13,230
Methodists,	20,458	10,000	All Methodists,	23,568	32,000
Presbyterians, Gen. Assembly,	4,744	5,077	Presbyterians, Gen. Assembly,	6,012	7,147

Who is so simple as to believe that the Baptists gained 6513 ministers in two years, and that with only nine theological seminaries among the regular Baptists, and no talk yet of the easily multiplied "local preachers?" Still more incredible that they should have erected nearly 8000 churches, or organized 4000

¹ Published in 1875, in *Complete Analysis of the Bible*, with the public and detailed indorsements (*in fine*) of upwards of 300 Protestant ministers, bishops, doctors, and professors of every denomination, of any numbers, and eulogized by 175 secular and religious editors of papers, this *elenchus* must be considered as of undoubted authority by all the leading denominations of non-Catholics to date of publication.

congregations, *each year* for two years in succession, even if it be granted that the congregations exceed the churches.

But here is a harder nut to crack for a statistician. The Methodists had, in 1876, 8000 *more* churches than they had congregations in 1878, or they must have lost 4000 churches or congregations *per year* for two years in succession! Whither? And we are not yet at the bottom, for it appears from the writer's note at the foot of third table that, by the authority of the *Methodist Almanac*, 1879, the number of congregations "differs somewhat,"—some nearly 4000—from the figures in Dr. Schaff's columns. The table credits the Methodist Episcopal Church *North* with round 20,000 congregations, while the *Almanac* puts those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, without distinction,—South, East, and West, then, as well as *North*,—at 16,099. So about 12,000 congregations have vanished in two years! The compass will need to be boxed better to suit business Americans. .

But we hasten to apologize. What has been lost in churches and congregations can readily be more than counterbalanced by an effective "local" Methodist clergy; for, pursues the same note, undisturbed by slight differences, "there are counted besides (ministers given above) 12,749 local preachers." In fact, if you want to go into exact details and count the whole force, "all the Methodist organizations together number 30 bishops and 26,642 local preachers, in addition to the regular ordained clergymen;" in fine, 18 bishops and nearly 3000 preachers more than the whole number given in the "official records" and by "leading men of different churches." Who goes bail for the paradox, that there is a "minister" *or* "local preacher" to every 68 Methodist "communicants," or a "minister" *and* a "local preacher" to every 136 "communicants?" And in this whole matter of "local preachers," as easily manufactured as a yard of jeans, we would recommend to Dr. Philip Schaff words, which we would be stoned to death for as blasphemers, from Dr. Walton's preface to his *Polyglot* (London, 1657): . . . "All are doctors; all are divinely learned; there is not so much as the meanest fanatic, or jack-pudding, who does not give his own dreams for the word of God. . . . These have filled our cities, villages, camps, houses, nay, *our churches and pulpits*, too, and lead the poor deluded people with them to——." We spare this last, because we honestly believe that the old English doctor's conclusion is rather too sweeping for our country.

We come to compare the membership of the non-Catholic denominations by communicants and nominal members, meaning by the latter term those who can in any sense be claimed or are claimed as belonging to a particular sect. For contrast we will

also adduce, as examples, a few figures from Dr. Roswell Hitchcock's enumeration :

Ecclesiastical Statistics of 1878. (Dr. Schaff in Princeton Review, September, 1879.)			Dictionary of Religious Denominations. (Dr. Hitchcock's Complete Analysis, 1875.)	
DENOMINATION.	Commun. Members.	Nom. Members.	Members in United States.	Members in the World.
Baptists,	2,656,221		1,094,806	c 2,500,000
Episcopalians,	314,367	1,250,000	1,100,000	
Quakers,	70,000	100,000		
Lutherans,	808,428	2,000,000	332,155	
Methodists,	3,428,050	14,000,000	2,240,000	c 3,000,000
Moravians,	9,407	16,236		
Presbyterians,	897,598		c 445,378	c 57,846
Ref. Episcopalians, . .	7,000	16,500		
Ref. Dutch,	79,000	251,000		
Ref. Germans,	124,596	151,651		
Swedenborgians, . . .	5,000	15,000		
Universalists,	37,965	42,500		

Numbers marked *c* denote communicants.

1. If the blanks in the table of the *Princeton Review* were filled up according to the proportion between the communicant and nominal membership of the more numerous sects, the whole number of members of the *twenty-three* or *twenty-four* denominations named in this full list of Protestants would exceed 34,000,000! Take only half this number for the, certainly, twenty odd sects, *not named* here, and we would have within 10,000,000 of the number, which Doctor and Bishop Hopkins,¹ of Vermont, gave, twenty-five years ago, as the aggregate of Protestants in the whole world, viz., 61,000,000, or 51,000,000 Protestants in the Union. If this be *reductio ad absurdum*, whose is the absurdity? The blanks of the nominal, supplied from the communicant column, would raise the nominal members to over 21,000,000 for little better than half the "denominations" in the country, the communicants alone footing up nearly 9,000,000.

2. To show how arbitrary must be the relation as given between communicants and nominal members, the proportion of the former to the latter is among the Episcopalians as 1 to $4\frac{1}{3}$; Quakers, as 1 to $1\frac{3}{10}$; Lutherans, as 1 to $2\frac{1}{2}$; Methodists, as 1 to $4\frac{1}{2}$; Reformed Episcopalians, as 1 to $2\frac{1}{3}$; Reformed Germans, as 1 to $1\frac{1}{8}$; Swedenborgians, as 1 to 3; Universalists, as 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$. Average proportion, as 1 to about $2\frac{1}{2}$.

The 9,000,000 communicants would thus average 22,500,000 nominal members for only the majority of the sects. We are evidently getting into the "long" of American Protestantisms; but the "short" will not delay its appearance.

3. The nominal membership of "all the Baptists" in the *Review*

¹ End of Controversy Controverted, Letter 22.

table of 1878, multiplied according to the proportion given for the more numerous sects, would produce 10,624,884 nominal Baptists in the United States. According to Hitchcock's *Dictionary*, published in 1875, the Baptists numbered in all "1,094,806 members" in these States, which, subtracted from Dr. Schaff's figures in 1878, would show an increase in a few years, and a difference of the insignificant sum of 9,530,078.

By the same inverse ratio and double back-action integral calculus, Dr. Schaff contrives to figure out 428,050 more Methodist communicants in the United States in 1878 than Dr. Hitchcock's best efforts, assisted doubtless by the same Dr. Schaff and the near five hundred indorsers of the *Complete Analysis*, could scrape together in the whole world in 1875,¹ and we are not oblivious of the fact stated in the *Review* that the "Baptists and Methodists, who are scarcely known in some countries of the Continent, and barely tolerated in others, are numerically the largest in the United States."²

By further comparison we find the Presbyterians credited with an increase of 450,000 communicants, or 1,800,000 nominal members, and the Lutherans with an accretion of 476,273, or 1,900,000, respectively, in four or five years.

And if the figures of Hitchcock represent total membership, as they do on their face, their glaring and monstrous disproportion with similar figures of Schaff can only be characterized as a thumping statistical lie.

As some extenuation for the honor of our common humanity, we will not fail to observe that the statistics or estimates of Dr. Hitchcock are not always of 1875, or even 1870, but sometimes reach back as far as 1869 and 1867, and in odd cases 1864, though the book printed in 1875 is supposed to represent the census nearest that date.

It will interest to contrast with both Dr. Hitchcock and Dr. Schaff these statistics of 1868, "taken entirely from Protestant sources, and chiefly from official documents published by the respective denominations,"³ with the average annual increase.

¹ We, however, have taken Dr. Hitchcock's first number as somewhat nearer the truth.

² Princeton Review, September, 1879, p. 230.

³ Catholic World, May, 1871, where are given exact details of fifty-one sects.

	Church Members in 1867.	Average Annual In- crease in 25 years.
1. Lutherans,	332,155	7,182
2. German Reformed,	110,408	3,431
3. United Brethren,	97,983	1,319
4. Moravians,	6,655	26
5. Dutch Reformed,	57,846	1,261
6. Mennonites,	39,110	380
7. Reformed Mennonites,	11,000	200
8. Evangelical Association,	58,002	1,791
9. Christian Connection,	500,000	7,954
10. Church of God,	32,000	960
11. Old School Presbyterians,	246,350	8,958
12. New School Presbyterians,	161,538	2,167
13. Reformed Presbyterians (General Synod),	8,324	153
14. Synod of Reformed Presbyterians,	6,000	
15. Associate and United Presbyterians,	63,489	1,000
16. Associate Reformed Presbyterians,	3,909	80
17. Free Presbyterians,	1,000	
18. Cumberland Presbyterians,	100,000	1,819
19. Baptists,	1,094,806	13,796
20. Free Will Baptists,	59,111	204
21. Seventh-Day Baptists,	7,038	41
22. Dunkers,	20,000	500
23. German Seventh Day Baptists,	1,800	30
24. Free Communion Baptists,	104	
25. Anti-Mission Baptists,	105,000	6,143
26. Six-Principle Baptists,	3,000	
27. River Brethren,	7,000	80
28. Disciples (Campbellites),	300,000	4,762
29. Congregationalists,	278,362	4,734
30. Unitarians,	30,000	300
31. Universalists,	80,000	1,000
32. Protestant Episcopal,	194,692	6,536
33. Methodist Episcopal,	1,146,081	30,377
34. Methodist Protestant,	50,000	
35. Methodist Church,	50,000	2,000
36. Free Wesleyan,	25,000	200
37. African Methodist,	200,000	7,500
38. Zion African Methodist,	60,000	2,008
39. Methodist Episcopal (South),	585,040	4,087
40. Free Methodist,	4,889	617
41. West Primitive Methodists,	2,000	40
42. Independent Methodists,	800	
43. Friends, or Quakers,	100,000	1,000
44. Hicksites,	40,000	400
45. Shakers,	4,713	60
46. Adventists,	30,000	1,500
47. Swedenborgians,	5,000	186
48. Spiritualism,	165,000	8,000
49. Mormon Church,	60,000	2,000
50. Christian Perfectionists,	255	10
51. Catholic Apostolic Church,	250	10
Total,	6,396,110	134,802

At which officially stated rate of increase of fifty-one denomina-
tions in these States, there might have been, all counted, in 1878,
7,744,130, and by A. D. 1900 the whole number of professing Prot-
estants in this progressive country may possibly reach 10,844,576,
or, if the population increase at its usual ratio, some 50,000,000
less than all the prospective inhabitants of the republic. So far
from being, or being likely to become, a Protestant nation is our

magnificent fatherland, that neither now is there, nor in the near future is there an even probable prospect of there being more than about a sixth of its citizens attached to any or all of the Protestant denominations.

Come we now in passing to sift Dr. Philip Schaff's "figures," supposed to represent the "facts" regarding the Catholic Church in the United States in 1878 inclusive. Three out of the six columns are inaccurate and misleading, misrepresenting even Sadlier's *Directory* of 1879. Instead of 52 bishops in 1878, as Schaff puts it, there were 63, 11 of whom are archbishops, of which archbishops one is a cardinal. Though the footnote remarks in *nonpareil* type, "the membership includes the whole Roman Catholic population," the same number is inscribed in both columns of "communicants" and "nominal membership." A comparison of Schaff and Sadlier with what may be called an authoritative pamphlet, viz., *The Catholic Church in the United States: its Rise, Relations with the Republic, Growth, and Future Prospects*,¹ will illustrate both Dr. Schaff's bungling misconceptions and Sadlier's inaccuracies.²

ROMAN CATHOLIC STATISTICS IN THE UNITED STATES FOR 1878.

	"Princeton Review."	"Sadlier's Directory."	"The Cath. Ch. in the United States."
Archbishops,	12	12	11
Bishops,	40	52	57
Ministers,	5,750	5,750	5,650
Congregations,	5,589	5,589	7,520 ³
Nominal Membership,	6,375,630	6,375,630	7,000,000
Communicant Membership,	6,375,630	Not given.	Not given.
Colleges,	78	78	77
Theological Seminaries,	23	23	33 ⁴

¹ By Very Rev. J. T. Hecker, editor of the Catholic World. Catholic Publication Society Company, 1879.

² Sadlier's Directory, Almanac, and Ordo, though the only publication of its kind in these States, is only official in as far as some reports it gives are sometimes indorsed by the authority of particular bishops of the dioceses over which they preside. As a whole it is not official, nor indorsed by any ostensible ecclesiastical authorization. A close observer will have remarked that its "Summary" is not accurately representative of even its own detailed data. "Recapitulations" are not unfrequently at war with items they are supposed to gather into one, and the same "Reports" are often continued from year to year without change.

³ This includes 1800 chapels and stations, which are counted in the sense intimated by Dr. Schaff in note 6 to 3, Ecclesiastical Census, 1878. If this inclusion be considered unfair, we would like to know by what right the log-huts and box-houses, erected by the people and at public expense, to be used as public or district common schoolhouses, are Sunday after Sunday occupied as country "meeting-houses," and doubtless counted as among the denominational houses of worship. They certainly are almost invariably so used in Kentucky, and we have good reason to believe in the neighboring and Western States.

⁴ These as "Ecclesiastical Institutions," doubtless, include religious houses of study.

In the little measure of justice that is done Catholics in these and similar tables dispersed throughout Dr. Schaff's long article, we ought to be grateful for the notification of some "facts" brought out by the figures of this table (3), to wit: 1. Catholics are credited with over twice and a half as many colleges as the "denomination" having the highest number among the sects, three times as many as the next highest, and quite as many as all the remaining sects put together.

2. The Catholic Church is shown as maintaining more theological seminaries than ten other "denominations," twice and a half as many as the regular Baptists, seven more than the Episcopalians, eight more than the Lutherans, within one of twice as many as "all the Methodists;" and if we were credited with our real number, twice as many as any single sect in the fifty odd denominations.

It is time to say a word about the diversity of computation of their own numbers, especially among prominent Catholics.

1. No reasonable man is going to make Catholics responsible for the reckless assertions, even accompanied by figures, of "national" and secret-society demagogues pretending to be Catholics. One, for example, has given data, place, and details, by which he wished, nine or ten years ago, to prove there were then over twelve millions of Catholics in the United States. Another—not, however, to be classed among scandalous nominal Catholics—by giving an average of 2500 people to each priest made the Catholics, in 1871, exceed 10,000,000.

2. The immense waves of immigration, sweeping millions on our shores in less than a score of years, have necessarily staggered even sober minds in making estimates. But, right here, let us say that, though it be conceded that the majority of our people are of Irish descent, there are not over 2,000,000 of our vast number who are actually of Irish birth.¹

A great many more are of Celtic origin, and perhaps only the respectable minority of Anglo-Saxon lineage; but the Anglo-Saxon element does not exceed a fifth, or at most a fourth, of the whole population, much as we are vaunted by Dr. Schaff and toadyists as "the daughter of Great Britain," and "one of the two great branches of the Anglo-Saxon race."

The great God made us a nation; we owe little to Great Britain. And if men had anything to do with our race we Americans have made ourselves by electrifying into a homogeneous mass elements from every strong race. "But God made us, not we ourselves."

¹ Take any State: In Georgia, 5000 of Irish birth to 26,000 Catholics; in Indiana, 29,000 to 150,000; in Illinois, 120,000 to 400,000; in Louisiana, 17,000 to 200,000. Even in New York State, where there are 530,000 Irish by nativity, there are 1,125,000 Catholics. In Pennsylvania, finally, 285,000 to 560,000.

3. The great majority of well-informed, leading Catholics, and public writers of any particular note, have settled on about the figures of the pamphlet above as an average estimate, viz., 7,000,000 Catholics. The very detailed census ordered by our Holy Father, Leo XIII., in the course of 1879, if strictly taken, will give official figures as to our undoubted strength in the United States.

Now laying aside individual criticisms, what is the intention and animus of the whole tribe of the trumpeters of Protestant "Progress of Christianity in the United States?" In view of the too successfully attended lectures of a shallow but fluent atheist in the course of the past two years, and the ever-increasing publication of downright infidel literature, it has become painfully apparent how many hundreds of thousands, nay, millions, of our population openly sympathize with naked unbelief, who would scarcely stop short of offering incense literally to the Goddess of Liberty we have set forth on our coins, and are about to inaugurate in the harbor of New York as the tutelary genius of our nation. God forefend! But it is evil omen enough that the gigantic Goddess is but the emblem of the pagan deity "Libertas," and the representative of the live strumpet whom the fathers of the present French donors actually enthroned on the altars of desecrated Notre Dame in Paris, and worshipped but ninety years ago.

Catholics are not surprised at the workings of a leaven kneaded into the body politic in the last forty years by the increase of Protestant churches, and the decrease of faith among American Protestants. What need to corroborate this testimony of a late (January, 1881) New York correspondent of the *London Post*: "Indifferentism exists among Americans to a far greater extent than is generally supposed. The men who have fallen into this mode of thought have generally been educated Protestants, but their Church has wholly lost its hold upon them, and they have drifted away into what is not exactly infidelity, but which practically comes very near it." Protestants have been the dupes of their purblind leaders, and through their honesty and earnestness of purpose have become simple enough to hug the delusion that things were going on not only well enough, but gloriously; in fact, that they were making rapid strides in converting the country, and establishing a great Protestant nation in this grand New World. The few shades outlined here and there in the imaginative picture they would paint, are only admitted to set off the *coulcur de rose* they would fain make us believe is the predominant feature of the grand reality portrayed. Here is about a common estimate: There are some 35,000,000 or 40,000,000 now of "more orthodox," respectable Protestants; two or three millions belonging to a "few petrified

sects, . . . having no right to exist except as antiquarian curiosity shops;" in fact, "a few obscure sects perpetuating their ignorance and stagnation, . . . dead to the surrounding world," which "cares no more for them than for antediluvian fossils."¹ And we have, say, 42,000,000 or 43,000,000 Protestants!

The Catholics may be possibly a fifth or sixth of this number, some over 6,000,000, though, of course, they count as little or nothing in the work of Christianity proper in the country. Throw in 7000 or 8000 Jews, count some 160,000 Indians (80,000 already converted as Protestants!), 135,000 Chinese, a million "miscellaneous," and we have about completed the 50,000,000 inhabitants of "America." "By which, of course, I mean here the United States," which, in fine, "with the other great branch of the Anglo-Saxon race, . . . is chiefly intrusted by providence with the propagation of Bible Christianity to the end of the earth," . . . especially "in the outlying semi-heathenish population."² Scarcely an indication of a hint that there are even a few thousands who—outside of the exceptions above—do not profess Christianity in one form or other. This is again the "long" of American Protestantism. What is the "short" of it and the truth? Fully one-half of this leading nation of the Western Hemisphere profess no religion whatever, though we hasten to add that these twenty odd millions of quasi-infidels are not actual unbelievers in the sense understood in Europe, and are often more amenable to Christian principles and have more human kindness than many professing certain "denominations."

The professing Protestants in the country we have proved to be about equal or little superior in number to the Catholic population, though many call themselves Protestants because they are not Catholics, and as many more—minors and irresponsible persons—are under distinctively Protestant influence by blood or marriage relationship with "professors of religion."

Outside testimony concords with domestic confessions. Professor Flint, of Edinburgh, only the other day, blaming the American Presbyterians for being "slow and unenergetic," for "caring little for converts," "being too lazy to heal their own divisions," concluded that "the spirit of liberty was a disintegrating influence in a religious sense," adding significantly "that *all* the Protestant bodies (of the United States) were suffering from this severely," and "the only Church that seemed to thrive was the Catholic." Bishop Littlejohn, preaching before the University of Cambridge, declared in a scholarly period that our republicanism was undermining the faith of the American branch of the Anglicans. Commenting on

¹ Dr. Schaff's charitable estimate of the smaller sects, pages 231, 232.

² Dr. Schaff's *Progress of Christianity in the United States*, pp. 231, 235.

which the New York *Times* roundly pronounced that "not only had the influence of the democratic idea hindered for many years the Anglican Church in this country, but the same influence is *steadily disintegrating* the Protestant sects." "The drift of the times," it concludes, "is towards religious anarchy."

Outward show still remains a whited sepulchre. In vain to point to the 70,000 congregations, 60,000 edifices, 20,000,000 sittings, \$300,000,000 worth of property. The more the churches the less the Christians. Protestantism is dividing its forces more here than elsewhere. Division is death. All these paraphernalia are but expensive preparations for a funeral. The ripples of the circle, caused by plunging the heavy stone of Protestantism into the, then, calm sea of the world, are ever widening, even weakening, until at last, and at no very distant time, they must fade out of sight on the ocean of humanity. Original Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Anglicanism are dead, while the London *Scientific Miscellany* (in London *Tablet*, February 7th, 1880) quotes Catholicity as over 254,000,000 strong. Neither the Thirty-nine Articles, nor the Confession of Augsburg, nor the Five Points of Calvinism, could each count a round million of followers, true to the letter, true to the spirit of the first reformers. The children of Luther, of Calvin, and of Elizabeth were born with the stain of their parents' original sin; doomed to split into a hundred sects and disintegrate even unto final dissolution.

Mr. W. H. Mallock joins James Anthony Froude in declaring that "the non-Catholic portion of Christendom has fought almost its last fight with Satan, and is about to surrender itself to his undisputed sway."¹ But what, they ask, "is the Catholic portion of Christendom" doing? "The Catholic Church is gaining ground in the more energetic races that had been the stronghold of Protestantism. Her numbers increase, her organization gathers vigor. Her clergy are bold, energetic, and aggressive. . . . She has taken into her service her old enemy (?) the press, and has established a literature. Her hierarchy in England and America ('the two great branches,' we may remark, 'of the Anglo-Saxon race') have already compelled the state to consult their opinions and respect their pleasure." Query, by the same authority: "Why is Protestantism standing still while Rome is advancing? Why does Rome count her converts from among the evangelicals by tens, while she loses to them, but here and there, an exceptional and unimportant unit?"² One needs no answer but the text of Scripture: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

"Travellers assure us," concludes for us the Ritualistic organ,

¹ Short Studies on Great Subjects, by James A. Froude.

² Revival of Romanism, by the same.

St. Luke, "that the only form of religion that is making any way in the United States, keeping at the same time within the bounds of decency and decorum, is the Catholic."

Catholic increase in the United States in the first half of the past century has been from $\frac{1}{10}$ th part of the population to $\frac{1}{6}$ th; in the second half from $\frac{1}{10}$ th to $\frac{1}{4}$ th. Since 1870 Protestantism has averaged yearly in the city of Rome 10 converts.

In the electric light irradiating from the simple eloquence of this contrast there needs no horoscope to predict that it will not require many more decades to run their course in this age of quick mutations before America, if she shakes off the skeptic torpor benumbing her vitality, shall have made her final choice between linking her eternal destinies with the crumbling ruins of the isms or taken her stand on the Rock of Peter and in the everlasting Church that is built thereon. There is no abiding ism between Jericho and Jerusalem. When Protestant isms shall have exhausted themselves, like their predecessors, the men-made counterfeits of the buried centuries, their false lights going out as an extinguished comet which has surprised and astounded nations, the unbiased American mind will direct its acumen to observe more narrowly the brilliancy of the colossal figure uprisen in the land, who, as she conquered of old the Greek, the Roman, and the barbarian, is even yet "bringing into activity every intellect to the obedience of Christ." II. Cor. x. 5.

GALILEO GALILEI AND THE COPERNICAN SYSTEM.

"E pure si muove; For all that the Earth does move."

WILL the question of Galileo and the Roman Inquisition never die out? Forty years ago it seemed utterly exhausted. The mass of myths which commenced to spring up, about a hundred years after his interment, and had grown feraciously around his name, was being uprooted. Polemical bitterness and the readiness of infidelity to throw discredit on Christianity had combined to force the growth. But the careful and more candid investigation of distinguished scholars, Catholics and Protestants, had succeeded in throwing a flood of light on the life and deeds of the Italian philosopher, and under the bright rays of truthful history, myths and falsehoods, having no roots in the truth, seemed rapidly dying out. To say nothing of Italian and French writers, Ranke and others in Germany, Hallam Brewster, the *Edinburgh Review*, and others in England, had studied with more or less impartiality and intelligence all the documents then accessible bearing on the subject, and had made it clear that the currently accepted ideas of cruel and long imprisonment, of tortures, and of narrow escape from death, were but shadowy phantoms of imaginations excited by *odium theologicum*, and had no solid foundation in fact.

But popular errors die hard. Notwithstanding all these researches and their manifest results, the old story held and holds its own in many minds with wonderful tenacity. Many still imagine to themselves a Galileo lying chained for one or for three, or for five years, in a dark, loathsome, underground dungeon until he loses his sight; or else stretched on a rack in cruel tortures, while scowling, hard-hearted inquisitors stand around and gloat over his sufferings; or else they see him attired only as the American revisors of the New Testament wished to clothe St. Peter,¹ and kneeling as he reads his abjuration; and then rising and stamping the floor with suppressed indignation and muttering to himself, *e pure si muove; for all that, the Earth does move*. John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States, rehearsed it with emphasis, in 1843, in his oration before the Cincinnati Astronomical Society, on the occasion of laying the corner-stone of their observatory. About twenty-five years afterwards, Jefferson Davis, ex-President of the Confederate States, introduced the phrase attributed to Galileo as

¹ "So when Simon Peter heard that it was the Lord, he girt his coat about him (for he was naked) and cast himself into the sea."—St. John xxi. 7.—*Revised Version*. Proposed emendation by American commentators, "*had on his under garment only*."

a striking illustration in an address delivered by him in Alabama. J. W. Draper refers to it again and again in his work on the *Conflict between Science and Religion*, published as the twelfth number of the International Scientific Series. Evidently the myth has still possession. It stalks through our ordinary field of literature as if privileged and not to be questioned, and presents itself whenever a point is to be made by Protestantism against the Church, or by infidelity against revealed religion.

Although the fact has passed almost unnoticed in England, and we believe entirely so in this country, there has been of late years a vast and a very important increase of *Galilean* literature on the Continent of Europe. The complete works of Galileo were published in Florence (1842-1856) in sixteen volumes, two of them containing all his known letters, and three others the letters of his friends and contemporaries to him. Biot, Arago, Bertrand, and a host of writers in France, Palmieri, Carruso, Wolinski, Pieralisi, and others in Italy, availed themselves of this treasure to investigate anew the events of Galileo's life and the scientific value of his achievements. In 1850, Monsignore Marini, custodian of the Vatican archives, published an essay, prepared for a Scientific academy, in which he gave an account of the original MS. record of the trial of Galileo, lately restored to the archives, and quoted long extracts from it bearing on the main points at issue in the trial. In 1867, *Henri de l'Epinois* published in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, of Paris, a detailed account, page by page, of the manuscript, giving in full the important documents. In 1876, *Berti* published the entire manuscript in Rome, and two years later M. de l'Epinois republished it in full in Paris, correcting sundry mistakes and errors made by Berti in deciphering the aged and cramped handwriting. The presentation of this important original document could not fail to stimulate other researches. The diplomatic correspondence of Florence, of Venice, and of Naples for those years was carefully searched, and with success. Elsewhere other documents were found throwing side-lights on the subject. So thorough has been the scrutiny, that we even have what appear to be the very blank slips placed one before each judge of the tribunal in Galileo's case, bearing the erasures, interlineations, and changes made by each individual as they were apparently discussing the matter, and consulting together as to the precise wording of the sentence to be pronounced. It is hard to see what more we can now look for or desire in the nature of original documents in this case.

All these documents have been examined and re-examined in every light by the scholars of Italy, France, and Germany. A good-sized book-case might be filled with the many volumes,

pamphlets, and articles which have appeared on the subject within the last thirty years, especially since 1867.

The material is superabundant. Henceforth there can be no difficulty in ascertaining precisely what did take place, and in seeing that the long-current charges of cruelty and torture are utterly groundless. It is equally evident that the charge against the Church of opposition to the advancement of science is likewise without valid foundation. This latter charge is by far the more important one, to us at least, in this age. To enable the reader to view the whole question broadly and to weigh it justly, it may be well to commence by giving a summary of the life of Galileo Galilei himself.

He was born at Pisa, in Italy, February 15th, 1564, of a respectable but somewhat reduced Italian family, which is said to have changed, a few generations before, the original name of Bonajuti for that of Galilei. At an early age he entered the university of his native city, then one of the most flourishing institutions of learning in Italy, and devoted himself to a course of philosophy, with a view of entering on the medical profession, for which his father designed him. Here he soon manifested a disposition to test or verify the teachings of the schools—then entirely Aristotelian—by practical experiments, thus giving early indications of that trait of character which later on won for him the proud title of “Creator of Experimental Science.” At the age of eighteen he chanced one day to notice with what regularity a large lamp in the cathedral, suspended by a cord from the lofty roof and hanging down before the main altar, swung to and fro, after having been accidentally moved by a workman. Examining the matter more carefully, he found that all the vibrations, great and small, so long as they were perceptible, occupied each the same exact length of time; and that all pendulums, vibrating freely, are controlled by the same law of isochronism. At once he devised a mode by which physicians might avail themselves of this principle, to time with accuracy the beatings of the human pulse. Years afterwards he applied the same principle to the accurate measurement of time, by introducing a pendulum into the machinery of clocks.

At the conclusion of his course, instead of taking his degree as a physician, Galileo resolved to devote himself to mathematics, machinery, and physical sciences generally. The results soon proved the wisdom of his choice. He invented a hydrostatic balance. An able treatise from his pen, on the *Centre of Gravity of Bodies*, attracted universal attention. At the very early age of twenty-five, his rising reputation secured for him, through the recommendation of Cardinal Del Monte, a chair of mathematics in the University of Pisa, which he filled for four years. In his lectures,

often based in part on his own experiments, and sometimes illustrated by them, he not only went far beyond the previous teachings of the schools, but on more than one point he rejected as false what had hitherto been received and maintained by the peripatetic followers of Aristotle, almost as axioms not to be questioned. Hence arose disputes, oftentimes personal and bitter. Both parties were intemperate in language, and Galileo was a master of ridicule and galling sarcasm. One of those contests has its niche in history. The Aristotelians taught that, since bodies fall because of their weight, a heavy body must naturally fall faster than a light one. Galileo, on the contrary, taught that, of themselves, both would fall with equal rapidity, and that any actual difference observed must be attributed, not to the difference of weight, but to the unequal resistance of the air, which impedes the fall of one more than it does that of the other. After much angry discussion it was resolved to test the matter by a public experiment. For the question was one which the public could readily understand, and which all took an interest in. Two spherical balls of lead were accordingly prepared; one very heavy, the other quite small and comparatively light. They were both dropped at the same instant from the top of the Leaning Tower of Pisa, one hundred and seventy-eight feet high, in the presence of the magnates of the city, the professors and students of the university, and of a vast crowd of citizens. All had taken sides either with the brilliant young professor or with his more conservative opponents. All watched anxiously the result of the experiment. Side by side the two balls fell downwards, as all eyes saw, and reached the earth at the very same instant. Galileo was triumphant; his opponents chagrined and mortified, but still unwilling to accept their defeat. The bitterness of the conflict became so intense that, in 1592, Galileo was forced to leave Pisa. He withdrew to Padua, where, for eighteen years, he was professor of mathematics in the University of that city. Here likewise the contests between him and the Aristotelians continued, but with less of personal bitterness than at Pisa. During his stay in Padua, he invented a species of thermometer and several other instruments, of which by far the most important was the telescope. Hearing accounts of the wonderful clearness with which Metius, a physicist of Holland, had been able to examine distant objects by combining several lenses of glass having curved faces, he quickly constructed a rude telescope to view heavenly bodies. It magnified only three diameters. But it verified the principle. He soon constructed a larger one, magnifying eight diameters, which he presented to the Republic of Venice, and afterwards a third one, having a magnifying power of thirty-three diameters. Through the use of this he was able in time to announce several astonishing and important astronomical discoveries. He saw

clearly, and confirmed the existence of solar spots, already discovered and announced by the Jesuit astronomer, Scheiner, but ridiculed by many. He saw also mountains in the moon, the changing moon-like appearances of the planets, Venus and Mercury, confirming the assertion of Copernicus a century before, who said those planets must really have such phases, although in his time invisible to the eye. Galileo discovered also the four satellites of Jupiter, which he called the *Medicean stars*, in honor of the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

The renown of those discoveries filled all Italy, and in 1610 the Grand Duke recalled Galileo from Padua. He was again named professor of mathematics in Pisa, but without the obligation of residence or of giving lectures. He accordingly fixed his residence henceforth in Florence, near his patron. Here the old quarrel was renewed or continued with a bitterness more intense than ever. If the brilliant discoveries of Galileo had given him a giant strength in public estimation, his adversaries, on the other hand, now found a point in his teaching on which they thought they could surely triumph. As far back probably as 1595 he had embraced what was then usually called the Pythagorean, and is now known as the Copernican theory of the solar system. His astronomical discoveries now placed him in the very front rank among its upholders. This theory, we need scarcely say, holds that the sun is a relatively immovable body in the centre of the solar system, around which the earth and the other planets move in circular orbits, the earth making its circuit in one year. The earth, moreover, has another motion of its own. It revolves on itself around a central axis once in twenty-four hours. Subsequent astronomical researches have proved that the planetary orbits are elliptical, not circular; that the sun revolves on an axis of its own, and yields to the gravitation of the planets, and that the sun and the entire planetary system connected with it are all moving in space. But of these nicer points nothing was known in Galileo's time. He held the theory in its original simpler form. Proposed originally, so far as is known, by Pythagoras, founder of the philosophic school of Italy, more than five hundred years before Christ, and maintained by Aristarchus, of Samos, about 270 B.C., it had sunk into obscurity in presence of the more specious theories of other philosophers, developed by Ptolemy, who held that the earth was firm and immovable and the centre of the universe, and that the sun, the moon, and the planets, and all the stars, revolved around it once in twenty-four hours; all, save the stars, having various other motions of their own. The opinion of Pythagoras and Aristarchus was recalled with a smile, as a signal instance of the power of so-called philosophers to dream absurd dreams. In modern ages, this theory was revived and pro-

posed by Nicholas De Cusa, a noted professor of the fifteenth century, afterwards a cardinal at Rome. He proposes it in his work, *De docta Ignorantia*, made public in 1435, and printed at the expense and care of Cardinal Amboise immediately on the invention of the art of printing. A certain number of his disciples retained and handed down the teaching of their master. Copernicus, born at Thorn, in Prussia, in 1473, came in early life to Italy for his studies, and in 1500 was already professor of mathematics in the University of Rome. Such was his high reputation that in 1512, even after he had returned home to be a canon of the Cathedral of Frauenberg, he was specially consulted from Rome in reference to the grand scientific work already projected, and to be the glory of that century,—the emendation of the *Julian Calendar*. In Italy, Copernicus, coming in intimate contact with the followers of Cardinal de Cusa, had embraced and taught the Pythagorean theory, and continued to advocate it after his return to Germany. In 1533, Widmanstadt—one of his pupils—came from Germany to Rome, and, like a knight-errant of science, publicly maintained it as a thesis, after the fashion of the day, in an oral discussion, in which all who wished to contradict him and to argue for the Ptolemean system, were welcome to take part. The discussion, at the instance of the Pope, was held in the Vatican Gardens, in the presence of Pope Clement VII. himself, who rewarded the young man by appointing him one of his own private secretaries. Celio Calcagnini, in 1518, had written a work, *Quod coelum stet, terra autem moveatur*, and been even more highly rewarded. In 1543, just before his death, Copernicus gave to the world his great work, *De Orbium Caelestium Revolutionibus*. It was dedicated, by permission, to Pope Paul III., and the expenses of publication had been borne by Cardinal Schoneberg until he died, and after his death by Gisio, Bishop of Ermeland. This work, from the pen of so renowned and honored a scholar, published under such high patronage, could not but give a fresh and most powerful impulse to the theory which, gradually dropping the name of Pythagorean, has become known as emphatically the Copernican theory.

Galileo at Florence, exempt from the routine duties of a professorship, and not tied down to a graduated course of instruction, but free to take up any subject he pleased, threw himself heart and soul into the advocacy of this theory, which his late astronomical discovery of the varying crescent form of the planets Venus and Mercury seemed to confirm. He spoke with the fervor of an exile returning home triumphant over his adversaries. On their side the reclamations were angry and fierce. They based their opposition not alone on the opposition of the theory to the concordant testimony of the senses of all men, nor on its repug-

nance to the accepted teachings of philosophers for so many ages, especially of the master of them all, Aristotle, but also on the ground that this theory contradicts the very words of Holy Scripture in various passages. In this they took a leaf from the books of the Lutheran professors of Tübingen, who raised such a storm in that university against a young student of divinity, Kepler, who had devoted himself to mathematics and had embraced and was defending the Copernican system, that in order to save himself from ruin he had to pass to the Catholic University of Gratz, under the Jesuits, where, though a Protestant, he taught mathematics. A short while after, he met *Tycho Brahe*, another Protestant forced to flee to the Catholic portion of Germany to escape the assaults of his 'co-religionists for his' astronomical heresies. They worked together until the aged astronomer of Uraniberg was laid in the tomb. Kepler continued his work until his own death at Catholic Ratisbon, in 1630. Wolfgang Menzel writes of Kepler: "The theologians of Tübingen condemned his discovery, because the Bible teaches that the sun revolves about the earth, and not the earth about the sun. Joshua commanded the sun to stand still. He was about to suppress his books when an asylum was opened to him at Gratz. The Jesuits, who knew better how to prize his scientific talent, retained him, although he openly avowed his Lutheranism. It was only at home that he suffered persecution, and it was with difficulty that he succeeded in saving his own mother from being burned alive for a witch."

It may here be observed that the University of Tübingen stood not alone in their mode of treating the question. Was it not an almost inevitable consequence of their teaching as to the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures. Hence, wherever among Protestants the theory of Copernicus was advanced, it was met on the part of the Zealots with the peremptory reply that it contradicted the Scripture and should at once be rejected. The names of Gilbert and of Bacon will answer for England.

In them, with their narrow-minded views of biblical inspiration and interpretation, such a course may seem somewhat natural and logical. But among Catholics, with wider and freer views on both, it cannot boast of that character. The passages of Lyell given further on, may serve as an illustration of our meaning. The scriptural argument was not introduced into the Galilean controversy in the spirit of the Church. It was used by his opponents as an available weapon against an enemy hated alike and feared, and whom they were determined to crush.

To whom the first introduction was due, whether to Galileo yearning for new and startling discoveries and hoped-for triumphs in the field of theology, or to the astuteness of his opponents, cannot now be determined. Anyhow it was a deplorable, uncatholic step.

By its introduction, the controversy assumed a new and threatening phase. It was judged proper to make some provision against danger. Accordingly Galileo deemed it advisable to go in person to Rome. This was his second visit to the eternal city. He had gone thither some twenty years before, ere the star of his reputation had risen. He reached Rome, on this second visit, in March, 1611. His own letters to his friends bear testimony to the great honors with which he was received by Cardinal Del Monte, by Prince Cesi, and "by everybody, especially by the Jesuit Fathers." He was greeted with applause wherever he appeared, listened to with interest and attention when he spoke, fêted by cardinals and nobles, and received more than graciously by the Holy Father, in various audiences. Finally Galileo returned to Florence, happy and triumphant.

But at Florence the storm would not be quelled. The controversy continued, and gradually came to centre exclusively on the scriptural argument. Galileo's friends advised him unceasingly to avoid the snare. A new interpretation or proposed explanation of scriptural texts, contrary to one hitherto universally accepted, could not be admitted, unless rendered absolutely necessary on most cogent grounds. He was a layman and an astronomer. Let him stick to his physical and astronomical arguments, and leave the discussion of the meaning of texts of Scripture to the theologians. This advice came to him from all sides, especially from his friends in Rome, from Cardinal Del Monte, Monsignor Dini, and others.

But Galileo had become too excited to heed advice, however prudent. Guicciardini comments on his perpetual and intemperate quarrelling, and foretells that trouble must come of it. His friends complained to each other that he looked on any remonstrance or counsel from them as an indication of their taking sides in some measure with his opponents. He spoke and wrote often very intemperately, adding fuel to the flame. At length a letter from him to Castelli, one of his disciples, written, as he says, hastily and *currente calamo*, came to the knowledge of his opponents in Florence, and was by them (February 5, 1615), presented to the tribunal of the Holy Office in Rome, as unorthodox and contrary to Scripture. They intended this to be the initial point of judicial proceedings in the matter.

Galileo's friends and well-wishers did not desert him. Cardinal Bellarmine assured Mgr. Dini that "the only point at issue, was to propose the theory as a theory, not as an indisputable fact. There was no intention of condemning the theory." And he wrote to Cardinal Del Monte, "Let Galileo stick to mathematics and physics, and abstain from putting forward new interpretations of Scrip-

ture, however ingenious ; they are departures from the *consensus patrum*. And he wrote (April 12, 1615), to Forcarini, " You will act prudently (and Galileo, also), if you maintain this opinion as an hypothesis and not as an established truth. If you will treat of the Copernican system and of the proofs of it, without entering on Scripture . . . there will be no difficulty whatever."

But neither advice nor admonition even from so high a quarter availed aught. Galileo persisted in his own passionate course. Perhaps he had brought himself to believe that he could force the Tribunal at Rome to decide at once that his interpretations of the texts of Scripture were the true ones. In January, 1616, he came, again to Rome, to urge the matter on. He wrote to a friend soon after his arrival, giving a gratified account of the honor with which as usual he had been received and welcomed. But by the end of the month he was again impatient, fretful, and even bitter, because of the evident delay or rather the unwillingness of the ecclesiastical tribunals to move in the matter, and he left no stone unturned to push them to some action. He called on the cardinals and on the officials concerned, bored them, and literally wearied them out by the persistent and importunate, and often most untimely appeals of himself, and of some equally hot-headed adherents to have the matter taken up. At length he succeeded. " If you will have it, let it be so." The question was taken up because Galileo forced it by his long-continued insistence and importunity. The Holy Office, following its usual course of procedure, first referred the matter to the *Qualificatores*, a subcommittee of several clergymen, not judges of the tribunal, but advisers. After examination, they reported that two propositions, constituting the Copernican theory, were deserving of condemnation.

I. The sun is the centre of the world and immovable. *Foolish and absurd in philosophy, and formally heretical, inasmuch as it contradicts directly the express declarations of the Scripture.*

II. The earth is not the centre of the world, and is not immovable. *Foolish and absurd in philosophy and erroneous in faith.*

In considering the judgment of this subcommittee, we may pass over, as of no importance, their philosophical condemnation of the propositions as being both of them *foolish* and *absurd*. But it is to be noted that the first proposition is declared *formally heretical*, the second one, only *erroneous in faith*. These are technical terms, having each its special value. To be *formally heretical* is the strongest term of condemnation that could be used, and the qualificators used it because they believed that the proposition did contradict expressly the words of Divine Scripture. Their opinion was wrong, because they did not understand—had not then the means of discovering—the real sense of those words to which they refer.

The second censure, *erroneous in faith*, is much milder. They apply it to a proposition, which only by a course of reasoning is brought into contradiction with what they believed to be the true sense of Scripture. It might fail, either because that process of reasoning was faulty, or because their interpretation of Scripture was not the true one. This explanation is necessary for the proper understanding of the report of the qualificators. But for the question before us it is superfluous. *The report was not acted on.* The Holy Office having received it, declined to pronounce sentence in accordance with its purport. On the contrary it was content to admonish Galileo; and to exact from him a personal promise in writing that for the future he would not, in any way, either in writing or in lectures, teach or maintain the incriminated opinion or the contrary. To abate the controversy, he was to observe a *silentium pacificum* on the matter. This promise he gave as required, in the hands of Cardinal Bellarmine on the 26th of February, 1616. Thereupon the whole matter was dropped by the Holy Office. Galileo remained three months longer in Rome, and after one, if not more than one, favorable audience of the Holy Father, Pius V., returned to Florence, bearing with him, or receiving soon after, a letter from Cardinal Bellarmine (26th May, 1616) attesting that Galileo "had not been tried and condemned, or sentenced, but that only a monition had been given him." During all his stay in Rome, every honor due to so great a philosopher had been shown to him.

The monition given to Galileo, on February 26th, 1616, properly closed his case then before the HOLY OFFICE. Another congregation of cardinals—that of the INDEX—had taken up the matter, and, on March 5th, published a general disciplinary rule and enactment, prohibiting henceforth books that upheld the Copernican theory as absolute truth, that theory being erroneous and contrary to the Holy Scripture, and also requiring that such books, already published, should be so amended as to present the theory in an hypothetical form, or mere theory, not as an established positive truth. However, as Galileo, although still present in Rome, was not before that tribunal in any way, and as none of his writings were enumerated by it, in the number of prohibited works, it is enough to say, here, that this evidently studied omission of them, when some mention of them would naturally be looked for, can only be regarded as an additional evidence of a desire on all sides to spare Galileo's feelings, and to avoid even the appearance of censuring him. It is also worthy of notice, that in this disciplinary Regulation, the Congregation of the Index was unwilling to use the term "formally heretical," proposed as we saw by the qualificators of the Holy Office, and, instead, characterizes the opinion of Copernicus by the milder judicial phrase, "erroneous and contrary to Scripture."

For fifteen years after this, Galileo continued his scientific labors and investigations at Florence, without any other trouble than an occasional, and to him, perhaps, now refreshing, minor battle with his old foes, the Peripatetics. During these years he seems to have repeatedly visited Rome, and to have been always received there with the honors due to his reputation. A visit which he made in 1624, seems to have been intended to meet and frustrate a suspected renewed attempt of his opponents to get him again into some trouble on account of a new work of his, *Il Saggiatore*. If the conjecture be true, his visit attained its purpose. The attempt against him, if really contemplated, fell through miserably. He was welcomed and honored even more than before, and he returned to Florence triumphant.

Having completed the MS. of a work, on which he had labored, as he tells us, off and on for seven or eight years, Galileo came to Rome in May, 1630, to obtain from the *Master of the Sacred Palace*, the proper official at Rome, an *Imprimatur*, or permission to publish it. It was entitled *A Dialogue on the two great Systems of the World*. One speaker upholds the olden Ptolemean system, a second upholds the Copernican system, and a third, *Simplicius*, comments on the arguments of both. The MS. was examined, sundry phrases were softened or changed in order that there might be no violation of the regulations of the Congregation of the Index, and other changes were still to be made, chiefly in the matter of the Preface, and of the conclusion. Before these could be effected, Galileo was suffering from the summer heats, and desired for the sake of his health to leave Rome for a time at least. The Master of the Sacred Palace, full of kindly regard and courtesy to Galileo, incautiously gave him the official *Imprimatur*, on the understanding, however, that the changes agreed on should be made, and that the work was to be printed, of course, in Rome, and therefore under his further inspection. But while Galileo was at Florence the plague broke out and rendered travelling dangerous. He did not return with the MS. to Rome. The official required the MS. at least to be sent to him. This Galileo did not do, alleging that the quarantine rendered it impossible. He asked, instead, that any further examination of the MS. be made by chosen parties at Florence, and that the book be printed in that city instead of Rome. After some correspondence, the Roman official yielded; and the book was printed in Florence in 1632. Its appearance was the signal for a new storm. Galileo was charged with a direct and flagrant violation of the Monition given to him sixteen years before, and, on investigation, it further appeared that he had concealed from the Roman official the very important fact in his case, that such a monition had been given. For this double offence, constituting,

as we would say, an aggravated case of contempt of court, Galileo was, on 1st October, 1632, officially summoned to Rome to account for his proceedings before the Holy Office.

His position was aggravated by a special circumstance. In the book, *Simplicius*, who speaks as judge commenting on the arguments of both, is made to utter many inept and ridiculous things, and the reader is forced to smile at least at the silly exhibitions of his ignorance and his utter lack of sound judgment. It was loudly asserted and believed by many, both in Florence and in Rome, that in this character Galileo intended, in some measure, to portray Pope Urban VIII. himself, who, though not an adherent of Copernicanism, had as Cardinal Barberini in 1616, and as Pope in 1624, shown him very great attention and very substantial kindness. The Pope, for a time at least, keenly felt the ridicule alleged to be cast on him. It is true that Galileo strenuously denied the charge. But his denial, unfortunately, did not weigh much with those who knew the man. Still, for ourselves, weak, and vain, and sarcastic as he was known to be, we cannot conceive him to have been so utterly void of heart as to repay with such ingratitude the honors, the friendship, and the pecuniary pensions he and his children were even then receiving from the Pope or through his influence.

Under the circumstances it is evident that Galileo, feeling himself without defence, was reluctant to come. He hoped time might allay the storm and soften embittered feelings. He pleaded for delay. His own health, the severity of the weather, the inconveniences of the quarantine which he must encounter on the trip, were all alleged as excuses for delay. He did not reach Rome until the 13th of February, 1633. His reception was at first, to his surprise, not much unlike those of previous visits. He was lodged as a guest in the palace of Nicolini, the Florentine ambassador, the Villa Medici, on the Pincian Hill, now the French Academy of Arts in Rome. His letters tell of the visits of welcome he received, even repeatedly, from officials of the Holy Office. Everything seemed to promise kindness to him personally. His treatment called forth expressions of admiration in the dispatches of Nicolini to his own court at Florence. At length, however, after two months of such sweet waiting, the trial came on. On the 12th of April, in obedience to a summons, Galileo appeared in the council hall of the Holy Office, before the officials of that tribunal, for what we may call a preliminary examination. He was asked if he were the author of the book entitled *Dialogo*, etc. He acknowledged the authorship of it. "All that it contains I recognize as composed by me." Being interrogated concerning his visit to Rome in 1616, he replied that he had come at that time of his own accord. Aware of the doubt then entertained concerning the

opinion of Copernicus, and desirous of holding only holy and correct opinions, he came to Rome for the purpose of being instructed on that point. Had any determination, they asked, been reached? Yes; the Congregation of the Index had decided that the Copernican theory, taken as an absolute fact, was contrary to Scripture, and therefore it could only be treated as an hypothesis. This had been notified to him by Cardinal Bellarmine. Had anything special in reference to himself personally been added? This interrogatory was clearly intended to bring out the Monition given him,—the gravest point in his case. His memory on this point was very much at fault. He did recollect a monition given him *viva voce*. He did not remember if others had been present at its delivery, nor that it was in writing, nor whether certain important phrases now mentioned were contained in it. He had relied entirely on the letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to him (dated the 26th of May, 1616). The other matters might well have passed from his memory after so many years. Considering that the tribunal had in its possession one of the two original copies of the Monition, signed by Galileo himself and attested by a notary, the assumed loss of his copy and this forgetfulness on his part, while it might seem strange and somewhat dubious, could easily be remedied. When further asked whether he had said anything of this Monition, when he applied to the Master of the Sacred Palace for an *imprimatur* for his work, he replied: "I said nothing at all of it to the reverend Master of the Sacred Palace. I did not think it necessary. In that work I neither held nor defended the opinion of the movement of the earth and of the immovability of the sun. Nay, in that work, I maintain the contrary opinion, and show that the arguments of Copernicus are invalid and inconclusive."

These closing words of the examination must, we opine, have made the examiners stare or smile.

Galileo was now before the tribunal, officially and in its custody. Instead of a prison, they "assigned to him an apartment in the palace itself of the Holy Office, in the quarters set aside for the use of the officials." Here he was attended by his own servant and by the servants of Nicolini, could receive visitors and correspond with his friends, and had a large Italian garden to take exercise in whenever he desired. Galileo himself, in a letter written from the palace to his friend Bocchineri, expatiates on the unusual comforts with which he is surrounded, the three rooms in the apartments of the Fiscal placed at his service, and of the personal attentions, in every respect, which he is receiving on all sides. Well might Bocchineri say: "I am sure Galileo was far more uncomfortable in the quarantine at Ponte-Centino than in the Holy Office."

On the 22d he had an attack of acute rheumatism in one leg.

The officials visited him repeatedly, strove to give him relief and to cheer him, and declared that, as soon as he was able to move with comfort, he must return to the Villa Medici. In the meantime everything possible should be done to alleviate his sufferings. In a week he was over it. But before going, Galileo himself requested to be allowed to meet the examiners again, for he wished to add something more to what he had already said. A meeting was accordingly appointed for the 30th of April. On that day, and before the same officials, he further stated that since the previous examination he had carefully re-read his work, a thing he had not done for three years previously. He now saw and freely acknowledged its errors. "It appears to me so written in several passages that a reader, not cognizant of my true interior conviction, might well suppose that the arguments adduced in favor of the erroneous side (Copernicanism), and which I aimed to confute, were proposed in such manner as by their force rather to produce conviction than to be easily refuted. Two of them especially, based on the solar spots and on the tides of the ocean, seem to be proposed with more force and in stronger terms than is becoming in one who holds them to be inconclusive and aims to refute them, as I interiorly and truly held and hold them to be inconclusive and susceptible of refutation. . . . If I had to write the same argumentation over again, I would certainly do it in such manner that they would not present a seeming show of force, of which essentially and truly they are destitute. It was an error on my part, I acknowledge it, an error of vanity and ambition, of pure ignorance and of inadvertence." After this voluntary statement, the tribunal was in the act of rising, when Galileo returned and added something more. "In further proof," he said, "that I have not held and do not hold the condemned and false opinion, if I am allowed, as I crave, opportunity and time to demonstrate it more clearly, I am ready to do it. And there is a fitting opportunity. For in the book itself, as published, the interlocutors agree to meet at some future time to discuss, one by one, several questions of natural philosophy belonging to the matters already discussed. Availing myself of this point to add one or two more days of dialogue between them, I promise to take up again the arguments produced in favor of the false and condemned opinion, and to refute them in the most convincing manner that God will give me strength to do. I ask the Holy Office to concur with me in this good purpose, by granting me an opportunity to put it into execution." Whether again the officials stared or smiled we cannot say. Of this we may be sure, they lost much of their esteem and respect for Galileo personally.

On the close of the meeting Galileo, as he had been assured, was transferred again to the Villa Medici, and committed to the

tender cares of Nicolini, the ambassador, and of his family, there to await any further proceedings in his case. He enjoyed his carriage drives around Rome. We find him at Castel Gandolfo, walking through the Alban groves, or reclining on the volcanic banks of the beautiful Alban lake. Once, on May 10th, he was summoned to the Holy Office. The charges against him, or, as we would say, the Indictment, that had been drawn up, was made known to him, and a space of eight days assigned to him to prepare his defence as to his violation of the Monition and the irregular publication of his book. He really had no defence. Instead of availing himself of that time, he preferred at once to present to them the original private letter of Cardinal Bellarmine, on which he had relied, and by which he claimed to have been guided; and he renewed the protestation of the sincerity and good faith with which he had acted. After this, he returned to the Villa Medici and continued to wait. There was evidently a quiet influence working in his favor. Some thought the whole proceeding would be quashed.

Galileo himself had at least some faint hopes of a result favorable to him. But he was mistaken. Besides taking his own depositions and declarations as to the character and purpose of the book, the tribunal had placed copies of the work itself in the hands of sundry learned men, who were required to examine it carefully and to make each one a separate report in writing. These reports had come in. They all agreed in stating that the writer of the book certainly held the Copernican theory, and that though clothed under the flimsy disguise of a dialogue with reasons *pro* and *con*, the work was really and truly intended to uphold the Copernican system and to obtain adherents to the same. It could scarcely be otherwise. For they were conscientious and intelligent. But what becomes of the repeated oaths of Galileo, who had sworn and protested the contrary?

According to the rules of judicial procedure at that time,—and especially according to the rules of the Holy Office, when there was a conflict of testimony,—when, as here, the author swears one thing and the book gives evidence to the contrary, the author on trial is to be subjected to what was called *examen rigorosum*, what we would term, a searching cross-examination. To this might, in certain cases, be added the menace of inflicting torture, and again in certain cases the torture itself might be actually used for the purpose of compelling a reluctant or prevaricating witness to speak the truth. All this, so far as the Holy Office was concerned, was regulated by established and clear rules. The Holy Office might imprison as a punishment, but it could not inflict torture as a punishment, much less death with torture. Where death was the penalty,

with or without torture, the criminal was remitted to the civil authorities, who could punish with death, and who, according to the public law of that age, could inflict death, by fire, by breaking on the wheel, or by other modes of torture. In the Holy Office the torture could only be used for the purpose of extracting the truth from a witness, and then only when there were grave reasons for believing that the witness was swearing falsely. Nor always then. Children under fourteen years, women that were pregnant, the feeble and sick, and old men, could not be tortured, though in certain cases they might be menaced with it. And no witness whatever could be subjected to torture, in any case, save on the order of a full bench of judges, who after consideration deemed it a necessary and proper procedure in that case in the interests of eliciting truth and securing justice. The course of the Holy Office (despite of anti-Catholic myths, etc.) was mildness itself in those ages, when the public opinion of every land approved and sanctioned the principle, and when the civil tribunals everywhere were ordinarily using torture and often to cruel excesses. In our country torture has been prohibited by the Constitution of the United States, and may not be used in judicial proceedings. But it is not a century since other nations have given it up. We have heard whispers of its not being unknown or unused in our own army and navy and in our Penitentiaries. In fact, so long as parents think it necessary to whip a child to make it tell the truth, or as a mob of regulators will string up a guilty wretch, whom they have caught, time and again, to some bough, in order to force him to disclose the names of his confederates or to reveal where the stolen plunder is secreted, we must confess that some at least still retain in their bosoms the principles that were prevalent two centuries ago.

On June 21st, 1633, Galileo came before the tribunal for the cross-examination, called for by the discrepancy between his own sworn testimony and the recognized character of his book. He was first asked had he anything which he wished to say voluntarily and of his own accord. He had nothing to say. Did he hold, or had he held, and for how long, that the sun is the centre of the world, and that the earth is not the centre of the world, and also that it revolves on itself daily? A long time ago, before the Congregation of the Index had decided the question, and before the Monition was given him, he had looked on the two opinions of Ptolemy and of Copernicus as equal; either might be true. But since that decision he had no longer any doubt, and had ever held as most true and beyond dispute the opinion of Ptolemy, that is, that the earth stands still, and that the sun moves. They objected to him, that in the book which he had written and printed since that decision, the opinion of Copernicus is set forth and defended.

Was it not clear that he had held it? His answer is substantially what he had said on previous occasions. "I was not moved to write that book, because I held the Copernican opinion to be the true one; but because I thought I would do a service to the public by setting forth the natural and the astronomical reasons in favor of that, and of the Ptolemaic opinion; and by showing that such reasons are not conclusive for either, and hence that to decide with surety, one must have recourse to higher teachings. This is plain from many and many passages of my book. Therefore I conclude, saying that for myself I do not hold, and since the decision already mentioned, have not held the condemned opinion." The examiners were not satisfied. They object to him again, the text of the book, and the reasons adduced in it in favor of the Copernican theory, that the earth moves and that the sun is stationary. Hence it is clear that he holds said opinion, or at least that he did hold it, when he was writing the book. Let him confess the truth, else they may use against him the appointed remedies of law and fact. His answer was: "I do not hold nor have I held this opinion of Copernicus, since it was intimated to me with command, that I should abandon it. For the rest, I am in your hands. Act as it pleases you." And again he was told to speak the truth, else they would have recourse to the torture. His reply was: "I am here to obey. I have not held this opinion, since the decision made on it, as I have said." The notarial account goes on: "And since nothing more could be obtained for the purposes of judgment, his subscription was taken, and he returned to his apartment." The document is subscribed, *I, Galileo Galilei have sworn as above.* This is the closing paper of the trial. It is not any more honorable to Galileo than were his preceding examinations. It is evident that he did not swear the truth. His judges thought so. In an ordinary case perhaps the witness would have been submitted to the torture. But as a matter of fact, Galileo was not subjected to it; and as a matter of fact, though he might be and was threatened with it, that was only a legal formality of court procedure. It could not be inflicted on him according to law. He was too old, being in his seventieth year, and besides he was suffering from hernia. There was not even a consultation of the officials on the subject. The matter was too clear for doubt. The menace was, as we said, only an established legal form,—as much so as when nowadays a criminal is asked is he guilty or not guilty.

On Wednesday, June 22, 1633, Galileo was taken by the Fiscal in his carriage to the Minerva, where the Congregation of the Holy Office was accustomed to hold its larger and more solemn meetings. Here before the assembly, and in his presence, Galileo's sentence was pronounced. After rehearsing in a lengthy preamble

the entire history of the case, the Monition given him by Cardinal Bellarmine in 1616, and his violation of it, his double dealing in the matter of obtaining the *Imprimatur* for his book, and in disregarding the requirements of the Master of the Sacred Palace for its publication, and the character of the work, it concludes that although his replies before the tribunal were sound and Catholic, still his whole course had made him "a suspect of heresy," and he had been guilty of violations of law charged on him. The tribunal decreed therefore 1st, That Galileo should make an abjuration of the Copernican theory. 2d. That as a penance, he should recite once a week for three years the Seven Penitential Psalms of David. 3d. That he be imprisoned in the Holy Office at the pleasure of the Congregation.

The abjuration apparently cost Galileo no difficulty. It was only repeating again in the legal phrasology of the tribunal, what he had already sworn to, repeatedly, during his trial. He pronounced it at once on the spot. As to the second part—the recitation of the psalms,—we have no account of how exactly he fulfilled that portion; but we hope he did it well, for his previous life had not been edifying. At seventy he might well lament the follies and sins that stained his earlier and his mid-life. As to the third portion, our information is full. Galileo returned the same day with the Fiscal to his apartments. The next day the proceedings were officially reported to the Pope, as was necessary before carrying the sentence of imprisonment into execution. The Pope at once directed that the imprisonment be commuted to a relegation to the Villa Medici, in the bosom of Nicolini's family, until further orders. The very next day, Friday, June 24th, the directions of his Holiness were duly recorded by the officials of the Holy Office and carried into effect, and Galileo was at liberty to go to the Villa Medici. Nicolini writes on June 26th to Cioli in Florence: "Last Monday evening, Galileo received a summons to attend the Holy Office. On Tuesday forenoon he went thither in obedience to the mandate, and was retained there. On Wednesday he was taken to the Minerva, where his sentence was read to him. On Thursday his Holiness commuted the sentence of imprisonment to a relegation to the Trinità del Monte (the Medici Palace), whither I brought him on Friday afternoon." His return was not delayed one hour beyond the time required for the ordinary formal procedure of the courts in such a case.

Galileo's relegation to the Villa Medici did not last long. All knew that the severe heats of July in Rome would tax him severely. Accordingly on June 30th, the Pope consented to his departure for the pleasant city of Sienna, where Monsignor Piccolomini, the Archbishop, an intimate friend and devoted admirer,

was awaiting him, and would provide for his comfort. The gracious permission was officially intimated to Galileo on July 2d; and on the 6th he started on his journey. "He left us," writes Nicolini, "in excellent health." Galileo himself in a letter from Sienna tells of the relief he had enjoyed during his journey from the balmy mountain air, and how he walked several miles along the road, for pure pleasure of the exercise. Evidently the physical frame of this man of seventy had not been subjected only a fortnight before to the severe shock of torture on a rack, or otherwise. His stay in Sienna was very pleasant to him and lasted until the end of November. He received from Rome permission to return to his own home, the beautiful and much-loved villa of *Arcetri* in the suburbs of Florence. He writes from that place in December expressing his great gratification, and his thanks to the friends in Rome who had obtained the favor. Here, with his telescopes and philosophical apparatus, and surrounded by his books and by his friends, Galileo continued his scientific labors, until advancing years, some say, intense astronomical observations of Mars through his telescope, deprived him at last of sight. He died January 8, 1642, at the age of seventy-eight.

The discoveries of Galileo, though brilliant and worthy of note in the early history of astronomy and physical science, are not the real cause of the celebrity which he has attained. This is due to his trial before the Holy Office, of which the documents discovered or published of late years have enabled us to give a brief but sufficiently detailed account. The fabulous narratives of his sufferings, imprisonment, and tortures, are exploded by these testimonies of Galileo himself, of his friends, and of the original acts themselves of his trial. If ever one was honored, each time that he visited Rome, it was Galileo. If ever one, brought before a tribunal to be tried on serious charges, was treated with extraordinary leniency and indulgence to himself personally, it certainly was Galileo. Nicolini wrote at the time in gratified surprise "that no bishop or prelate, or high dignitary would receive such consideration." With our ideas of the equality of all men before the law, and our dislike, in profession at least, to any acceptance of persons, we cannot understand it. But it was not always so. In England, in ancient times, education could plead the benefit of the clergy, and he, who had been educated, escaped at least for a first offence the gallows, to which his unlettered companion in crime was surely doomed. On the continent it was in some countries looked on as a crime against humanity, to put to death one who was *summus in arte*, no matter what his offence. Perhaps something of that reverence for eminence in science still existed in Rome, and made itself felt in Galileo's case. Perhaps it was only

a kindly feeling for one whom they had honored and sought to support in former years.

As we read his trial and listen to his own sworn testimony, our appreciation of the man must sink. He was not capable of uttering the *e pure si muove*, the jeu d'esprit attributed to him, but really invented by a witty Frenchman and put in Galileo's mouth, more than a hundred years after his death. Whatever else he may have been, Galileo certainly had not in him the stuff of which martyrs are made.

Nearly two centuries and a half have passed since Galileo's trial. The events of the life of that Italian philosopher, so far as he himself is concerned, have passed into the realm of history and have no interest for us to-day except as a matter of curious research. Of itself it might be readily dismissed. But there remains a question of graver and deeper and undying interest connected with him,—the charge against the Catholic Church of showing herself inimical to the progress of science, and moreover of having then pronounced false and against faith a teaching which is now universally recognized and accepted as true. Did not the Holy Office require from Galileo an emphatic abjuration of the Copernican theory? Did not the Qualificatores stigmatize the main proposition of it as "formally heretical"? Did not the Congregation of the Index prohibit books upholding it, because it was "erroneous and entirely opposed to the Holy Scripture"? Did not the Church in all this condemn as heretical and contrary to true faith, a system which is now recognized as true; and has she not thus shown in fact that she can err in defining matters of faith? This is the charge often brought against the Church. We propose to meet it.

We say in the first place that this charge as presented against the Church is destitute of any solid foundation. The Church never made any such definition or decision of doctrine, and therefore did not fall into error in doing so.

The Church gives her decisions of doctrine, not through the declarations of any such tribunals as the Holy Office or the Congregation of the Index. These are only subordinate working offices or bureaus of her administration for the expediting of business. They are not clothed with her supreme authority. When she defines doctrine, it is through her General Councils and through the voice of her Supreme Pontiff, speaking *ex cathedra*, as Paul V. did, in 1616, by his Bull *Regis Pacifici*, on the Immaculate Conception, and as Urban VIII. did in 1641, in his Encyclical *In Eminentissimi*, against Jansenism. We cite those two documents because they were given at the time and by the Popes under whom the alleged action against Galileo and Copernicanism was taken.

The distinction is marked, and is clearly understood in the Church. It must be perfectly intelligible in every civilized nation that has a supreme court of ultimate appeal, the decisions of which are the law of the land in a sense in which the decisions of far inferior courts are not. It is not pretended that any decision whatever of a General Council, or any *ex cathedra* declaration of the Sovereign Pontiff was ever issued touching Copernicanism. Yet unless this can be shown, the whole charge falls to the ground. The infallibility of the Church in matters of doctrine is not brought into question.

What, however, did those tribunals do? In 1616, the Holy Office declined to act on the report of the Qualificators, and left it to slumber on their shelves. In 1633 it was rehearsed in the preamble of the sentence, as part of the legal history of the case, without receiving thereby any new weight. The abjuration required from Galileo was simply the repetition in legal terminology of his own repeated declarations under oath, and was not the decision of a mooted point, but the proper legal sequence of that testimony and of the course of the trial. It was always required of a "suspect of heresy," and, in the eye of the law, was not a punishment, but a privilege, by which the prisoner "purged" himself of the suspicion, which he declared to be unfounded.

We may speculate as to what would have been the outcome of the trial, had Galileo stood his ground and manfully upheld before his judges the truth of the Copernican doctrine. Had he calmly and cogently set before their minds grave philosophical reasons for holding that it was true, or even might after all be true, they were conscientious and intelligent men, and would have listened to him and would have striven to weigh his arguments. In saying this, we suppose his judges to be calm and impartial, if not even kindly disposed towards him, and not to belong to that class of men who for years had been filled with venom against him and who desired only to crush him personally. Such most evidently was not the spirit or temper of his judges; and hence it may be regretted that he did not manfully raise the question and appeal to their intelligence or strive to enlighten them. However, Galileo had nothing of a martyr's bravery in him. Moreover, the task was a difficult, perhaps in the existing stage of natural philosophy, an impossible one. The grand proof which Copernicus brought forward in favor of his system was its beautiful simplicity as compared with the intricacy of cycles and epicycles in the Ptolemean system. But then his planetary orbits were all circles, and each planet moved round the sun independent of the others. Had he known that the orbits were ellipses, not circles; that their ellipticity is ever varying from a maximum to a minimum; that for the earth at least

there are other variations in the orbits; that the planets interfere with each other, sometimes accelerating, sometimes retarding their respective velocities: if he had known these and still other points since discovered—even that the whole planetary plane of the solar system is rushing through space with an oblique, upward, and side-wise motion, at the rate of three hundred miles a minute—he would have felt his idea of beautiful simplicity vanishing, and the argument based on it, weak at its best, would lose all its force. Galileo used other arguments; one from the spots in the sun, and another, which was a hobby with him, from the tides of the ocean. However highly he prized them himself, and strove earnestly to explain and to propose them, his opponents could not be brought to see their force. They were right. We now know that he was altogether astray on both points. He had a far better argument, though he did not prize it so highly, in the crescent phases of the planets, Venus and Mercury, observable through his telescope. Yet even this could be explained on some other system, as it was by Tycho Brahe. In fact, in Galileo's day there existed no conclusive proof of the positive truth of the Copernican system. The first valid proof of it was presented to the world in 1687, more than fifty years after the trial of Galileo, when Newton had developed the law of universal gravitation and gave mathematical life to what had been only the empirical laws of Kepler. A second proof of the system was found in the succeeding century (1727), when Bradley established the law of the aberration of light. In our own day Foucault has made visible the diurnal motion of the earth by his well-known pendulum experiment. But Galileo knew nothing of all this. If he believed the truth of the Copernican system, it was in reality an opinion for which no absolutely valid argument could then be given. Others could not be censured for not blindly accepting his dicta. Still he would be far more deserving of respect had he truthfully stated his opinions, and done his best to maintain them. When the grandest advocate of the system in Italy proved recreant and denied it, and swore that he was able and willing to disprove it, what could the judges do but accept it as an unquestioned and unquestionable fact and truth in philosophy that Copernicanism was false. If false, it was contrary to Scripture, and deserved to be condemned whenever occasion called for the verdict. The Holy Office, in giving the Monition of 1616, had acted in the interests of peace, rendering no verdict, but requiring Galileo to keep silent. But in requiring his abjuration in 1633, the tribunal accepted from the scientific world of the day the datum that Copernicanism was false and absurd, and on that datum, supported, be it remembered, by the testimony of Galileo himself, they acted, so far as the dignity of the tribunal the ordinary course of legal procedure to be carried out. Their action is held to be wrong, because we now know the scientific datum to be

wrong. Had the scientific world of that day been right in giving it, the action of the tribunal would be not only blameless, but praiseworthy.

The action of the Holy Office in all this matter affected Galileo Galilei alone, and, as lawyers would say, did not travel beyond him personally. The action of the Congregation of the Index covered a wider ground, and may seem, therefore, of greater importance in the question which we are now treating. On March 5, 1616, this Congregation published a list of five works which were prohibited, and added the following paragraph: "It having come to the knowledge of the said Congregation that this false doctrine of Pythagoras, entirely contrary to the Holy Scripture, on the movement of the earth and the immovability of the sun, taught by Copernicus in his work *On the Revolutions of the Celestial Orbits*, and by Diego de Zunica in his work *On Job*, has already spread and has been adopted by many persons, as can be seen by the letter of a Carmelite Father, entitled 'Letter of Rev. F. Foscarini, Carmelite,' on the opinion of the Pythagoreans and of Copernicus concerning the movement of the earth and the immovability of the sun, and on the new Pythagorean system of the universe; printed at Naples by Lazarus Scoriggio (1615), in which the aforesaid Father strives to show that the said doctrine is true, and is not opposed to Scripture. The Congregation, in order that the said opinion may not be further spread, to the detriment of Catholic truth, has resolved to suspend the two works of Copernicus and of Diego de Zunica until they be corrected; to prohibit entirely and to condemn the work of F. Foscarini, and to prohibit also all other works which teach the same doctrine, as by the present decree it does prohibit, condemn, and suspend all and each of them." The very form in which the decree was published and its signature only by the Cardinal of St. Cecilia, prefect, and Fr. Magdalenus, secretary of the Congregation, show that it lays no claim whatever to be an *ex cathedra* declaration of the Church.

It is, nevertheless, in no small measure on this decree that the charge we are combating is based by those who know something more of the history of the case than the mere name of Galileo and the myths around it. Yet a little more study of history would have shown them that no such consequence actually followed or was apprehended in the future from the action of the Congregation. Certainly, Catholic nations for the last four centuries have not been laggards; in truth, they may be said to have led the way in the paths of science. Among them, Italy led the van, and in Italy, Rome herself was the leader. Her pre-eminence in classic literature, in *belles-lettres*, and in the fine arts has never been questioned. Few, however, know that her Accademia dei Lincei, of which

Galileo himself esteemed it an honor to be a member, was founded half a century before the Royal Society of England and the French Academy of Paris, and was the model on which they were formed. It died out for a time, but was revived and still survives. Many of the old-time essays and dissertations by its early members even now excite admiration and have a positive value in science. There was also in Rome the Physico-Mathematical Academy, one of whose members, Bianchini, was pronounced by Newton one of the first astronomers of the day. The Eternal City prided herself on her scientific and literary eminence in every branch. Commencing with J. B. Porta, Giovanni Fabri, Stelluti, Fabio Colonna, Cesi, Borelli, Torricelli, Bianchini, just named, Montanari and Bocconi, contemporaries of Galileo, an ample list of illustrious and able workers in physical science and in astronomy may be counted in Rome in every age down to the present century, graced by the names of Scarpellini, Del Vico, and the lamented Secchi. The names of Cassini, Schiapparelli, Piazza, Volta, and Galvani, Donati and Ferrari, are the glories of Italy, and are household words in the scientific world. In fact, the Italian scientific intellect has ever been marked by acuteness, farseeing, and broadness of views. Lyell, in his *Principles of Geology*, giving an account of the origins of that science, bears testimony to the fact. Speaking of the century before Galileo (1500-1600), he says: "There was sufficient spirit of toleration and candor amongst the Italian ecclesiastics to allow the subject to be canvassed with much freedom. They even entered warmly into the subject themselves, often favoring different sides of the question; and however much we may deplore the loss of time and labor devoted to the defence of untenable propositions, it must be conceded that they displayed far less polemic bitterness than certain (*English Protestant*) writers who followed them 'beyond the Alps' two centuries and a half later." And further on, speaking of the history of geology during two following centuries: "I return with pleasure to the geologists of Italy, who preceded, as has already been shown, the naturalists of other countries into the ancient history of the earth, and who still maintained a decided pre-eminence. They refuted and ridiculed the physico-theological system of Burnet, Whiston, and Woodward; while Valisneri, in his comments on the Woodwardian theory, remarked how much the interests of religion, as well as those of sound philosophy, had suffered by perpetually mixing up (as their English neighbors had done and have continued to do) the sacred writings with questions of physical science." It is unnecessary to accumulate additional testimony to the same or similar effect.

We really cannot understand how men, claiming to be conver-

sant with the history of the progress of astronomy and physical sciences in Catholic Europe, in Italy, and especially in Rome, can fail to see that there never was any hampering of the scientific intellect there, and, consequently, that the *corpus delicti* being absent, there is no room for the accusation which has been made.

In fact the decree of the Index, which we have already recited, was not intended to have, was not calculated to have, and, as we have just seen, did not actually have, that effect. Let us go back to the words of the decree itself. It declares the Copernican system (1) *false*, and (2) *contrary to Scripture*. The second point is a consequence of the first in their minds, not the first a consequence of the second. That such is the real meaning of the phrase is clear from the collocation of the words, and, still more clear, from the fact that Copernicanism is not declared to be "formally heretical" but only "contrary to Scripture." Had the current interpretation of the Scripture texts in question been held to be absolutely true, already determined and unchangeable, and had it been used as the basis or premise of the argument, they could not have avoided styling Copernicanism as "formally heretical." The Congregation was indeed urged to do this by some of the consulters. But under the guidance of Cardinal Bellarmine, then the highest theological authority in Rome, and of other learned men, the Congregation of the Index instead settled on the wording which we possess. The texts in question had not been declared by the authority of the Church to bear a special meaning. They did not bear directly on any doctrine of divine revelation, the truth of which would require this special interpretation to be adhered to.

The interpretation which was universally given to them had indeed come down from past ages. Being sanctioned by the *consensus patrum*, it might not be disturbed in its lawful and venerable possession save on the discovery of new and irrefragable evidence requiring and compelling a new interpretation. Such new and irrefragable evidence the Congregation did not possess, and was assured by the scientific world of that day, and assured truly, had not appeared. The vast majority of the scientists of that day, wedded to the Ptolemean system, did not think it could ever appear. They were mistaken. But we know that in that age it actually had not appeared. Yet even while accepting the assurance of contemporary science, the Congregation was, as we saw, very careful. They deemed it prudent, perhaps a duty, at that time, when wild interpretations of Scripture texts were leading men not alone to attack the authority and doctrines of the Church, but even the Divinity of the Saviour and the essential doctrines of Christianity, and the vital principles of Christian morality,—they deemed it, we repeat, a duty to close this opening through which a stream

was already flowing, which, simple and harmless as it seemed to some, would still lead, and perhaps soon, to a mighty flood of errors of every kind, and on the most sacred points. The slightest rivulet of water making its way through a levee on the Mississippi, if neglected and not remedied in time, may lead to a gigantic crevasse and a disastrous inundation. It was necessary to provide against the imminent danger, for men's minds were getting excited on the matter. It was also important not to hamper or retard the progress of scientific research and discussion. They effected both purposes by the decree. It prohibited books that taught Copernicanism as an established truth, but left all free to present it and develop it as an hypothesis. By the first, all discussion as to the Scriptural texts and their meanings was eliminated from the controversy; by the second, the fullest scope was left for the physical, mathematical, and purely philosophic or scientific examination and discussion of the subject. So the decree was understood at the time.

The very day after its issuance, Galileo himself, then in Rome (1616), in a letter to Picchena, so estimates its import. Bellarmine's view may be gathered from the extracts of his letters given in a former page of this article.

After his death, F. Grassi, in Rome, writing on the matter (1624), says: "When a demonstration shall be found to establish the earth's motion, it will be proper to interpret the sacred Scriptures otherwise than they have hitherto been, in those passages where mention is made of the stability of the earth, and the movement of the heavens, and this, *ex sententia Bellarmini*." In 1631 no less a personage than the Pope himself, Urban VIII., said to Cardinal Zoller: "The new system is not heretical. It is only rash. And there is no fear that any one will succeed in proving it to be absolutely true." In this forecast his Holiness was mistaken, but his words have their weight for the precise point before us. A year earlier (1630) he is recorded to have said to Campanella: "It never was our intention to condemn the Copernican system (absolutely); and if it had depended on us that decree never would have been made." At the date of its issuance he was only Cardinal Barberini, and had not pontifical authority. His words, however, indicate, what other evidences of the time show, that there were some among the ecclesiastical dignitaries who did not think the Congregation had acted with all desirable prudence.

The decree was recognized as a disciplinary enactment, made for prudential motives, in order to guard against a religious danger that appeared grave, and was so framed as to do this without infringing on the proper liberty of scientific research, as it certainly did not in effect. It seemed called for by the exigencies of the time. When these had passed, or under other circumstances, the decree

might be allowed to sink into disuse, or it might even be revoked. For that Congregation was free to change or revoke prior regulations made by it, whenever seeming sufficient cause was presented for such a course; and it has often exercised the right.

In regard to this special decree the world knows that it has been suppressed. We have said that the first strong mathematical proof of the truth of Copernicanism is found in the *Principia* of Newton, published in 1687, nearly three-quarters of a century after the issuance of the Index decree. Of that great work, it is said, that at its appearance, "not more than two or three of his contemporaries were capable of understanding it, and more than fifty years elapsed before it was thoroughly understood by the generality of scientific men." In Italy the work was welcomed, learnedly commented on, and admiration for it went so far that one even "wed it to immortal verse" in a very long Latin poem. Still the nature of Newton's argument is, that the system is true, because the laws of physical mathematics, which he developed, are fulfilled by the facts of the system. It is a development on a large scale of the original idea of simplicity and regular order, presented faintly by Copernicus. A long study was necessary to master Newton's proof; and its cogency was not always felt. After Newton came Bradley (1727) with his discovery of the Aberration of light as it travels from the distant stars to the earth, moving on in its orbit around the sun. This might be called a tangible physical proof of the theory. It required, indeed, to verify it superb instruments and a long-continued series of delicate observations. The amount of aberration at its utmost is very small. Even with the best instruments of that day, far inferior to those of to-day, errors might easily creep in. It was just such a problem as put the astronomers, especially in Italy, on their mettle. Finally, the common consent of all came to be that Bradley's observations were right, and that the long-desired proof was in their possession. The Congregation of the Index acted as it had been declared that it would act. In 1752 the decree of 1616, against teaching Copernicanism as an absolute truth, was revoked. It had been practically set aside at least ten years earlier.

Let it not be said that in the preceding pages we have presented a modern view of the question of Galileo and the Copernican theory, specially devised, because it is needed, in order to defend the Church in the present state of science, but that it is substantially different from the view entertained at the time of, and immediately subsequent to, the passage of that decree of the Index. We have quoted the testimony of Galileo himself, of Bellarmine, the greatest theologian in Rome at that time, and of Pope Urban VIII. himself.

We might have cited others writing in Rome, who equally bear us out. We prefer, however, to close with a few quotations, not from private correspondents, but from another class,—from theological teachers of high repute in that century.

Libertus Fromond was a Professor in the University of Louvain, and took part in the controversies of the day on Copernicanism. In 1631, fifteen years after the action of the Index, and two years before the trial of Galileo, he published a work, entitled *Ant-aristarchus*, against the new theory. In Chapter V. he propounds the question: "Should the Copernican theory be now held to be heretical?" In answer, he says that Catholic theologians hold the negative, "because they deny that the power of the cardinals (of the Index) in declaring doctrine is the same as that of the Pope himself." And he adds that "he, himself, cannot censure" those theologians "until he shall see something on the subject from the Pope himself, much more precise than what has hitherto been said."

Riccioli, a learned Professor of the University of Bologna, published a large work, in folio, the *Almagestum Novum*, in 1651. He must have spent years in preparing it. He advocates the Ptolemean system, and argues at length, and with a multiplicity of reasons, against Copernicanism. He, too, takes up the action of the Holy Office, and of the Index, in reference to that theory, and says (p. 489) that while, philosophically speaking, there was every probability that their action was right, and that certainly it deserved to be respected and obeyed, "still, one is permitted to believe that these same judges, if convinced of the contrary, whether by their own study, or by a clear demonstration given them by others, would revoke that censure." That censure he held to be based, not on the decision of a question of physical philosophy, but on a rule for interpreting Scripture which the Copernicans were violating. "Texts of Scripture are to be interpreted in their literal meaning, unless this contradicts other texts, or a doctrine defined by the Church, or a proposition of science established with absolute certainty." Moreover, "in this question," he adds explicitly, "nothing has been decided by the Sovereign Pontiff, but only by inferior delegated officials."

Fabri was Grand Penitentiary in Rome when he wrote, in 1661: "There is no reason why the Church should not understand these texts in a literal sense, and declare that they ought to be so understood, until the contrary be established by some clear demonstration. And if it should happen that some day such a demonstration shall be found,—which I can scarcely believe possible,—then the Church will not hesitate to declare that these texts are to be understood in a figurative or improper, and not in a literal sense."

Fabri speaks clearly on the question. He uses the term *church*, for the church acting practically through an inferior administrative tribunal,—the Congregation of the Index.

Caramuel was another eminent theologian of that century, equally if not more bitterly opposed to Copernicanism. In his *Theologia Moralis Fundamental*, published in Lyons in 1679, he examines this question, and lays down the proposition, that if the Copernican theory were not, of itself and by its falsehood, heretical before, it certainly did not become heretical in consequence of being thus condemned by the cardinals of the Congregation of the Index. "For such condemnations have only a practical force," that is, are only practical enactments regulating discipline, and do not rise to the dignity of dogmatic teachings of the Church.

These quotations, to which we might add others of the same century, show that the view we have presented of the celebrated decree of the Congregation of the Index, expresses the sense in which it was understood and acted on at the time. The decree was not a doctrinal teaching, but strictly a disciplinary enactment. The infallible teaching of the Church was not in question. The decree was based on the actual state of science at that time, as a condition precedent. It was in its character reversible, in certain contingencies, which, however, we may suppose most, if not all, of its framers really thought could never occur. When the contingency did occur, the decree was revoked. It was intended as a practical *messo termine*, or compromise enactment, for there were two contending parties. It was intended to safeguard the interests of religion, which the Congregation existed to protect, and to do this without trenching on the liberty of philosophical research into the facts of the natural world. That it did not so trench is patent to whoever makes himself conversant with the history of the progress of natural sciences in Rome and throughout Italy.

Still we may regret that the Congregation of the Index did not accept the wise counsels of Cardinal Barberini, and of others agreeing with him, and abstain altogether from enacting the decree. At least we would have been spared the trouble of writing and our patient readers the annoyance of perusing this long article. Still their mistake, if mistake it was, has its lesson needed, as we see from many recent communications in approved Catholic papers, even to-day. Too many are still disposed to bring out their interpretations of texts of Scripture on physical and natural questions for the purpose of peremptorily deciding, or at least of cutting short, the discussion of questions which the Church has left to the wise scrutiny and the critical judgment of those who give their life's study to such subjects.

In conclusion, the mature judgment of pious and intelligent
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Catholics on the whole matter of Galileo and the Copernican system may be summed up in the words of the illustrious Tiraboschi, in his *Letteratura Italiana*: "In this we must admire the providence of God in behalf of His Church. For at a time when the majority of the theologians firmly believed the system of Copernicus to be contrary to the Holy Scriptures, God did not permit His Church to pronounce a solemn judgment against it."

IRELAND'S OPPORTUNITY—WILL IT BE LOST?

IT is clear to those who watch the phases of Irish national sentiment and agitation, that the country is nearing a crucial time, and that the year 1882 will decide, for another generation at least, whether or not Irishmen are equal to the call of a great and rare opportunity.

Events in Ireland and Great Britain during the past twenty years, have hurried on to the present or immediate contingency, Grade by grade the Irish people have been awakened and interested in the public movements, until they have arrived at a national unity that would be extraordinary in any time or country.

"The Young Irelanders" of '48 struck a bold note that aroused the enthusiasm and sentiment of Ireland. But the solid forces of the country, the farmers, traders, professional men, clergymen, and the well-to-do classes generally were not deeply touched. That movement passed like a fever, and the country sank into unhappy quiet again.

The Fenian movement came in the night to the sleeping nation, aroused the mechanic and laboring classes, and included many of the younger members of the more conservative elements of the higher social grades.

But still the people as a mass remained stolidly apathetic. The Church condemned the workings of the secret society. The farmers, traders, and well-to-do class held aloof, watching the

movement with undoubted sympathy, but unwilling to risk their lives and property on the terrible chances of armed revolution.

A fight of five to thirty in number and of five to a thousand in wealth and organization, did not appeal strongly to the minds of middle-aged and cautious men. The fever passed, as in '48; but, unlike the former experience, the country did not settle back for a generation of slumber.

The world had changed since '48; and Ireland had changed more perhaps than any other country. Thirty-seven years ago, when O'Connell was arrested, there was no potency in Ireland or for Ireland except the voice of the eight millions of impoverished people on her own soil. And England took special care that this voice should be heard as little as possible outside and inside the limits of the island. O'Connell, in his agitation for Catholic enfranchisement, had trained the people to pull together. But this work was done solely as he directed. He did not develop the idea of individual citizenship among the masses as well as that of organization. Backed by the solid support of the Catholic hierarchy and clergy, he issued the orders, and the millions, almost blindly, carried them out, and so the battle of emancipation was won.

In the Repeal agitation O'Connell adopted the same tactics. But the government had profited by the experience of the past. They knew now that the presence of O'Connell was necessary to the organization he had made. They removed him—took away the brain from the body, shut him up in prison as they have Parnell, and the natural collapse followed, with a movement that was all tail with one head.

But when Fenianism went down under the soldiers and constabulary, there grew out of its field of defeat an Idea. It was conceived in the brain of an Irish political prisoner in a Dartmoor cell—Michael Davitt. A man of great natural power, with a conscientious hunger for thoroughness of work and understanding, who admitted to his own heart that Irish movements had failed to affect England because they had first failed to enlist Ireland.

A national movement, to succeed, must be based on something sounder than sentiment. It must touch the common-sense of the people. The basis of sound nationality is the well-being of the individual citizen.

The outcome of this idea was the Land League. From its first meeting in the county Mayo, at which Mr. Davitt spoke to over ten thousand farmers, it was a success. The seed fell on fertile soil. The rackrented farmers were ripe for a movement that promised to break or lessen their crushing bonds. It appealed to

their moral force alone. It depended on the justice of mankind, to whom it appealed in all tongues and in every land. It was public and educational. The priests, largely taken from the farming class, saw the need of the reform and the legality of the means, and supported it strongly. The ablest Irish members of Parliament adopted its policy, and the acknowledged leader of the Home Rule party, Mr. Parnell, became by unanimous consent of Irishmen, the leader of the Land League.

Then came the famine of 1880, like a storm to blow farther the seed of the Irish agitation. Rackrented and poverty-stricken Ireland cried out from its ashes and sorrow for bread and clothing. England, alarmed as at a conflagration, at first tried the dreadful device of belittling or altogether denying the existence of the famine. But she could not stifle the cry of Ireland in 1880 as she had done in other emergencies. The world heard and recognized its agony and reality. Mr. Parnell came to America and told the appalling story of his country's wretchedness in every important city of the United States and Canada.

This was a memorable step for Ireland. On Mr. Parnell's return, the Land League organization, established on this continent to co-operate with the parent-body in Ireland, spread rapidly over the country, and is to-day the most powerful Irish organization that ever existed in America.

The arrest of Parnell and the other leaders, and even the lawless shattering of the Land League in Ireland by armed and ruffianly force, have been futile work for the English government. The arrest of Parnell differs from the arrest of O'Connell, because there are now, in this country alone, more organized Irish societies, and twice as many Irishmen, as there are in Ireland.

And every thousand Irishmen exercising in America the power of their moral force, are a leaven to be heeded more by English statesmen than the armed rebellion of the same men or their fathers in Ireland.

The Land League has succeeded. It has compelled the passage of a law that will lower rents, more or less. It has raised the Irish question into cosmopolitan attention. It has crystallized the national sentiment of the Irish people and their descendants in America, Australia, Canada, and other countries. But above all its good results,—it has nationalized the Irish farmers, traders, priests, and well-to-do classes, and they stand now ready and waiting for the next act in the national drama.

It is time for the curtain to rise again. When the Land League, aided fearfully by the famine, began its agitation, its timeliness and force were acknowledged by all Irish parties. The Home Rulers virtually subsided, giving the newcomers their place. The Revo-

lutionists looked on with unfriendly eyes at first, fearing that the land movement, which only aimed at a detail, would distract attention from the National idea. But as they watched, they saw that the new agitation was raising the farmers and tradesmen into activity, and after a time the Land League was left alone in the field, to work out its purpose as best it could.

Now, it must be asked and answered: Where does the Land League propose to end?

Mr. Parnell's object for the organization, expressed more than a year ago, was the expropriation of Irish landlords,—which means the purchase of the land by the government, and its re-sale on easy terms to the Irish farmers. Ireland does not want this to-day, and would be most unwise to accept it. If England during the past two years had had statesmen of first-rate quality, she would have speedily offered this settlement; and had the people of Ireland accepted her offer they would now find themselves more inextricably bound to Great Britain than ever the act of Union bound them.

If the English government purchases the land from the landlords and resells it to the farmers of Ireland, the world's opinion will hold these men bound to their contract. The legitimate outcome of the Land League is therefore not national. It was never meant to be national. On the contrary, it would be the doom of Irish nationality, at least for a full generation, until the debt of the farmers to the English government had been repaid.

Some, and many, will say that Ireland, even in case of such a sale, would owe England nothing, in view of the centuries of wrong and robbery. This is doubtless true in equity; but why make a contract at all? It will not help matters anyway. Better to preserve the integrity of the Irish farmer, even though he should starve. If the present 630,000 tenant farmers, augmented by at least a million more, as they would be, were to agree to buy from England the land of Ireland, meaning to break the bargain by a revolution next year, their conduct would be, in the mildest judgment of other nations, deceitful and discreditable.

It is not necessary to do this. For the best interests of Ireland it must not be done.

"But," it will be said by some Irishmen, "the Land League means to abolish rent altogether." It means no such thing. It has never said so, nor has it ever so intended. Such a proposition is absurd, so far at least as the present Irish question is concerned. It is a social theory which no country has yet accepted. No sensible person expects poor Ireland, struggling for very life, to voluntarily burden herself also with a socialistic millstone that would probably sink the United States.

Therefore, if the Land League has only one legitimate purpose,

and if Ireland has reason to reconsider that purpose, it is time to look ahead and take new bearings.

The aim of Ireland in doing this is fortunately assisted by time and tradition. The year 1882 is the centennial of the Irish Parliament obtained by the agitation of Henry Grattan. The progressive issue of the land agitation is a demand for a government of Ireland by the Irish themselves.

Circumstances never worked more fortuitously to an end than here. The Land League has accomplished its work so far as it can safely and wisely be accomplished. The whole people are aroused. The English government, at its wits' end, is apparently ready to listen to a proposition from Ireland that will restore peace without dismembering the empire. The present Prime Minister and many other leading Englishmen have clearly so expressed themselves, and without damnatory criticism by any English class or party.

Ireland in 1882 ought to agitate for and demand her own government. No matter by what name the movement is called, whether Home Rule, Repeal, or Federation. The result will be practically the same. The natural resources of the country will be worked and cherished by its own people. The official life will no longer be an alien and inimical network spread over the island. The insolent presence of soldiery and armed constabulary will disappear. The dignity of a people upholding a nationality they are proud of will take the place of the servile helplessness of an almost pauper population.

We do not fear for Ireland's future in a federal union with England. Nature has given the lesser country inestimable advantages. The anti-trade laws passed by England in the last century are proof that even then she feared mercantile and manufacturing competition with Ireland. The intelligence of commerce will steer its merchant ships into Ireland's southern and western ports, to avoid the dangers of the fatal English Channel. The unrivalled water-power of the rivers, from whose tumbling streams even the flour-mills have disappeared, will drive the wheels of manufacture into rapid competition with Lancashire.

If the landlords of Ireland are to be bought out,—and we see no other way for the farmers to become proprietors, unless the government drive the people into revolution,—it is better that they should be bought out by an Irish rather than an English Parliament.

And if, after a fair trial of the federal union, it were found that Ireland suffered by the bond, that she was outnumbered in council, harassed and injured by imperial enactments, that in fact it was an unequal and unbearable contract, then still there remains the ultimate appeal of an oppressed people,—separation even by the sharp edge of violence.

The next step for Ireland is obviously not revolution. She has been for the past four years a model to the world of intelligent, peaceful agitation. Her people have pursued their legal purpose with marvellous patience, tenacity, and temper. They have not broken the law, under terrible excitements and in constant presence of the flaunted arrogance and ruffianism of unnecessary military power. They have achieved the greatest of all triumphs in compelling their powerful opponent either to yield or to break all the laws that it had itself invented to oppress and hamper the weaker country.

A people with such political intelligence and fertility need not fear federation with England. If Ireland can beat her even under present disadvantages, she will assuredly hold her own under a fairer relationship.

The men who recently issued a Home Rule manifesto in Ireland were undoubtedly right. They struck the proper note exactly; but they did it with uncertain hand, for their utterance has already faded into silence, though it met with no serious opposition.

The people of Ireland are, to-day, without a national policy. The splendid Land League organization goes on grinding, but it is not grinding toward nationality. Its great-hearted work for the present winter is to protect the evicted families of farmers who refuse to pay rent because England has outraged even her own laws. But Ireland cannot go on forever fighting with all her forces against a minor evil. If she go on for six months longer, England will open her eyes to her opportunity, and bind Ireland in new hemp by the sale of the country to the farmers.

The late Irish-American Convention in Chicago might well have started the national proposition. Had that meeting spoken for an Irish government in Ireland, with the Union repealed, and a federal union substituted, Ireland would have answered like one man. That meeting did not so speak because a few men antagonize the Home Rule idea, and declare that they will have nothing less than utter separation from England, with a republican and socialistic government for Ireland.

To obtain these two objects Ireland must fight England with arms. She must seize all the strong places, at present occupied by fifty thousand armed men. She must, in one month, put in the field an army of at least one hundred thousand men, equipped with engineers and artillery; England in the same time will land on her shores at least that number of soldiers. She must establish a fleet to keep herself from suffocation if not starvation. And she must fight out a desperate conflict for existence, without a hope of borrowing fifty dollars in foreign markets on her national promissory note.

What sensible Irishman favors this policy? What earnest revolutionist is prepared to wait until all this can be done before Ireland obtains a Parliament of her own?

The sooner Ireland in America speaks on this point the better. Many earnest Irishmen, among the leaders in Ireland, firmly believe that Irish-Americans are all blood-and-thunder radicals. This belief restrains action among them. One of the ablest of the leaders now in prison, recently wrote the writer that the belief is widespread in Ireland that the Irish-Americans will have nothing less than absolute "no rent," and ultimate revolution.

Such a belief is utterly wrong. Even the revolutionary party in America condemn as absurd the absolute "no rent" proposition. This party, too, sees that Irish Home Rule in no way conflicts with their own more consummate settlement.

Another, and a very grave reason for an expression of policy, is that the best intelligence, both in Ireland and America, will withdraw from a movement that either cloaks its ultimate purpose, or has none. Already the Land League has suffered deep loss by the vagueness of its drift. One American bishop has publicly uttered his disapproval of an organization which he could not understand; and the Catholic clergy generally have, it is believed, a secret and a growing feeling, in regard to the Land League, that they are dealing with an occult and uncertain organism.

To allow so great an organization to collapse through blind management and lack of purpose would be calamitous. To fight the landlords and support the evicted tenants is not a national policy—it is not enough. When the land question is settled, the question of an Irish government for Ireland will be no nearer solution than at present.

A demand for Home Rule by the Irish people, supported by their representatives in Parliament, will obtain sympathy in all countries, and particularly in America. The Land League has demonstrated its necessity to the world. It will give life to the magnificent organization which now has nothing to do but raise money. It will receive instant and thorough approval and support from the Catholic hierarchy and priests, both in Ireland and America, and from intelligent and conservative men who have hitherto avoided all Irish national movements.

Unless this demand is made, and soon made, the Land League organization will dwindle into insignificance, and an opportunity such as Ireland has not seen for a century will be lost.

THE EARLY FRANCISCAN MISSIONS IN THIS COUNTRY.

Luis Geronimo de Ore, Relacion de los Martires de la Florida, 1604.

Memorial que Fray Ivan de Santander de la Orden de San Francisco, Comissario General de Indias presenta à la Magestad Catolica del rey Don Felipe Quarto, Hecho por el Padre Fray Alonso de Benavides, Custodio de las Conversiones del Nuevo Mexico. Madrid, 1630.

Histoire du Canada et Voyages que les Frères Mineurs Recollects y ont fait pour la conversion des infidelles. Par le F. Gabriel Sagard Theodat, Mineur Recollect de la Province de Paris. Paris, 1636.

Description de la Louisiane. Par le Père Louis Hennepin. Paris, 1683. Translated, New York, 1880.

Establissement de la Foi dans la Nouvelle France. Par le père Chrestien le Clercq. Paris, 1691. Translated, New York, 1881.

El Peregrino Septentrional Atlante, delineado en la exemplarissima vida del Venerable Padre Fr. Antonio Margil de Jesus. Valencia, 1742.

Relacion Historica de la Vida y Apostolicas Tareas del Venerable Padre Fray Junipero Serra, y de las Misiones que fundò en la California Septentrional. Mexico, 1787.

Travels in North America. By M. Crespel. London, 1797.

BUT a few years since men traversed this broad land in every direction, wrote of it and described it, treated of its history even, with scarce a thought of the early pioneers of the Cross, who facing every danger went from tribe to tribe announcing the truths of the gospel, and seeking to win the natives from the idolatry and superstitions into which they had sunk.

Light has penetrated the darkness,—the history of the United States as now understood devotes to the early Catholic missionaries chapters which for heroic grandeur, for self-devotedness, courage, and perseverance, are unsurpassed. The long-bred aversion to the religious of the ancient faith yielded to the instinctive reverence awarded by an honest heart to virtue of heroic mould.

Yet it is chiefly to the Jesuit laborers in the mission-field that the credit is given. To them Bancroft devoted glowing pages; it was their letters that Bishop Kip gleaned and translated; and to them Parkman pays tribute in his *Jesuits in North America*, without covering all their labors in the pages where his vivid style invests his long research with all the charms of an epic.

But great as were the labors, the sufferings, and the zeal of the

sons of St. Ignatius, it would be unjust to rivet the attention solely on them. They were not alone in the field. Side by side with them labored the sons of St. Francis; still full of the generous ardor and intrepidity of their earlier days. Sometimes they preceded the Jesuit Fathers, as in Canada, or succeeded them, as in Florida and California, or were the sole regenerators and spiritual conquerors of fields peculiarly their own, as in New Mexico and Texas. They are, however, too little known, and the works recording their services have not been made accessible to the general reader, yet in their annals stand out in grand relief men who would be venerated in the history of the Church in any country. Mark of Nice, Caron, Le Clercq, Margil, Serra, Massey, Bishop St. Buenaventura Tejada, and their glorious army of Franciscan Fathers, who sacrificed their lives on the missions within our limits, were men of no ordinary virtue and ability.

The Franciscan history in this country opens with Father Juan Xuarez and Brother Juan de Palos, two of the Apostolic Twelve who founded their order in Mexico. With three other friars of St. Francis they zealously went, in 1527, to Florida, hoping to raise up a new Christendom in the realm which the Adelantado Pamfilo de Narvaez was to add to the dominions of the Spanish king; but the expedition, ill conceived and ill managed, involved all in destruction, and the good Franciscans crowned their lives of mission zeal by Christian patience and fortitude amid disaster, suffering, and starvation.

When the survivors of that expedition reached the shores of the Pacific, and Alvar Nuñez, whose curious family name was Cabeza de Vaca, or Cow's Head, told of the strange half-civilized tribes he had met in his long and unparalleled wanderings across the continent, a Franciscan stepped forward ready to bear the gospel to them, with the graces of which Christ made his Church the channel to men. Alvar told how five Fathers of St. Francis had perished on the coast of Florida, but the brave Friar Mark from Nice and the sunny Riviera did not recoil. Open the grand old folios of Ramusio, clear and handsome, though printed in 1565, and read Father Mark's narrative telling how "with the aid and favor of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, our Lady, and of our Seraphic Father St. Francis," he with Friar Honorato set out from San Miguel de Culiacan, on Friday, the 7th of March, 1539. Soon after Easter the intrepid missionaries reached Cevola, one of the New Mexican towns, with its curious houses rising story after story, offering no means of entrance but by ladders. The people were decently attired in cotton garments and robes of buffalo and other skins, with gold and silver vessels, and turquoises, used both as ornament and as

money. Here he planted the Cross, and nearly three centuries and a half ago initiated a mission of his order which was for years to spread Christian light over the interior of the continent.

Father Mark opened the way, but the mission was not effectively begun till many a zealous Franciscan had laid down his life in the attempt to win the natives to listen to the Christian doctrines of which he was the herald.

While the Friars Minor were thus aiming at the spiritual conquest of New Mexico, Florida summoned them. The Dominicans, pioneers of the Faith on our coast, had bedewed the soil of the peninsula with the blood of the martyr of obedience, Father Luis Cancer, and his companion Garcia. They had labored on the shores of the Chesapeake, but discouraged by the obdurate and animal hearts of the people, they had turned to other fields. The Fathers of the Society of Jesus came. Their missionaries announced the Faith from the Rappahannock to Cape Sable; they tried to convert the old and educate the young; but when the line of martyrs begun with Martinez, closed with Segura and his comrades, even the untiring Father Rogel lost heart, and they turned away from the sterile and ungrateful field.

It was no light undertaking to expect any meed of success where two such orders had failed. But the Franciscans were not disheartened. About 1590 the first attempt was made, and the pioneers felt so encouraged that two years later a body of twelve—the favorite number of the Franciscan apostles—eleven priests and a lay brother, began a series of missions, extending from Tolemato, now the cemetery of Saint Augustine, along the coast to Amelia Island. Each mission station had its chapel, its house for instruction, and the reception of those who came to see the Fathers. The missionaries labored earnestly to establish morality, to prevent polygamy and licentiousness. The better disposed readily entered into the views of their new teachers, and Christianity found many ready to embrace its doctrines, but the lawless fretted under the strict rule, and sighed for the old system of license and licentiousness. A young chief resolved to rid the country of the missionaries, and easily drew some of the licentious into the sanguinary plot he formed. In 1597, stung by the reproof of Father Peter de Corpa, the Franciscan missionary at Tolemato, he killed him as he knelt before his altar. The confederates at once rushed to the other stations to complete the work. Brave Father Blas Rodriguez, met the murderers, and professing his readiness to die, asked only time to offer once more the holy sacrifice. The cool courage of the brave priest touched even the brutalized hearts of these men. They consented, and flung themselves down in his chapel with all the stolidity of their race, to wait till the doomed

priest had said his last mass. When it was ended, he calmly knelt before it to receive the death-blow from a tomahawk. Two other missionaries, Father Auñon and Father Antonio de Badajoz, were killed at Ossibaw, and Father Velascola at Asao. One only escaped; he fell into the hands of the Indian, who spared his life, only to make him die daily in the torments and outrages inflicted on him.

The Franciscan mission in Florida seemed annihilated, but other Fathers were ready to take their posts on the ground recking with the blood of their brethren, to restore the chapels, and resume the instruction of the natives. The missionaries sought no vengeance, but the Spanish authorities punished the offenders with sound judgment, in order to prevent a recurrence. The evil-disposed Indians submitted or withdrew. The missions entered on a new era of prosperity, and the Fathers so increased in number that in 1612 Florida was formed into a province of the order.

By this time they had gained a permanent foothold in New Mexico. Father John de Padilla, Brother John of the Cross, Father John of St. Mary, Father Francis Lopez, Brother Augustine Rodriguez, had all fallen victims to their zeal, but in 1595 Don John de Oñate entered New Mexico with a well-equipped expedition, accompanied by eight Franciscan missionaries, selected by the Commissary-General Father Peter Pila. The superior of this body was Father Roderick Daran, but he was not equal to the task; and having been compelled to return, Father Alonzo Martinez was appointed and became the founder of the missions in New Mexico. How these prospered may be seen in the statement made to the king of Spain in 1630, that up to that time eighty thousand had been baptized. The fruit at first had been small; but the Franciscans persevered; as one sank beneath his labors and hardships, another took his dangerous and difficult post. In 1622 New Mexico was formed into a custody, and Father Alonzo Benavides appointed the local Superior. His memorial to Philip IV. gives a full picture of the Church established in the heart of the northern continent. The Pecos were all converted and churches established at Socorro, Senecu, and Civillata; the tribe of Tioas followed their example, and the Catholic churches of Sandia and Isleta antedate any raised on the Atlantic coast; the Tompiras, Sanos, Pecos, Teoas, Hemes, also embraced the faith. Though the Pécuries at first resisted, and laid violent hands on the missionaries, they were at last overcome by the patience, humility, and unflagging zeal of the Franciscans, the missionary escaping from attempts on his life in a way that all regarded as miraculous. The Taos clung to the polygamy they had so long practiced. In vain the missionary preached and exhorted. An old hag, regarded

as a witch, exercised such an influence that she even weakened the faith of some women converted and married with the sacramental rites. Her death, by a stroke of lightning while she was plying her satanic wiles, aided greatly by the terror it inspired to commend the teachings of the priest. Acoma and Zuñi, both under the slavery of the medicine-men, had sturdily resisted the envoys of Christianity, but they, too, had yielded at last, while the truth was preached to the towns of the Moquis and the wandering tribes of the Apaches, as untamable two centuries ago as they are now.

To effect conversions in Florida and New Mexico required a knowledge of the various languages spoken, and even among the Pueblo towns on the Rio Grande, where houses, and arts, and progress seemed alike, the Indians were really of far different stocks, speaking several languages unlike in principle and form. Before the settlers of Virginia or New England had acquired any insight into the languages of the redmen, the Franciscans of Florida and New Mexico had reduced languages to rule and system, had all the needed rudimentary works on them, and were training Indian children to read and write. Many books were printed which remain as monuments of the zeal, learning, and ability of the early missionaries, who, like Pareja, acquired thorough mastery of aboriginal language and thought. Still further west Father Perdomo, after early essays in mission work in Florida, went with Vizcaino to be one of the first apostles of California, a pioneer of the coming work of his order in that land.

While the Spanish Franciscans were thus extending their labors in the south, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, other bands of Friars Minor were emulating their example in the north. France was occupying the valley of the St. Lawrence and the territory near its mouth. Champlain, the founder of Quebec, as soon as colonization showed promise of success, sought to obtain clergy for the French settlers, and missionaries for the poor heathen Indians, whose spiritual degradation excited his compassion. A man of robust and earnest faith, he felt the importance of religion for the well-being of the future state. He applied in the first instance to the Recollects or Reformed Franciscans of the Province of Aquitaine, in France, but various difficulties arose which prevented those Fathers from undertaking the good work. Father Garnier de Chapouin, Provincial of the province of St. Denis, of the same order, entered into Champlain's plans and obtained the necessary authority to found a mission in America. In the spring of 1615 a little party of apostolic men, Father Denis Jamay as Commissary, with Father John d'Olbeau, Father Joseph le Caron, and a lay brother, sailed from Honfleur in the St. Etienne, and on the day in May

when the order celebrates the translation of the relics of the holy founder, they anchored in the roadstead of Tadousac.

A vast field was before these clergymen. Chapels were to be erected at Quebec and the minor posts, Tadousac and Three Rivers; the French settlers were to be formed to the practice of religious duties, to which some had long been strangers, and the Indians, from the Saguenay to the friendly Hurons, on the upper lakes, were to be won from their barbarous fetichism to the knowledge and worship of the one true God. After Cartier's days, the first mass offered at Quebec, Tadousac, Three Rivers, Sault St. Louis, as well as in Upper Canada, was offered by these Franciscans. In the mission they formed Father Joseph le Caron is the great central figure, the real founder, a priest of great zeal, discretion, energy, and patience. He interested many leading men of France in Canadian affairs, brought over other Fathers to aid in the work, stimulated the study of the Indian languages, so that in a few years dictionaries were prepared of the tongues spoken by the Nasquapees at Tadousac, the Montagnais on the St. Lawrence, and the radically different language spoken by the Hurons, among whom Father le Caron himself founded the mission, wintering in their remote palisaded towns. One of these brave Franciscans, Father Nicholas Viel, perished, a victim to his zeal, having been treacherously hurled from his frail canoe, with his little Indian acolyte, at a rapid that in its name, "Sault au Recollet," still, after the lapse of two centuries and a half, chronicles his death.

Another intrepid son of St. Francis, Father Joseph de la Roche d'Allion, not only reached Upper Canada, but, seeking new mission fields, must have crossed the Niagara, and standing on the soil now claimed by New York, announced within the limits of our republic the truths of Christianity to the neutral Indians, amid the thunderous echoes of the great cataract. He wellnigh gained the crown of martyrdom, and another, Father Poullain, fell into the hands of the cruel Iroquois, and suffered great cruelty at their hands. Finding the labor far beyond the ability of his province, Father le Caron solicited the aid of the Jesuits, and the two communities labored side by side till the English, some years after, wrested Canada from the French.

When Cardinal Richelieu effected the restoration of the colony, he seems to have excluded the Recollects, offering the Canadian missions to his favorite order, the Capuchins, another branch of the great Franciscan family, and when they declined it, to the Jesuit Fathers, who have made their labors on that field so famous. It was not till years after that the brown robe and sandalled feet of the Recollects were seen in Canada.

The Recollects of Aquitaine, to whom Champlain had applied

in vain, assumed, in 1619, the charge of missions on the Acadian coast, and for several years threaded the forests from the Atlantic to the St. Lawrence, following the Indian trails, through woodland paths, over rugged portages, and down the rivers. The book describing their labors has eluded all the search and investigations of our "Americana" hunters. We know but little of their hopes and trials, the spiritual joy that buoyed them up, the obduracy that made them despond. We know that one of them, Father Sebastian, starting from Miscou to return to their chief mission-house on the river St. John, sank under misery and hardship in his forest journey, and died a victim to his zeal, alone in the wilderness. Others crossing to the St. Lawrence by the Rivière Loup, traversed territory that Maine now claims. This mission was in time broken up by the English, and though the Recollects, on the restoration of the country, renewed their work, Cardinal Richelieu replaced them by Capuchin Fathers.

This branch of the Franciscan order had for years missions on the sea-coast now claimed by Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, zealously discharging the ministry for French and Indian. Men of renown, like Father Archangel of Pembroke, served with zeal on these coast missions; and not many years ago a Maine farmer turned up with his plough the leaden plate that had once been inclosed in the corner-stone of a chapel of Our Lady of Holy Hope near the river Penobscot.

When at a later period Catholics from the British Isles were sold as bondmen in the growing English colonies in America, the spiritual needs of these poor people, deprived of priest and altar and sacrifice, roused the sympathies of the French king, and English-speaking Capuchins were sent to the frontier posts to afford, when they could, the comforts of religion to the victims of bigotry and religious hatred.

Thus in the earlier part of the seventeenth century we behold Franciscans laboring on the southern and northern frontiers of our present territory; but it was not only there. In the very heart of the English colonies they were also found, some Fathers of the order having been sent by the Propaganda to Maryland at the request of Lord Baltimore, a few years after the settlement, and for some years they labored side by side with the Jesuit Fathers, till the occasion which required their presence no longer existed.

In the reign of Charles II. the Society of Jesus, from the effects of the civil war, which diminished and impoverished the Catholic body in England, and terribly thinned the ranks of the secular and clergy, was unable to send members enough to meet all the wants of the American mission. Again the English Franciscans came to the rescue, with some also from Scotland. From the year 1672.

for full half a century humble and devoted Franciscans labored in Maryland and the adjoining colonies, not only caring for the scattered Catholics, but evidently winning converts to the faith. Every incident points to them as the pioneers of the faith in Pennsylvania, the founders of the Church in Philadelphia, where their mass-house and conversions, early in the eighteenth century, provoked angry comment. Of these Franciscan missionaries the prominent figure is Father Massæus Massey à Sancta Barbara, called by Oliver "a truly apostolic man," who on three different occasions discharged the duties of Provincial of his order in England.

About the time that the English Franciscans returned to Maryland, the Recollects of France received the object of their long vows and prayers, permission to resume in Canada the labors of le Caron, Viel, and Sagard. Political and worldly wisdom had excluded them on the ground that a new colony was no place for a mendicant order. The same false wisdom recalled them when it found that the Venerable Laval, bishop of Quebec, as well as all his clergy, secular and regular, held doctrines too severe for their liking. Four Fathers were dispatched from France in 1669, but tempestuous weather forced the ships back to the French coast; but the next year Father Germain Allart, who afterwards filled the see of Vence with honor, sailed from La Rochelle with Father Gabriel de la Ribourde and two other priests, as well as the artistic deacon Luke le François, recognized as a distinguished painter in France, and two lay brothers. The convent of Our Lady of the Angels soon rose from its ruins, and when other Fathers came they spread through Canada as useful auxiliaries on the outlying districts, and preparing for Indian missions and permanent work. Father le Clercq, the author, took his post at Gaspé, where, to instruct more promptly the Micmac Indians, he adopted some rude hieroglyphics he found in use among the natives, and developed them into a system by which he taught his flock their Christian doctrine and prayers so successfully that other missionaries, appreciating its immense value as an aid in their labors, adopted it so generally that to this day these symbolic prayers are to be found in every Micmac cabin, and a few years ago type were cut at Vienna, from which three books have been printed in these Franciscan hieroglyphics. Brother Luke le François adorned with the works of his hands many of the Canadian churches, and was undoubtedly the only artist of merit to be found in America north of Mexico.

A new field was opened to the zeal of the Recollects by the scheme of western exploration, colonization, and trade, projected by Robert Cavelier, Sieur de la Salle, but which, from his sheer incompetence, resulted ultimately in disaster, misery, and loss. The arms of Louis XIV. had wrested Artois from Spain, and many

Flemish Recollects from that province were sent to Canada. Several of these, Fathers Gabriel de la Ribourde, Louis Hennepin, Zenobius Membré, and Melithon Watteau, were named to attend La Salle's expedition, become chaplains at the posts he might establish, and found missions to convert the friendly Indians among whom they found docile to the word. A chapel rose at Niagara; another at Fort Crevecoeur on the Illinois. Father Hennepin set out with two companions, and ascending the Mississippi reached its first fall, which he named after the patron of the mission, Saint Anthony of Padua, falling a prisoner into the hands of the Sioux, to whom he announced as he could the doctrines of Christianity. Meanwhile the venerable Father Gabriel de la Ribourde fell a victim to his zeal, having been murdered by some prowling Kickapoos. After a time La Salle, accompanied by Franciscans, descended the Mississippi to its mouth, connecting, as it were, the labors of the different nationalities in the order.

When later he sailed from France, ostensibly to settle the mouth of the Mississippi, but really to land in Texas and attack the northern provinces, rich in precious metals, Franciscans accompanied him, Fathers Zenobius Membré and Maximus le Clercq to perish by Indian hands in Texas, and Father Anastasius Douay, who was spared to return and chronicle the fate of the unwise La Salle.

The Franciscans in Canada, then with convents at Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal, did good mission work, and as chaplains to the French forts and king's posts were the pioneers in many of our dioceses. They were chaplains at Fort St. Frederic on Lake Champlain, at Niagara, at Erie, at Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburgh), at Detroit, where one, Father Constantine, was killed by the Indians. They attended expeditions, one, Father Emmanuel Crespel, recording in pages of deep interest his labors in Wisconsin and his later sufferings when shipwrecked on Anticosti. Some of these Recollect Fathers were employed in the Indian missions in Maine, and others, English by birth or speech, like Father Eyston, whose quaint signature, "*Recollect Anglais et Pauvre Pécheur*," still remains on registers, were placed near the frontier, to give comfort to Catholics in the colonies or to instruct in the faith English Protestants in Canada.

In Florida meanwhile the Franciscan missions, after several vicissitudes, were pushed in all directions, converting the various tribes, till the whole of the Apalaches were gathered into the fold. But with the progress of the neighboring English colonies new dangers came. The people of Carolina stimulated and led Indian expeditions to attack the villages of the neophytes, and return with numbers of "Indian converts of the Spanish priests," who were sent off to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. The Quaker gov-

ernor, Archbold, in vain protested against this cruel and unchristian system.

The devoted Franciscans had not only to behold the labor of years annihilated, their churches pillaged and burned, their neophytes slaughtered or dragged off as captives, but laid down their own lives amid the ashes of their children in Christ and of the altars they had reared. Sad was the fate of the mission of Ayabala, among the Apalaches, where Fathers John de Parga, Marcos, Delgado, and Manuel de Mendoza were butchered, beheaded, and given to the flames. So terrible was the destruction caused by these inroads, unprovoked and murderous, that in a few years the extensive missions, which had numbered twenty, with thousands of converts, were reduced to four, under the walls of the Spanish forts, and not numbering five hundred souls in all.

The Franciscans, however, pursued their labors among Spaniard and Indian, and found a new field in the negroes who escaped from slavery among the English. Early in the last century St. Augustine became the residence of a bishop, auxiliary to the bishop of Santiago de Cuba; it is an honor to the Franciscans that they can claim as belonging to their body this holy prelate, Francisco de San Buenaventura Tejada, who, after governing with zeal and ability the portion of the diocese assigned to him, was promoted to a see in Mexico, and died from the fatigue he underwent in making his episcopal visitation of the missions and churches in Texas, that great province forming only a part of his bishopric.

When La Salle's invasion of Texas convinced the Spanish government of the necessity of occupying that province, the Franciscan Father Damian Macanet accompanied the first expedition, and in 1690 returned with three Fathers, to found the mission of San Francisco and that of "Jesus, Mary, and Joseph." Disease and want soon swept away these early missions, but the Franciscans returned and renewed the attempt at various points, but after losing some of their members were again forced to await a happier time.

God soon raised up his chosen servant in the person of the Venerable Antonio Margil—venerable because the Congregation has proceeded so far in the matter of his canonization as to permit the use of the title. This remarkable and apostolic man was born in Valencia, Spain, on the 18th of August, 1657. From childhood he showed the greatest piety, a love of virtue, and a horror of offending God; his pious mother constantly instilling into his mind his obligation to seek perfection. At the age of seventeen he took the Franciscan habit in a very strict Recollect convent at Valencia, called "The Crown of Christ." His novitiate showed his real and solid virtue, which increased in fervor during his studies and at his

ordination. After laboring as much by example as by words at Denia he solicited the American mission, and was permitted to join Father Linaz, who was taking a number of new missionaries to the provinces beyond the seas. Arriving at Querétaro in August, 1683, he became one of the founders of the Apostolic College, which has ever since been a hive of zealous missionaries for Mexico. Yucatan and Nicaragua, Costa Rica and Guatemala were the first fields of his labors, his missions rousing all to new zeal and fidelity in their Christian duties. Years after the bishops in those parts attested the extent, thoroughness, and clearness of their labors, and the permanence of the good effected by his corps of missionaries. They visited the Talamancas, who had always refused to accept Christian instruction, and so won them that eleven churches were established in their territory. But the heathen element rose against them; the missionary and his companion were tied to stakes, and fagots heaped around them and fired. They escaped by what was deemed a miracle, but the Indians kept them as prisoners, without food for a long time, hoping to see them starve to death. When released they proceeded to the better disposed villages of the nation and converted many. They confronted the fierce Lacandones, and established a hospice of missionaries in Guatemala. His wonderful powers as a missionary, and the reputation of sanctity which he had already acquired, induced his superiors to recall him to Querétaro to direct the missionary college. After being here the father and propagator of the missions he returned to Guatemala, where he established a similar college. Here his ministry in reforming the morals, checking disorders, and restoring piety were attended by many marvels. Similar results attended his labors in other parts.

His next great work was the establishment of the Apostolic College at Zacatecas, worthy rival of that of Querétaro. Then, by direction of the King of Spain, he undertook the conversion of the Nayarits.

When missionaries were selected for Texas he was chosen Superior, and laid out the whole system of missions, but falling sick at the Rio Grande, seemed to be at the point of death. He received the last sacraments, and was left to die. Recovering, however, he followed his companions, who had begun their work under his directions, and he himself founded the mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe among the Nacogdoches, that of Dolores among the Ays, and a third mission among the Adayes, near the French post of Natchitoches. He even extended his ministry to the settlers there, not only saying mass for them, but hearing confessions and instructing them. Dolores became his home and the scene of his rigorous and penitential life, till a French invasion from Louisiana broke up

the missions. As soon as peace was restored he renewed the mission of St. Michael at Adayes, and having been appointed Prefect of the Missions *de Propaganda Fide*, established the mission of San Xavier and that of Bahia del Espiritu Santo, on the site of La Salle's fort.

Wherever duty called him, either as a simple missionary, or as local or general superior, he was regarded as a saint, and his sermons and missions and retreats produced wonderful fruits of grace. Failing in health he was summoned to Mexico, but reached his convent in a dying condition. Having made a general confession of his whole life, he received the last sacraments, and resigned himself to the will of God. The tidings spread through the city, and persons of all ranks hastened to see him. The holy man was troubled; "I wished to die and end my life," he exclaimed, "on some mountain among brutes and wild animals, and not in this holy place. God's will be done." He expired on the 6th of August, 1726, and was honored by all as a saint. The process of his canonization was soon undertaken, supported by the petition of the authorities in Mexico, and of the King of Spain; juridical investigations were made in the provinces of Guatemala and Mexico as to his virtues, labors, and supernatural gifts. The examination at Rome was favorable, and by apostolic authority his body was taken up and enshrined in a sepulchre in the sacristy on the 10th of February, 1778, in the presence of two bishops and under the direction of the Archbishop of Mexico.

Such was a typical Franciscan, a holy personage, connected with the Church in this country, who is unfortunately almost unknown among us, but whose process needs but a few steps to authorize the dedication of churches in Texas and Louisiana under his invocation as one of the blessed.

The missions founded and encouraged by Father Margil were continued, although several Franciscan Fathers shed their blood, martyred by those whose highest happiness they sought. About the time of the French revolution, the Spanish government by its action crippled the missions, and many were combined to enable the reduced number of Fathers to attend them. During the constant revolutions of the present century and the war on religion, the Franciscans were at last driven from Texas.

The missions of New Mexico prospered till 1680, when a revolt began against the Spaniards, headed by some secret adherents of the old idolatry. Twenty-one missionaries were butchered by the Indians, ungrateful for the long years of kindness. Church and convent perished. The next year, however, Father Ayeta revived the mission at Isleta, and in 1693 when Vargas restored authority eight Franciscan fathers returned to the land so dear to them.

When the missionary colleges were founded, New Mexico received some of the fervent priests trained in them. In 1812 there were twenty Indian pueblos and one hundred and two Spanish towns or ranches in New Mexico, all attended by the Franciscans. There, too, the Revolution wrought its work, and the habit and cord of St. Francis, so long identified with the faith in that territory, have disappeared.

The missions of Upper California were another fruit of the colleges with which the name of the Ven. Antonio Margil is associated.

They were founded by the illustrious Father Juniper Serra, the first in our territory being that of San Diego, established in 1769, soon followed by San Carlos de Monterey, San Antonio, Carmel, San Gabriel, San Luis Obispo, San Juan Capistrano. The first check was the destruction of San Diego and the murder of the missionary Father Luis Jayme by the Indians; but it was soon restored and new missions begun at San Francisco and Santa Clara. All these missions were remarkable for the thorough system introduced by Father Serra, a man of great zeal and piety, combined with extraordinary skill in the management of affairs. Each mission had its church and buildings; the Indians were collected, instructed in religion, and baptized when they were sufficiently prepared. They were weaned from their roving and precarious life, and trained to agriculture and the various trades. The missionary was the administrator of the little community, and under his direction the produce of the mission was regularly shipped to the Mexican ports and sold, purchases for the Indians being made from the proceeds. Each family received its earnings, and the whole was managed without causing a murmur or complaint. Happier or better communities probably never existed than the California Indians under the care of the Fathers of St. Francis.

Father Serra was made Prefect Apostolic by a bull of the Holy See, June 16th, 1774, and before his death had the consolation of seeing ten thousand converts in the ten missions he had established.

In time the number reached 30,000, but in 1832 the Mexican government dissolved the missions and seized the property. The Indians were scattered and left to perish; and when after some years California was acquired by us, the feeble remnants of the once happy mission Indians were ruthlessly swept aside or turned over to religious fanatics, who, hedged in by government authority, labored to root out religion from their minds.

When the diocese of the two Californias was created the Holy See made the Prefect Apostolic, Father Garcia Diego, the first bishop, and Fathers of St. Francis still at Santa Barbara continue the work of Serra and Palou.

The French colony of Louisiana was long a field for the labors of the Capuchin branch of the order. In 1722, with the consent of the Bishop of Quebec, the Capuchin Fathers of the province of Champagne undertook to supply priests for the various settlements; the Jesuit Fathers attending to the Indian tribes. When the province was transferred by Louis XV. to Spain, the Capuchins remained, and in 1776, the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba deputed his auxiliar, a Capuchin Father, Fray Cirilo, to visit Louisiana, as he had already done Florida. This good bishop introduced Spanish Capuchins, who were stationed along the Mississippi from New Orleans to St. Louis. With the change of flag, the cession to France, the sale to the United States, the Capuchins have ceased to be seen in this old field of their labors.

When our revolution opened this country to Catholic settlers and churches began to dot the surface of the republic, Pennsylvania seemed marked out as a home for the sons of St. Francis.

The pious Franciscan, Father Michael Egan, was authorized to establish a province of his order, and being raised to the new See of Philadelphia, his hopes seemed about to be realized, but the time had not come, and he died without accomplishing his design. A few Franciscan missionaries were scattered through the country, but no attempt was made to form a community, till at last in 1854, at the solicitation of Nicholas Devereux, of Utica, a little colony of Italian Recollects, Father Pamphilo de Magliano, with two other Fathers and a lay brother, with the blessing of the Holy Father, came from Rome and founded a house at Ellicottville, out of which has grown St. Bonaventure's Convent and College at Alleghany, sending missionaries to various dioceses, where they have labored with zeal and success.

Under the encouragement of Bishop Juncker, of Alton, Franciscan Fathers from Germany, about 1859, founded a convent and college at Teutopolis, from which arose others at Effingham and Quincy. Other communities have arisen at Oldenburg and Indianapolis in the diocese of Vincennes; at Jordan in Minnesota; at Louisville, Kentucky; at Paterson, in the diocese of Newark; among the Indians in the dioceses of Detroit and Green Bay; Croghan, N. Y.; Peoria, Ill.; Columbus and St. Bernard, Nebraska; at Cincinnati, and other points, with Conventual Franciscans at Syracuse, New York, and Chambersburg, New Jersey, which cannot be treated of in the pages of a review; nor is it possible to describe the revival of communities of the Third Order of St. Francis. Sisterhoods of various names and rules, all professing to revere St. Francis as their holy founder, have labored in education or works of mercy, from the early attempt of the Poor Clares down to our time.

One of the most remarkable events in our Church history is the revival of the Capuchins in Wisconsin, where two zealous priests, Rev. Bonaventure Frey, and F. Haas, feeling called to the religious state under that rule, obtained a Superior from Europe, under whom they made their novitiate and were received into the order. About 1864 they established the first convent, and the blessing of God was evinced in the fervor of those who came to solicit the habit. The community increased rapidly, and there are now Capuchin convents not only in Wisconsin, but also in the dioceses of Baltimore, New York, at Victoria, Kansas; at Fort Lee, in the diocese of Newark; at Pittsburgh and Herman Station, Pa.

Few perhaps are aware how the order founded by St. Francis is inwoven in the history of the Church in this country, and is still developing for good. In every direction we meet traces of the labors of earlier missionaries; the martyrs who have shed their blood for the faith on the soil of this republic number no fewer than fifty-five; it gave the earliest bishops who exercised jurisdiction in Florida, Louisiana, Texas, Pennsylvania, and California.

After what seemed the destruction of religious orders at the Reformation and the infidel uprising of the French Revolution, and its more recent apostles, one would suppose that in the order of human events the work of St. Francis of Assisi would disappear, but this country alone should teach these liberal tyrants the lesson that they can repress or crush for a time the growth of Catholic life and instinct, but they cannot root it out of men's hearts. Tyranny cannot be kept up forever; men tire at last even of the despots who flatter their worst passions. Sooner or later the time will come when they can no longer deny to Catholics the liberty which they so loudly claim to be the heritage of all men. The religious life is an instinct of the Catholic heart, and where that heart is left free to find expression, it will appear, as in the development of the Franciscans, which we have feebly attempted to trace.

St. Francis stands out the lover of Holy Poverty. He appeared when Europe, after the days of chivalry and the crusades had entered on a period of great commercial development, and the riches and luxury of the East were poured into the Western states. As pride had dominated before, so at this epoch the pursuit of wealth was in the ascendant. All sought to become rich, to accumulate hoards of money, and with this mad striving for temporal goods came luxury, pomp and show. To counteract this, God raised up the lover and apostle of holy poverty, one to whom wealth and all that wealth could buy, were but the dross they really are. His friars went forth preaching poverty, disengagement, mortification, to men who thought only of schemes and speculations for building up colossal fortunes.

It may well be in the divine designs to have hemmed in the territory of this republic in the early days by bands of these self-sacrificing heralds of poverty. The wild greed prevails even more here than it did in Italy in the days of John Bernardon. Every trade, every department is full of speculation, scheming, wild, mad, and dishonest. In the whirlpool men suddenly become immensely rich, and no luxury can be too great for them to gather around. The world is taxed to adorn their houses and persons, to spread the table with costly wines and viands that only a Lucullus could command. And yet so fickle is fortune's wheel that every one can point to millionaires of the past, who are now humbly seeking some petty employment, or who seek in death a refuge from despair, or who perhaps look through prison bars on the wild world dance on the edge of the precipice in which they too so lately joined with song and revel, blind and blinded to the danger, to the insecurity of the ground on which they stood.

Saint Francis is, above all, the saint whose life we Americans should study, and if the labors of friar and sister now, and the intercession of those who in former days trod with indifferent sandalled feet our gold-laden soil, and bedewed it with their blood, shed in testimony of the faith—if these have not lost their power, we cannot look for any more powerful to recall us all to the true Christian standard of disengagement from undue affection to the world that is passing away.

THE PROBLEM OF MAN'S DESTINY.

HOW MUCH HAS UNREVEALED SCIENCE DONE TOWARDS ITS SOLUTION?

IT might seem uncivil to tell the learned gentlemen who lately labored so patiently on the revision of the revealed Word of God, that they have been expending their labor and learning on a superfluous task. And yet to all appearances such an assertion would be a very near approach to truth. At the present day it has grown to be the fashion to dispense with revelation altogether. Science has weighed it in the balance and found it wanting. Philosophy has examined it and pronounced it absurd. Modern criticism has made little scruple of "changing the truth of God into a lie." The *fiat* of positive thought has gone forth; the decree has been read, and all the problems that present themselves for solution to the human mind, must henceforth be solved without the aid of supernatural light. All the solutions in which it has hitherto aided must be recalled and reconsidered. Its suggestions must be carefully expunged. Every trace of it must be eradicated, and every answer reconstructed without its baleful, misleading assistance.

In this overhauling process the whole catechism of human knowledge is likely to undergo a change. New answers will be given to old questions. New and strange questions are apt to be proposed for solution. Old and familiar answers which we have got by heart must all be unlearned. Back to school we must go, where our old-fashioned scholarship is sure to provoke the merriment of the precocious prodigies who are so much wiser in their generation, and believe themselves to be the children of light.

Before we commence the task of unlearning our misshapen knowledge, it may be worth while to see whether we have real cause to blush for our unwisdom, and to see how satisfactory the results of the new system may be; and seldom in the history of the scientific movement of the nineteenth century has there been a time more favorable for instituting such an inquiry, for science is just now grappling with the greatest of all questions, and scientific men find themselves face to face with the most momentous of all problems,—the solemn problem of man's destiny. What is man's place in nature? What is man's relation to the world in which he lives? What is his real position and duty in the universe of which he forms a part? Of all the syntheses which human thought has ever constructed, which is the true one, or has the true one yet taken true shape and form in any one of the numberless formulas given to us by any man or by any school of men? These are the

questions which present themselves for solution to those who have long since prided themselves in posturing before the world as the great intellects of our age, and it is an interesting study to follow them in their task, to note their helps and hindrances, or watch their failures and successes. For one portion of the world revelation has settled the question beyond the possibility of controversy; but science scoffs at revelation's answer, contemptuously flings revelation to the winds, and without its aid seeks to solve the problem, or, to use its own expression, undertakes to "construct a human synthesis."

That the scientists enter on a task not only beset with greatest difficulty, but also fraught with gravest responsibility, few will care to deny. The question of man's destiny is one that infinitely transcends in importance all others that can engage the attention of the children of men. It is for all men a question of deep, grave, and solemn import. Its solution affects equally every race of men under heaven. Not to one man alone, nor to one class of men, but to the entire human race will the true answer be a message of overwhelming significance. It has but one meaning for Christian, for Jew, for Greek, for barbarian. It matters little in what terms the question is couched; its meaning is the same whether expressed in the language of the believer, the skeptic, the theologian, or the agnostic. The Catholic Dr. Newman will frame this gravest of problems in the simplest of terms: "Why am I here? How came I here? Who brought me here? What am I to do here?" The same question is wrapped up in the words, nowadays so common, What is truth? And those words have the same meaning whether they fall from the lips of Pontius Pilate in Jerusalem, or from the pen of Dr. Ewer in New York. The world's troubled souls, harassed by hopeless search, and harrowed by anxious doubt, utter the same question in their earnest cry: Where is truth to be found? And it is the hidden spring of Plato's formula, in which he announces his "problem of philosophy": "For all that exists conditionally to find a ground unconditioned and absolute." Indeed it is a question which will not for a moment admit of comparison with any other. It is immeasurably paramount to all else. It is the central fact in man's story. It is the last word of human learning. It is the crown of all man's discoveries. It is the keystone of the arch of Truth, the Ultima Thule of all man's hopes and longings for further knowledge and further light. It is the pearl of great price, which gives a sterling value to man's entire life, and without it we merely grasp at uncertainties, we are as men beating the air. The discovery of its answer is the aim and end of every philosophy. Man's notion or conception of the answer is the beginning of every religion. It is the alembic in which all

philosophy is transmuted into religion ; for religion is simply the performance of what philosophy has discovered to be man's duty, and his duty can be deduced only from the knowledge of his origin and destiny. There were in past history philosophies that had never been illumined by revelation ; there were philosophies which had resolutely closed their windows against its light ; there were philosophies that had swung away so far from its influence that the centripetal was forever lost ; but all of them have left unflinching testimony that the question which swayed the empire of human thought,—whether in the schools of the Stagirite, in those of the Manichæan, in those of Descartes or Spinoza,—is the very one which is to-day before the tribunal of our scientists. And it could not well be otherwise. For it is the natural cry of the human heart forlorn of light. It is the difficulty of all religionless men. It is the ever-recurring refrain of all infidelity. Man cannot wander more than a step out of the path of revelation before he stumbles upon it. It confronts him at every turn ; and no matter how in life he may have tried to ignore it, it watches in wait for him at the end of life, and he is at last constrained to seriously ask himself: After life,—what next?

He who undertakes, then, to solve the problem for mankind, undertakes a task of solemn responsibility. To trifle with the question would be to play fast and loose with a matter of most vital importance to all mankind. Levity of thought or judgment would be insensate folly. Presumption would be a crime little short of sacrilege. The answer covers sacred ground, upon which they who tread must tread with reverence. They who freely and unasked put themselves forward as the arbiters of human destiny assume a charge from which men less daring would shrink in dismay. The hopes and fears of humanity are irrevocably wound up in the true answer. To look earnestly in the face of each child of the human family, and without misgiving or hesitancy confidently assure him that the true story of man's destiny has at last been read aright, that his doubts and perplexities are at last to be solved, his hopes and fears to be forever set at rest, that the clouds which for ages have hung over this question, shrouding it in deepest midnight, have at last rolled away, and the clear vision of truth—absolute truth—has at last burst upon human sight, is a work of mighty moment, and one which will at once demand superhuman grounds for confidence. To boldly bid the world be of good heart, that without any supernatural light, and with the sole aid which human reason furnishes, the veil has at last been pushed aside, the clue to the world-renowned mystery has at last been discovered, that the “whence and whither” of human life has at last been disclosed to the eye of unassisted reason, would be to challenge the

credulity of all mankind, and to announce faith in a discovery which could be proved beyond all manner of doubt. All past attempts have resulted in such ignominious failure that it is little wonder if at last it should hesitate to pin its faith to every philosophic foible, or lend a credulous ear to each new scientific folly. On this question above all others will it demand proof positive from a philosophy that glories in calling itself *positive*. The world has been the victim of so many deceptions on this point that it is high time it should have learned the lesson of misplaced confidence.

Indeed the most striking consideration that meets the skeptic on the very threshold of the inquiry is that the world has reaped such a scanty crop as the reward of all its labors in the field of research. So vast a disproportion between the labor and its products is well calculated to chill the ardor and damp the enthusiasm of the most self-sacrificing devotee. He will at once discern that six thousand years of man's history has been wholly barren of result. The utter absence of even the most meagre knowledge might lead us to suppose that the field of inquiry was absolutely new. No mistake, however, could be greater. The human mind does not here and now put forth its energies for the first time. Frequently before and resolutely has it wrestled with the problem. Every age in the world's history has left ample testimony that it fully realized the magnitude of the issues bound up in the grave question. The inquiry is in our age the very reverse of new, and reason, presuming, on her own powers approaches the task by no means for the first time. It did not come into existence with Goethe, with Emerson, or Auguste Comte. It has been the stubborn problem of all knowledge, the provoking riddle of every century, the standing mystery of all time. The learning and wisdom of other ages have grappled fiercely with it, but grappled in vain. It has withstood the assaults of the best learning; it has perplexed the ingenuity of the best intellects; it has stranded the wisdom of the best philosophers. It has baffled alike the subtlety and sagacity of sage and seer, scientist and sophist. The exasperating story was fruitlessly whispered adown the ages; hopelessly echoed from one generation to another. It worried the wisdom of Plato and the genius of Aristotle. It was discussed to no purpose in the porches of the Stoics, and pondered in vain in the groves of the Peripatetics. It was the burden of the daily question, "What is new?" asked by the Sophists, and was the ultimate aim of all the musings of Socrates. Grecian philosophy had done its all, but it accomplished nothing. As well might Athenian eloquence have made the attempt with its fire, Attic wit by its satire, or Spartan bravery with the sword. Cato and Cicero could

add little to the answer of Plato and Aristotle, and all the ancient civilizations left it precisely as they found it. Chaldean wealth was powerless to bribe nature into a disclosure of her secret, and Medo-Persian splendors could open up no avenue which led to the truth. It was puzzle alike to the wisdom of the Egyptian seer and the craft of the Babylonian Magi, and Orientalists seem to-day to search in vain for a satisfactory answer in the Vedas of Gotama Buddha, or the Zend-Avesta of Zoroaster. And if we carry the question from ancient to modern civilization the results are no more encouraging; the difficulty is as great in the days of a Tudor, or a Stuart, or a Bourbon dynasty, as under a dynasty of Cæsars, or Pharaohs, or Ptolemies. The difficulty has not abated one jot or tittle in the hands of Bacon, Kant, or Leibnitz. Not one iota of information has been vouchsafed in reply to all the questions that have been asked by the philosophers from Democritus to Darwin. The portals which guard the mystery are closed against the learning of the savants as well as against the wondering curiosity of the savage; and it makes little difference whether, when in quest of the solution, we knock at the door of a laboratory, or consult a Roman augur, or kneel at the shrine of the oracle of Delphi. The same result everywhere awaits us. The answer defies all time and dares all scrutiny. "There," says Emerson, "sits the Sphinx at the roadside, and from age to age, as each prophet comes by, he tries his fortune at reading her riddle."

And the solution of this problem was precisely the knowledge for which the ages longed. Never did patriarch sigh or prophet yearn more ardently for the long-expected Messiah than did the patriarchs and prophets of unbelieving ages long for the answer to their vain inquiries. The response would be the *Nunc dimittis* of all their prayers, anxieties, and hopes. It was the one single grain of knowledge which could impart a savor to all their knowledge, and without it all else was sure in time to grow insipid and lose all its freshness. Man had set his heart on obtaining this, and like a wilful child would rest satisfied with no other. Unless when they proved to be of practical utility all the productions of the arts and sciences were only so many toys and gewgaws, sure, in time, to be relegated to the store-room or the nursery. They might succeed for a time in diverting men's minds from the fruitless quest, but when the novelty wore off men started up again in pursuit of their coveted object, and cried for the possession of it as loudly and lustily as before.

But we may question all the philosophers, we may search into all their philosophies, we may wade through all the cosmogonies of ancient mythology, we may wander through all the windings of Buddhism, Brahmanism, Confucianism, and Zoroastrianism, we may

investigate the schools of German metaphysicians, French psychologists, or English or Scotch physicists, we may ask New England transcendentalists, and modern mystics of every race and nation, tribe and tongue, whether an answer has been vouchsafed, a sign given. And they are forced to answer, that it has been simply an evil and adulterous nation asking for a sign, and no sign given in response but that which inspiration tells them of. They have found the question otherwise insoluble. The traces of its insolubility traverse all human thought; the imprint of failure is on every human philosophy. Indeed, the fact that men are to-day as earnestly seeking the answer as they were in the days of Socrates or Thales, renders entirely superfluous any systematic attempt to show that all past inquiries, made by philosophers, have been absolute failures. An examination of all the philosophies, profound or superficial, reasonable or absurd, is simply a journey around the base of an intellectual cone. In our circular route we proceed from one system to another simply to find that each system is an avenue leading from the base to the summit; that at the apex all the philosophical avenues meet in a common centre; that the centre is crowned with a citadel, whose walls are grim and darkling, whose towers are gloomy and repulsive, and from whose windows not one single ray of light ever emanates; that in this cold and silent, dark and frowning edifice are lodged the great mysteries of the universe, pre-eminent amongst them the mystery of man's destiny; that as we move from one system of philosophy to another, we find they are constructed for the sole purpose of forming a perspective from which to view it, or as a road to lead to it; that up these avenues intellectual armies have again and again marched to storm the citadel and rifle it of its secrets, and that in spite of all the attempts, in spite of the number and strength of the invaders, the grim old castle has stood for ages—through all the days of man's history—without a single breach in its walls, without a single color yielded to the assailants. They have come with boom of cannon and beat of drum to scale its walls and take it by storm; they have resorted to all the arts and stratagems of war; they have crept stealthily on tiptoe and peered through the chinks and crevices; they have kindled fagots around it, that the blaze of light should shine through its opaque windows; they have called with stentorian voice, and with every note of the human soul, with shriek of anguish, with cry of despair, with bemoaning pity, with vaunting boast and braggadocio, and no sound seemed capable of awakening the inhabitants from their sleep of the past. The grim old citadel surrendered not one of its treasured secrets.

But while no advancement had been made towards the solution of this problem, the world was all the while advancing onward in

other departments of knowledge, and it might very naturally be suspected that although schemes of philosophy had met with absolute defeat, that invention and physical discoveries would be crowned with success. Past history has been fruitful in invention, in art, in discovery. But the sum of all the arts, inventions, and discoveries could shed very little light on the problem which had failed intellectual philosophy. The inventions were important, the discoveries many, the varied achievements of art most admirable, but they were utterly powerless to fill the void in man's knowledge, or still the aching spirit of inquiry in man's breast for the long-sought answer. The discovery of the earth's rotundity was a great revolution in the history of human thought. It was an entire change in one of the principal phases of man's knowledge. The world had been all the while on a wrong tack, but was at last set right upon this point. It was one of those crises in man's knowledge when his hopes and expectations soar away into the regions of the visionary and chimerical. The barriers of human thought were levelled. Human feeling ran high. Speculation was rife. New-discovered kingdoms of thought were opened to the inquiring mind, and men supposed that the cunning promise, "ye shall be as Gods," was about to be realized, for had not the "tree of knowledge" poured into their laps its richest crop? Few could tell where would be the end of such a momentous beginning, and it would not be strange, in the revolution of knowledge, if some light should be thrown on the subject that lay so near to man's heart. But when the novelty of the discovery passed away, and the fever of human thought subsided, men began to realize that their condition was little bettered by the discovery. The knowledge, wonderful as it was, actually made little changes in man's lot. It added little to the happiness, and subtracted little from the miseries of the millions living upon it, whether they believed that the earth, which gave them food and shelter, was round or flat, in motion or at rest. It was, indeed, a vast quantity added to the existing sum of knowledge, but the masses were little happier in their knowledge than in their mis-knowledge, while the philosophers found in it no clue to the problem of philosophy.

Next in subjective importance was the discovery of a New World. "Land! Land!" was rung out from the mast-head of the Santa Maria with such a meaning and significance as it never before or since possessed. A New World undreamed of in the Old! What limit could be placed to human possibilities? The New World may be in possession of the secret which had so long agitated the Old. Other men, of another race, may possess the key to the mystery for which men longed so long in vain; and the problem of the Sphinx may, perhaps, be at last unriddled. A wider scope,

at least, is given to man's mind, a wider sphere to his thoughts, a wider horizon to his knowledge. If the New World be not in possession of the secret, it may be in possession of something that may lead to it. A comparison of knowledges and experiences of the Old and New Worlds may bring the desired solution. At least men could fly from the evils of the Old World and betake themselves to the New, and, perhaps, if they could not solve, they could at least forget in their new land the exasperating riddle of the Sphinx. But the New World had no new story to tell. Indeed it only helped to confirm the old superstition which men had long since contemptuously flung aside. The question only became, if possible, more confused. The same traditions, the same religious feelings, the same notions of a Deity, terribly distraught, it is true, but yet pointing to the same origin, only aggravated the chagrin and annoyance of those who might have set high store on the hopes from the New World. Human life in the New World very soon began to manifest a sameness with the type and pattern of the Old; the same wants, the same woes, the same hopes, the same fears, the same miseries; and but little light thrown on the question of man and his destiny. Large as the discovery was, it was not large enough to fill the void in man's knowledge, and the vagueness and uncertainty were as great and oppressive as before.

Among arts and inventions there is hardly one that can compare with the art of printing in its results upon mankind. It facilitated to a marvellous extent the diffusion of knowledge. It was the most powerful means the world has yet seen for emancipating the human family from illiteracy. It was knowledge made easy, not for one or two, but for the masses of mankind. The labor of a lifetime was compressed into the work of a few hours. The "best thoughts of the best minds" of all ages lay before us on the printed page. The fruits of the world's labor was harvested for us and garnered on our book-shelves. There was no necessity for travel in order to become acquainted with the world. We might not have the time, or the inclination, or the means for travel. But keener observers than ourselves had been around the world, and it would seem had travelled for our special benefit. They showed us the world in their books better than we could have seen it for ourselves. Our untrained eyes might have passed many important objects and left them unnoticed, but minds formed by nature and trained by art for observation in the various departments of knowledge had labored for us and left us their notes, each in his own proper sphere, and it is doubtful if we had spent a lifetime in travel whether we should arrive at such a knowledge of men and things as the art of letters brought us at our own fireside. The page glistened with living pictures from nature. Nature's weird and

wildest work stood visibly before us. Far-off countries and their inhabitants, with their odd customs, quaint manners, fantastic dress, laws, government, internal and external polity, their fasts, their feasts, their holidays, and saturnalia, all glowed in the page before us. There we saw the Vatican and the Coliseum, the plains of Palestine and the steppes of Russia, the dykes of Holland, the vineclad hills of France and Germany, the Alpine glaciers, and Switzerland with its avalanches of eternal snow, all lay at our feet like a never-ending panorama of ever-varying beauty. We could not, even if we would, have lived in every age of the world, but in every age men had been busy for us recording each age's deeds, and there lay before us in convenient size the outcome of all their aggregate labors; the stories of battles and sieges, the first growth and final overthrow of kingdoms, the rise and fall of dynasties, their warriors renowned for valor, their towns and cities, their international relations, their manufactures, their commerce, their wealth, their civilization, their science, their poetry, their arts; all lay within easy reach of us. The art of painting was summoned to the aid of printing, and the ancient cities rose one by one from their ruins. Temples sprang from their ashes to illumine the page of history. The ruins of Memphis rose before our view, the plains of Philippi rolled at our feet. The Venice of Henry Dandolo and Francis Foscari again sat by the shores of the Adriatic. We could see the spot where "mighty Cæsar fell." We could see the butchered innocents squirming and writhing at the feet of the horses of Herod's soldiers, or we could take our stand in the Athenian Acropolis and trace the sculptured wonders of Phidias in the crumbling ruins of the Propylæum and Parthenon.

But withal there was one story which the printed page did not tell, there was one lesson which it could not teach, one question for whose answer we might search in vain through illuminated tomes or quarto volumes; and it was precisely the knowledge for which the unbelieving world had all the while been anxiously longing, compared with which all other knowledge was insignificant, and for which men would be willing to part with all the rest. But the answer was not there. The printed page was silent as the book of nature. The printer's art had left the difficulty unsolved, and men weary of heart turned away from the printed page again to listen if perchance the tales of the "running brook" would divulge the secret, again to try to decipher it on "the leaves of trees," or gather it from the sermons which they found in stones. After centuries of luxuriating in the great art the mystery was as far from being unriddled as if Faust and Guttenberg had never existed, or Cadmus had never introduced the art of letters.

And so through all the arts and sciences. The old question was

viewed successively in the new light of each invention and discovery. The human mind turned wistfully to every further development. The lantern, newly trimmed with each further installment of knowledge, was held up before the tantalizing problem. A flood of light was allowed to stream full upon its countenance, but the countenance refused to be illumined, the inflexible muscles never relaxed, the immobile features underwent no change. Amid all the searching scrutiny the sphinx-like countenance maintained the same stubborn stolidity, and to every anxious inquiry its only reply was the same passive, sightless, stony stare. The invention, or the discovery, or the art, or the special branch of science which happened to be the passing idol of the century and the object of universal homage and veneration, was always supposed to be the oracle from whose lips the solution of the problem would fall, but when men discovered that their idol was dumb he was flung aside and forgotten. When the enthusiasm died away and the feverish excitement was over, the art or discovery fell in popular favor, was discovered to have been overrated, or was entirely forgotten. Indeed the Lost Arts furnish a theme for the eloquence of the great New England abolitionist. The wonderful discoveries of the past might be justly compared with the effect of the vast rivers upon the ocean into which they empty themselves. The flood-tide of knowledge, which seemed to rise with each new discovery, threatened to change the face of the world. The various channels which have fed the sea of universal knowledge have from time to time become swollen to immense dimensions. An undiscovered fountain springing up in its bed, a new tributary forcing its course into the bed, a sudden melting of the ice-bound reservoirs in its course, will enlarge its bed and cause it to overflow its banks, but when it has emptied its waters into the great sea, when the superabundance has been distributed in well-proportioned measure over the surface of human thought, when an equilibrium is again attained, and the waters have adjusted themselves, after the commotion, to a proper level, the effect on the world's knowledge is almost as imperceptible as the effect of the swollen Amazon or Mississippi on the Atlantic, the advance of the high-water mark of science is barely discernible, while the advance towards the solution of the problem is as a point to infinity.

And thus through all the arts and sciences, through all the inventions and discoveries, through the hands of all the philosophers and astronomers, the question comes down to our own age wrapped in every single fold of its old-time mystery. That mystery it has preserved unscathed and intact. The problem of Plato is the puzzle of Darwin. The question that was ancient when the Egyptian pyramids were yet in their unquarried beds is for men the

question still, and flings down its challenge to the physicists and philosophers of the nineteenth century.

And in all justice, if not to their prudence at least to their courage, it must be confessed that they are nothing loath to accept the challenge. They cheerfully address themselves to the task in all faith and confidence, nothing doubting. They close their eyes and ears to the lesson which the failure of six thousand years reads them. They have already embarked in their enterprise. They are far out to sea. Their present position is the position of Columbus and his followers when they lost sight of land on their outward bound voyage. The last margin faded from view, and they realized to the full the measure of their hardihood. The scientists have lost sight of the old havens and anchorages. They are already on the shoreless sea without chart or compass for their guidance. What will be the result? Will they be more successful than the explorers in past ages?

It is not a very difficult task to compute their means and chances of success, and yet it is seldom done. A calculation sufficiently accurate of their advantages and obstacles is a very simple matter. Compared with any past age the advantages are all on the side of ours; the balance of hope is on the side of the scientists now at work. Surely, if there ever was in an age in the world's history in which it would not be hardihood to attempt the problem, that age is pre-eminently our own. We are on all points of knowledge vastly superior to the most enlightened of preceding generations. New thoughts are on the wing, new ideas are in the air, new wonders spring up on all sides around us. Physical research, chemical analysis, experimental philosophy, speculative science, observations in astronomy are carried to a pitch which a century ago was not dreamed of. The nineteenth century is already an octogenarian, and its eighty odd years have not been in vain. They bring with them the time-honored dowries of wisdom and knowledge. Its whitening locks are thick with honors. Its children have encircled its brows with an aureola of scientific glory. Indeed our century seems to have grown wise out of all proportion with any of its predecessors. The sum of knowledge goes on increasing from age to age, and we are the "heirs of all the ages." The accumulated knowledge of all the centuries is our inheritance. The outcome of the industry and research of generations now mouldering in the dust is our special bequest. Each outgoing century has left its deposit of thought as the ebbing tide leaves the shells on the shore, and these accretions have accumulated from age to age, and now this hoarded wealth of ages is ours. Knowledge has been classified and thought on many important subjects has been clarified, so that time and labor are in a great measure saved us.

We can come to the treasure-house of learning and obtain the precious metal purified from all alloy, its quality guaranteed by the legitimate impress stamped upon it. We find it already classified, and labelled ready for use.

This heritage of the past our age carefully husbanded. We have been no wasteful spendthrifts of our portion, we have not squandered it with lavish prodigality. Not even have we been censurable stewards, guilty of burying it in the earth lest it should escape us, but we have put it out to interest and gathered an increase a hundredfold. On our own account, too, we have been doing much, and the growth and accretion in the past is small compared with what we ourselves have acquired by our indomitable energy, keen insight, and untiring industry. Our age has to an extraordinary degree been fertile in invention and discovery, and successful in physical research. It has brought side by side distant countries first in time, next in thought, and last of all in sound. It has succeeded in conquering time and distance. It has increased the audibility of the human voice to a degree almost surpassing credibility. It has practically learned the art of increasing speed by diminishing friction. It has chained two worlds,—the old and the new,—together. It whispers its messages across trackless mountains and beneath unfathomable oceans. Physical science it has picked from the attitude of crawling infancy, trained it to a firm and steady gait, and has so developed it that its onward march resembles the swiftness of winged motion. We have robbed the thunderbolt of its deadly aim. We have discounted the fable of Prometheus, for we have snatched the lightning from the clouds, and made it perform for men the office of Mercury among the gods. Indeed so swift has been the rapidity of our advancement, that weak hearts grow faint, and weak heads grow giddy, and the pulses beat fast, and men from the very whirl with which they are borne onward, hold their breath, fearing lest the next curve may open into other regions of thought which will show past opinions to be mere day-dreams, and where the hopes and fears of all their old theologies will vanish forever. Our age is undoubtedly one of advancement. And with all the advantages of our superior knowledge, and with all the experience of past ages to guide us, with the new avenues opened up to thought, with the new mines of instruction daily opening beneath our feet, it were little wonder if the hopes of the sanguine scientist should run high, and he should expect soon to see the dawn of the day when he himself could triumphantly proclaim his *Eureka* to the world, that he had at last discovered the answer which had failed all the philosophers from Socrates to Spencer. And surely in this view of our wonderful progress there would seem to be good grounds to justify his hope.

But when this much is said of the advantages in favor of our inquiring age, all is, by no means, said. He who, relying on our present knowledge and our superior advantages, would undertake to solve the problem of man's destiny would make a fatal blunder. Our knowledge is indeed comparatively great; but it is infinitely inadequate to the task of solving the problem. He who undertakes to advance an infallible theory of man's destiny from his mere knowledge of nature must be sure that there is no hidden knowledge, no undiscovered principle in nature which can contradict his theory. Unless he is certain of this, his most decided dogmatism must be doubtful even to himself. He may guess, he may conjecture, he may make suppositions and speculations without number, but he can never be certain that a discovery will not one day be made which will scatter his pet theory to the winds. He cannot honestly offer to others as unalloyed truth, that about which he himself is uncertain, and must have his own misgivings; and these misgivings the speculative philosopher must have as long as even one single stratum of possible knowledge remains unearched for him. Those who rashly undertake to solve the problem never take into consideration the overwhelming impossibilities of the task—what gigantic difficulties they must encounter in its accomplishment. And the first difficulty that lies in their path is the wretched exiguity of our knowledge of which we boast so much. Viewed from one side our progress seems really deserving of all eulogy, but there is a side from which it not only appears but is, in reality, inexpressibly small. Viewed from the plane of our past ignorance, we are filled with wonder and astonishment at its overwhelming greatness; viewed from the plane of yet undiscovered knowledge, we are overawed and confounded at its overwhelming insignificance. The only just and accurate view of our present position is that which makes it the middle term of a comparison. To view it absolutely would be erroneous and misleading. To view it in relation to our former ignorance would be more misleading still. The man of sound judgment who does not wish to be imposed upon by shams and delusions and high-sounding boasts, but who wishes to form an accurate estimate of his real advantage for contending with vexed problems, will be careful to compare his present knowledge, not only with his former ignorance, but also with his present ignorance. He will compare what he now actually and accurately knows, first indeed with what was unknown to him in the past, and secondly, with what is unknown to him at present, and which may or may not remain unknown to him in the future. We blindly close our eyes to the latter comparison while we express ourselves in periods glowing with rapture and eloquence about the former. We are at such an infinite dis-

tance from the one that it never enters into our calculations; we have just succeeded in pushing away from the other, and are merely in the freshness of our infant wonder at the difference in our positions. The sharply-defined outlines of the September moon's crescent has just appeared above the horizon. We are lost in admiration of the thin, threadlike, silvery rim shining in the purity of its harvest splendor, but we never cast a thought on the vast, solid section of the sphere equally beauteous and many times larger which lies concealed in the shade; and the portion of the disk of knowledge which lies concealed from view, and which is necessary to complete the sphere of possible knowledge, bears at least as great a proportion to our actual knowledge as the darkened portion of the new moon's disk bears to the illuminated one.

Even in the branches with which learned men claim an acquaintance their knowledge is very limited. Specialists in any given study are far from exhausting the special branch in which they excel, and even their best knowledge is far from accurate.* It is for the most part maimed and halt. There are wide gaps in every field of knowledge. Hardly one chain is whole and unbroken, and where we find one unbroken it is sure to be incomplete. History is not always an oracle of truth. It is very often a prophet that speaks vain things—sometimes contrary, sometimes contradictory. The most profound historian finds it a difficult task to arrive at the grain of truth. The most stately arabesques are often dumb. The mouldy manuscripts of the antiquarian sorely try his patience and his skill. Archæology is at best but a doubtful witness. Ancient archives may give up their treasures of antiquity, and disembowelled pyramids relax their grasp on coveted hieroglyphs, but the disintombed records time has faded, the mutilated papyrus must be deciphered by conjecture. After rummaging for years among the rubbish of centuries the few fragments that reward one's labor are often of doubtful value, often speak to us in an unknown tongue. Color and race, and tribe and tongue, perplex the ethnologist at every step. Traditions complicate his task; and after a lifetime of labor he has accumulated very little knowledge on which to build a theory, and less on which he can build with safety, a true one. The experimental sciences are merely in their infancy, albeit in a thriving, healthful one. Chemistry has learned to measure and to weigh. Geology has chipped some fragments of knowledge from Silurian rocks. Astronomy has given us a mere glimpse of the worlds without number which dwarf ours, but the whole sum of our knowledge in any one branch of inquiry is the reverse of thorough or exhaustive, and the whole sum of our entire knowledge is a mere mass of fragments. But this is not all.

We have acquired the merest elementary knowledge of the world around us. We have just learned the mere alphabet of the knowledge of the universe. The few wretched scraps of elementary information which have been wrung from unwilling nature, the few scanty secrets that have been wrested from her reluctant lips, the few hints which she has vouchsafed to her devotees, and over which they make so great an ado, are the mere clippings from the vast cyclopædia of hidden knowledge, imprisoned in her mountains, imbedded in her rocks, concealed in her bosom,—nay, which lie in the light of the sun before us, but which we are too blind to even blunder upon. And in the light of the ignorance of all this it sounds like coldest irony or bitterest sarcasm to speak of puny attempts to solve profound problems.

If there be any one subject which furnishes man opportunities for full and accurate acquaintance with it it is man himself. And man's ignorance regarding himself is simply astounding. Aside from his destiny, which some consider a mystery, his nature abounds with all manner of mystery. His mind is too feeble to grasp the greatness of even his own littleness. A lifetime is too short for him to get acquainted with all his own powers. The mysterious walls and cells of the brain, thought and consciousness, the world of sleep and dreamland, the variety of dispositions and characters, extremes often meeting in the same individual, tears and laughter, the tribe of diseases and ills, mental, moral, and physical, his spirits now bubbling over with mirth and gayety and the next stricken with sorrow, now sick at heart, and feeling like Werther, that the only thing which makes life endurable is, "that this dungeon can be left when he likes," now buoyant and jubilant, and "ardent to see the light of this sun but one minute longer;" the mysterious entrance into life, the more mysterious passage from life to death, this extraordinary and incomprehensible union of matter and spirit, these two wills in endless conflict, and yet this freedom of will, the mind a constant battle-ground between good and evil, the ceaseless conflict that agitates our lives making them marvels of incongruity; doing the evil which we hate, neglecting the good which we love, in the midst of our best goodness seeking for evil; in the midst of our worst wickedness hungering after good; at one moment carefully shunning and the next coquetting with vice; these religious feelings that fill us with awe and solemn reverence; all have perplexed not only the author of "*The Sorrows of Werther*," but every genius that has gone before or come after him. Not even the mystery of his own being can the ingenuity of man unravel or modern thought analyze.

Man possesses not more than a half acquaintance with himself, and he need but step beyond the threshold of his own individual

nature when his difficulties are endlessly multiplied and his mind is infinitely mystified. Difficulties, and their name is legion, come trooping to the door of his study. The world teems with mysteries for him at every step. Countless ages will not be sufficient to exhaust the supply of its hidden knowledge. Countless myriads of nature's mysteries throng around us in our daily walks, and lie unsuspected at our very feet. The very insect that crawls in our path, the gnats that throng the sunbeam, the leaf upon which we look daily, may contain properties which man will never know, or even suspect to exist, uses of which he will dream, and pages of instruction which it will never be his lot to read. Every bird, beast, and shell is replete with unsolved problems. We do not understand the language of the lower animals. "We do not understand the note of the birds." We do not know the uses of more than a few plants, the corn, the vine, the apple, and potato, as Emerson remarks, perhaps not even a tithe of their uses. The animal world is a confusion of sounds, the mineral world is silent and passive as the tomb. The hidden wonders that lie in the womb of earth between its centre and surface no hand has uncovered. The only shaft to pierce their mysteries has been the sparkling fancy of Jules Verne.* The boundless, restless, unfathomable ocean has never bared to man the secrets hidden beneath its waves, far beyond the reach of keel or diver. "The overhanging tent of dropping clouds," now smiling and beauteous with sunshine and azure and purple, now speckled with lazulite and tinted with gold, and again bellowing like a roaring monster eager for earth's destruction, and venting its wrath in whirlwind and earthquake upon a doomed world—all are deeply veiled in mystery for man.

Man is a mystery to himself. The "world that waits on him" has mysteries innumerable. Of nature he has the merest elementary knowledge. He is very little in advance of the savage, and, perchance, not many strides in advance of the irrational world in his acquaintance with its mysterious secrets. And when he has exhausted all the problems of his own earth, there is no occasion to sit down Alexander-like and pine for other worlds to conquer. Even then his task has not more than well begun. Indeed, the littleness of our knowledge of our own world is not so bewildering as the littleness of our own world, which is so great to us. Our fragmentary knowledge of our earth is humiliating and discouraging, and yet our earth is but a paltry speck in the vast system of the universe. The field of astronomy has bewildering marvels of distance and velocity. The countless orbs that roll in space, the measureless spheres that stretch away to the confines of space, the myriads of sparkling spheres that march with the unerring precision of an army, all leave man mute and confounded before them,

and at last human pride is forced to acknowledge its impotence; for once man's arrogance has no pretensions. "Deep yawning under deep, and galaxy balancing galaxy throughout absolute space." These are the marvels which strike man dumb, and fill his mind with speechless astonishment. It overmasters and bewilders us to think of the littleness of our knowledge, but that in the face of its littleness we should become intoxicated with its greatness is the strongest sign of mental imbecility. It is when man comes to those springs of thought, and allows his mind free scope to wander at will, that the utter folly of his pretensions come home to him with irresistible and convincing force. We arrange the universe by our penny wisdom. We measure the unexplored regions of absolute space by the yardstick of our knowledge. We scratch the earth's surface to the extent of a few rods and in one little corner of our narrow earth, and with the cunning *savoir faire* of a wandering gypsy, wisely and with grave solemnity utter sibylline prophecies regarding things we have never seen, and explain mysteries of whose meaning we are utterly ignorant. The very light that is in us is darkness. "What we know is a point to what we do not know," truthfully says one. "There are more things in heaven and earth than were ever dreamed of in our philosophy," with equal truth, says a second. "Astronomy oppresses us with the gulf of space; geology with the gulf of time; history and travel with a fable of vain existence," concludes a third; and withal our age betakes itself to swelling dithyrambs to chant the praises of our wisdom—little short of infinite.

It is not so much the vast disproportion between our present knowledge and our past ignorance, as the disproportion between what we know and what in all probability man will never know—the huge volumes that will ever be for man as sealed books—the stupendous worlds of mysterious wonders whose Columbus will ever remain unborn, the vast realms of thought whose trackless wastes the footsteps of their Humboldt, or their Livingston, will never press; the captive powers of the physical world which will never know a Newton, a Harvey, or a Watts, to rescue them from their Babylonian bondage;—these are the considerations which dwarf the greatness of our age, and render all its pompous strutting and strainings after greatness as ridiculous as the affectation of majesty by a race of pigmies.

With all our boasted progress our nineteenth-century enlightenment is but a feeble rushlight streaming out against the impenetrable darkness of blackest midnight. We raise our rushlight above our heads to fling light to the world, but above and around, and away beyond, pressing us on all sides, and stretching away into illimitable space is a pitchy midnight of Egyptian darkness, a cloud

so dense that it may be felt. The secrets will not issue from this dark womb of night. The hand of all our wisdom cannot charm them to our light, and we are struck not so much with the failure of our feeble flickering knowledge as with the unfathomable world of impenetrable darkness which our rushlight is powerless to illumine.

And it requires no very subtle or acute powers of reasoning to see that this darkness must be pierced before the scientists can construct this human synthesis. It is very easy to see that before man can, of himself and without any foreign aid, hold up a *true theory* of his relations with the universe, he must be well acquainted with the universe between which and himself he would trace accurate relations. To build up a theory which would have any pretensions at all to truth on the few simple facts that we know and the few meagre discoveries which we have made must be an act of blindest folly. To pronounce a final decision based solely on our knowledge, to pass an irrevocable sentence which will be so comprehensive in its truth, so conclusive in its evidence, that from it there would be no appeal; so accurate in its calculations and comparisons, that it must justly claim for itself all immunity from error, requires a full, thorough and accurate acquaintance with the great truths of the universe, or at least with all the great principles which exist within and without it. We must first have drained the fountains of knowledge to such an extent that we can say without doubt or misgiving, and even with perfect truth, that no secret remains behind undiscovered which will conflict with our theory. As long as we cannot do this we are simply building on sand. But that from the niggard knowledge which they possess, the scanty facts on which they can rely, scientific men should undertake to pronounce the final word on the great problem, or even at all attempt a new solution of it, is to create a doubt with regard to the depth of their admired intellects. Or if we wish to vindicate their intellects, it must needs be at the expense of their honesty of purpose. They attempt to work out a mathematical problem from insufficient data.

The positive scientists themselves are by no means blind to the full requirements for the task they undertake. They see as clearly as others that this fulness of knowledge is necessary. One of the most enthusiastic worshippers at the shrine of humanity, Mr. Frederic Harrison, while telling us that "the true relation of man to the universe is the relation proved by science," and that "the source and canon of man's duty is to be found in a true and full knowledge of human nature," also tells us that his human synthesis (in which this "relation of man to the universe," and this canon of man's duty is to be embodied) "calls for a real co-ordination of all

knowledge"—that is, all possible knowledge. In other words—to translate Mr. Harrison's thought from the positivist dialect to rude but plain English,—before man can say with even a slight shade of probability in favor of his assertion, whence he comes, or whither he goes, whether he is shadow or substance, reality or ideality, whether he is a child of God, or of a catarrhine ape; and before he can tell what is his duty towards himself, and his fellow-man; whether he must love or hate his neighbor, whether he must live at peace or at war with him, whether he shall strip him of his goods when it is for his own profit, whether he shall rifle him of his good name, whether he shall give eye for eye and tooth for tooth, or imbue his hands in the blood of his brother for even the slightest cause; before he can know whether these and many other kindred things are or are not his duty, he must wait until science tells him. And this, science cannot tell him until it will have first drained the universe of all its wisdom and knowledge. Science must first discover its knowledge, according to Mr. Harrison, and when it will have left nothing hidden which has not been revealed, nothing in the entire universe undiscovered, it must collate and compare and co-ordinate all this knowledge, decide man's relation to the universe, tell him whether he is appearance or substance, read to him the canon of his duty—and man then bows before the final decree.

We by no means quarrel with Mr. Harrison when he tells us that this real co-ordination of all knowledge would give us truth; because true science will surely right itself at last, and when the depths of the universe are disclosed they will undoubtedly coincide with the plain duty of man, but it is hardly just in the positivists to ask man to wait until the depths of knowledge are all sounded. The knowledge would come too late for all practical purposes for hundreds of future generations, to say nothing of the present or past ones. But just as surely as science fully developed and rightly understood, would give us the true answer, so surely would any system deduced from a partial, imperfect, or incomplete science be a mere hypothesis. The co-ordination of *all* knowledge is as it must needs be the fundamental dogma in the creed of positivism, but the distance which separates us from the attainment of this fulness of knowledge which is so requisite would pall the ardor of any but the most enthusiastic positivist. Here is Mr. Harrison's estimate of the distance. "The work before the intelligence of man is practically infinite; the materials and the possible fields of work are infinite; the relative strength of our intellect to cope with this work is small indeed. As Bacon said, subtlety of nature is ever beyond the subtlety of man. Ten thousand years of the brightest genius, with millions and millions of fellow-workmen, will not suffice to accomplish all that man needs of discovery, knowledge, method, ex-

periment, meditation, recorded observation, to make life all that it might and ought to be. [In other words, to arrive at this all-necessary 'all knowledge.'] To accomplish it needs the complex organization of an army, the discipline, co-operation, patience, division of labor of a great government."

Mr. Harrison has grasped so well the greatness of the difficulty that impedes the task of the scientists, that it seems a thousand pities he could not see the utter folly of attempting the hopelessly impossible task itself. If the true relation of man to the universe is the "relation proved by science," and if the work before science is practically infinite, when, in the name of all the scientists, may man expect science to tell him what that "true relation to the universe may be?" If the "subtlety of nature" ever outstrips the subtlety of man, and if we must possess a full knowledge of nature before we can have a co-ordination of it, and so a true human synthesis, Mr. Harrison and his associates must, in seeking their synthesis, be pursuing an *ignis fatuus* or a rainbow. If it requires ten thousand years of the brightest genius, and a whole host of indispensable accessories, which it will probably never have, before we can arrive at a knowledge of the "source and canon of man's duty," surely the present scientific generation must seek elsewhere than in science for an account of its origin and destiny and a canon of its duty. In a word, if it requires the complex organization of an army, the discipline of a great government and an infinite string of refractory *et ceteras*, before the scientists can tell man the true story of his origin and destiny, science were much better employed in recruiting its army and establishing its government, than in trying to convince man that his origin and destiny were not from God and to God, but that his genealogy lay in the right line of succession to an æsthetic ape. Indeed, if the "task before the intelligence of man is practically infinite (as Mr. Harrison rightly conjectures it to be), and if the materials and possible fields of work are infinite," also, as practically they are, it is high time that scientists who seek for a true answer to the problem of human destiny should abandon the fields of science and betake themselves to others where they will be greeted with better prospects of success.

The comparative insignificance of our acquired knowledge, and the necessity of a full and exhaustive acquaintance with all possible knowledge, combined with the fact that in all probability we shall never arrive at the end, is the first obstacle which meets science in the solution of the problem of human destiny. But it is by no means the only or the greatest one.

Another, and a greater difficulty, would be met with in the utter inadequacy of the human mind to wield the giant mass of knowledge. Even though we had drained the fountains of all possible

knowledge, even though we had surprised nature into a betrayal of the last of her secrets ; though every mineral told in simple language its own history, and on every herb and leaf was inscribed the story of its powers, though all the complicated mysteries of the physical world were disentangled, even to the greatest simplicity ; though the earth should unbosom to us all her secrets, the sea disentomb her wonders, and the numbered stars should become as mirrors in which we could scan their nature, and read their history ; even though the valleys of learning should be filled, and the hills levelled ; the crooked ways made straight, and the rough plane and easy of travel, the mystery of man's destiny would yet be very far from a solution. Given all this knowledge, but given nothing more, the problem would yet be a puzzle to the disciples of science. The world would be sorely tried to find the master-mind that could victoriously wrestle with the problem. It sorely presses a century to produce a Newton or a Shakespeare. Many centuries are entirely barren of great intellects ; and not all the intellects of all the Shakespeares, Goethes, Platos, Aristotles, or Bacons that ever lived, concentrated into one common focus, and intensified a thousand times, could comprehend and control the vast and varied knowledge of the universe in all its extent and variety. To grasp it all would require a power of mind little short of infinite. But to grasp and comprehend each separate study would not be sufficient. It would be necessary to adjust, to collate, to compare, to weigh, to judge, to pass sentence, to rule with the mastery of intelligence in every region of knowledge, the depths of the sea, and the bowels of the earth, the heights of mid-air, and the higher heights of heaven, the ages of geology, and the marvels of astronomy, to interpret the language of the animal world, to understand the dumb alphabet of the inanimate, to hold evenly the balance of judgment so as to harmonize differences, to nicely discriminate and accurately compare, to reconcile antagonisms, to account for anomalies, to adjust incongruities ; to hold the cables from every region of thought and knowledge in the hollow of his hand, and manipulate them with the ease and dexterity of a master. And this is not within the feeble capacity of one single man, whether he be a Huxley or a Hegel, a Darwin or a Herbert Spencer, or the intellectual wealth of all these and the rest of the world combined in one gigantic mind. To do so now with our limited knowledge is an impossible task, and the difficulty of the task would be multiplied a million-fold when our present knowledge came to be enlarged to the boundaries of all possible knowledge. To lay side by side, in parallel lines, these differently attuned threads ; to reduce the whole motley mass, so interwoven and complicated, into order and harmony ; to look along each

until we can see its farthest terminus firmly anchored fast in truth coming to us without break or flaw, sound and true ; to adjust all these strings in perfect harmony, and from out their union and construction bring forth the keynote of the welcome chant,—this is the task beset with difficulty. Man's life is too short, man's mind is too narrow, man's intellect too feeble, the mass of objects too overpoweringly great, the number and variety of studies too many, the means of knowledge too limited, the subjects too vast and too profound. One single misstep at the point of intersection in the lines of knowledge, may send him careering millions of miles from the truth, even if he had once mastered each line of knowledge. But this mastery is a simple impossibility.

The most gigantic intellect which the world has ever seen would find it an utter impossibility to grasp even the small sum of the fragmentary knowledge of which the world is now in possession.

The experimentalist may display skill in his laboratory, but he is not always a profound historian, or a subtle metaphysician. The profound historian very often knows little of the laws of light, and heat, and sound. The most accurate astronomer may study the heavens, and often does so to the exclusion of the study of earth. Specialists are, for the most, proficient only in their specialty. The various branches of learning are as widely different as the occupations of the brewer, the baker, and the candlestick maker, and the savant in one branch may often know as little of the others as the candlestick maker knows about the craft of his brethren of the hops or the dough. The highest aspiration of even the best genius is to obtain a perfection of knowledge in a few branches, and in the others be as well versed as may be, or as occasion permits, and that he does so simply yielding to necessity. It is all that his time or his powers give him a chance to compass. The homeliest of all proverbs is as true as any of them, "a jack-of-all-trades is master of none," and it is eminently true in matters of intellect.

"Our own (age)
Is too vast and too complex for one man alone
To embody its purpose and hold it shut close
In the palm of his hand."

The grasp of intellect is wanting, and even if from a co-ordination of all our present knowledge the answer to the problem of man's destiny were deducible, the master-mind to work out the solution could not easily be found. If the world to-day should cast about for the mighty genius who alone was competent to undertake the task, it would be sure to turn to the ranks of the scientists ; and if the scientists were asked to furnish from out their ranks this same genius, it is almost certain that all eyes would

turn to Mr. Herbert Spencer. In all likelihood, without one dissenting voice, he would be unanimously chosen as their noblest, their mightiest, and their best, as the one best fitted by natural talents, by education, by habits, by learning, by attainments in every branch of knowledge, for the successful accomplishment of the task. And, strange as it may appear, although the world has not appealed to the scientists, and though they have not been called upon to put forward Mr. Spencer as their representative genius, Mr. Spencer has, unasked and unsolicited, spontaneously undertaken the task of co-ordinating all our knowledge, and drawing his conclusions. Here, then, we have one whom the world regards as one of its guardian genii, one of its best intellects, if not the very best, undertaking the difficulty, and it is interesting to know what his success has been. We give an opinion of his success which cannot be suspected of injustice to Mr. Spencer or his work. Mr. Frederic Harrison, a staunch positivist, tells us that in working out his synthesis Mr. Spencer has accomplished his work "in many branches of science, the most notable things we miss being the facts of general history, of religion, of churches, of governments, of poetry, of arts." In other words, Mr. Spencer, in giving to the world his synthetic philosophy, gives us the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out. He has undertaken to give a picture of the universe, true and real; he has set about determining the true relations of things to each other, and in doing so his narrow vision can see but a small part of the great whole, and matters of such importance as the facts of history, religion, etc., are unperceived by him. That he has failed, like all others who have preceded him, cannot be ascribed to him as a fault; that he should at all undertake the task is, as his work proves, folly. The wretched knowledge which the world can now boast of the human intellect is unable to control, how, then, grasp or master it if the cords were lengthened, the place of its tent enlarged, and the stakes lengthened to the limits of all possible knowledge? The narrow sphere of our knowledge and the narrower grasp of the human intellect, render every effort of our age to solve the problem of human destiny abortive; and any attempt by unaided reason in this direction can be only a masterpiece of human folly. Indeed, all this time we have simply been rudely elaborating the reasoning of St. Thomas regarding the necessity of revelation. The angelic doctor applies his reasoning to the knowledge of God, which, without the medium of divine revelation, could be attained, as he tells us, only by a few, and after long years of investigation; and the knowledge even thus acquired, he tells us, would be tainted with much error. But his reasoning applies with equal force to the question of man's destiny.

And the experience of the human mind verifies his reasoning. History has experimentally tested the truth of his argument, and proved it true in every instance. Reason has repeatedly attempted the task, and always with a different result. No age in which man has not attempted the solution, only to give to the world a new absurdity. There seems to be no conception so preposterous, no assumption so absurd that it has not given us. In religion it has given us the poles of human thought, in philosophy it has given us the extremes of human folly. It has endowed humanity with all the attributes of divinity, and it has clothed divinity with all the foibles and frailties of humanity. It has embroiled all the gods in the wars and tumults of men; it has made the love of men the object of the wranglings and jealousies of the gods. It has made Æneas and Romulus objects of veneration and admiration. It has made Jupiter and Juno objects of pity and contempt. It has given to us all the gods of pagan mythology, and all the Asuras and Pretas of Asiatic demonology. It has given us the fetichism of the savage, the polytheism of the polished Greeks and Romans, and the Voodooism of the South Sea Islanders. It has filled the world with all manner of abominations, under the name of religion, from that of the Sadducees to the Latter-day Saints. It has inundated the world with every species of foolery which fanaticism can conceive, and every speculation and delusion which can dupe the shallow mind. We have had the trickery of Trismegistus, the juggleries of Paracelsus, the stirpiculture of Father Noyes, and the prophecies of Mother Shipton, and thousands of such like stalking through the world in search of credulous followers to whom they may teach their end, and how to attain it.

Philosophy has fared not only no better than religion, but much worse. Any absurdity in the garb of a theory seems able to masquerade through the world and find disciples, provided it only pretend to offer a new explanation of the problems of the universe. We have had atheism, and deism, and pantheism, and materialism; and, like French cookery, we have had these prepared and served to us in many and multifarious modes, and over and over again. We have been taught that nothing exists save matter, and we have been taught again that everything is spirit. We have been told the world is a divine dream, and that heaven is a splendid delusion. A portion of the world seems, at one time, to have placed as much confidence in the fable of the three blind sisters spinning the world, as another portion of it to-day believes in the theory that man's ancestor was an ape.

The fruitless inquiry has given us the incomprehensible mysticism of Goethe and his English disciple, Carlyle, and the still more mystic transcendentalism of Emerson and his Concord fol-

lowers. It has given us the skepticism of Hume, and the idealism of Berkeley. It has given us the abstruse formula of German thought, and the gesticulation and fanfaronading of French fanaticism. It has given us monisms and dualisms without number. It has given the gnostic and the agnostic; the skeptical and the positive; the sensualistic and the material philosophies, as numerous and various as we have shades of religious thought and belief, the theories of one age, as has been truly said, often becoming the ridicule of the next. We are so accustomed to the language of absurdity on this head, that the language of sober logic would surprise us. It seems to open up fields of speculation where a man may pass a lifetime in uttering the language of folly, and yet pass for a Solon or a Solomon. It is said that a traveller who loses his path on a dark night will wander for hours and yet find himself only a few steps from his starting-point. The human mind has been wandering in darkness, and after centuries of wandering in a circle it finds itself again in the quagmires of Lucretius. Here would be the place to note the reasons of positivism for rejecting revelation and choosing the darkness rather than the light, but we have already occupied too much valuable space.

This much, at least, is evident to any one who gives a thought to the subject: that all the efforts of science in the past have been powerless to throw light on the enigma of man's life; and that in view of the difficulties that lie in the way of its accomplishment, little need be expected from all future efforts. Man must turn to some other source of information if he wishes to know the truth and meaning of his existence. Divine revelation alone can solve the problem. Not revelation as read by every man's whim. This would be false as science, and fickle as philosophy. The truth, the whole truth, is to be found in divine revelation, as interpreted by the Church of Christ.

THE SUPPOSED FALL OF HONORIUS AND HIS CONDEMNATION.

OCCASIONS for discussing the mooted points of Catholic teaching are never wanting. Objections of opponents a thousand times met and answered, are repeated by tyros and half-fledged controversialists with all the assurance of a first discovery and of infallible certainty. A very particular interest attaches to the case of Pope Honorius, so often cited against the doctrine of Papal infallibility, because it is the strongest case presented in the history of the Church, and to an unpracticed controversialist has the appearance of being unanswerable. The simple fact that this Pope was, after his death, condemned by a Council of the Church, and that the decree was sanctioned by another Pope, seems to stare us in the face and demand a satisfactory explanation. What, then, are the facts in reference to this interesting case?

The Synod of Ephesus had defined, in opposition to Nestorius, that in our Lord there is but one person; the Council of Chalcedon had defined, against Eutyches, that there are, in Christ, two natures. From these two definitions arose a new heresy, teaching that there is only one will in Christ and one operation. The followers of this opinion were called Monothelites.

Cyrus, Patriarch of Alexandria, in a solemn and public agreement which he made with the Egyptian heretics, in order to reconcile them to the Church, was the first to formulate the error. This he did in the VIIth chapter, in the following terms: "That this same Christ, one and the Son, performs both the actions which belong to him as God, and those which are human, by *one, sole, theandric operation.*" St. Sophronius, at that time a monk, and shortly after Patriarch of Jerusalem, implored Cyrus to abstain from the expression, "one sole theandric operation;" for if there were two natures in Christ, each perfect, it was necessary to acknowledge also two wills and two operations. To all the arguments, counsel and prayers of Sophronius, Cyrus remained inflexible. Sophronius thereupon had recourse to Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in order that the latter might dissuade his friend Cyrus from his error. Sergius, who was more astute than Cyrus, though himself also a Monothelite, answered Sophronius that neither the word *one* will, nor the word *two* wills should be used; that these terms were new and would be a scandal to the faithful and an impediment to the conversion of heretics. Sophronius, however, repudiated this plan of silence. At this point he was chosen Patriarch. Sergius, fearful lest Sophronius, strengthened by his new dignity, should prove too

formidable an adversary to the Monothelites, sent letters to the Roman Pontiff, in which he defended the formula of Cyrus, and asked that his plan of silence should be approved by Honorius. To defend Cyrus's formula he used this argument: If there are in Christ two wills, one must be divine, willing the things that are divine; the other human, willing the things that are human.

But the human will, willing human things, may will sin; which is contrary to the divine will. There will, therefore, be in Christ two contrary wills. But it is absurd to admit two contrary wills in the one person of Christ; therefore it is absurd to say there are two wills. This epistle of Sergius is full of cunning, and written with the greatest apparent submission and deference. Honorius, in his answer, drew a very clear distinction between the *substance* of the doctrine concerning two wills in Christ, and the *formulas* by which that doctrine is expressed. As to the *substance* of the doctrine, he says that we must admit, in the one person of Christ, two perfect and entire natures, the divine nature operating divine actions, and the human nature operating human actions, each unconfused, distinct, not only operating, but the principle of its own operations (*operantes et operatrices*) in regard to those things which are proper to itself.

As to the *formula* by which this doctrine, entirely contrary to Monothelism, ought to be expressed, Honorius says, "You must confess, with us, one Christ our Lord, operating in either nature, divine or human actions (*in utrisque naturis divina vel humana operantem*").

Now this formula is directly opposed to that of Cyrus, who had not said, "operating divine OR human actions," distinctively and separately, but "operating divine *and* human actions," conjunctively and in a mixed manner, by one, sole, operation, which was neither simply human nor simply divine, but always theandric,—that is, compounded of divine and human.

Honorius adds that the Church has always spoken thus, and so we ought to speak.

As to the question relative to this formula, as to the use, namely, of the words *one* or *two* he says, explicitly, that he does not wish to give a definition upon it, leaving it to the grammarians; he therefore approves Sergius's counsel in regard to silence, and confirms it by his own exhortations. But Sergius had defended the article of Cyrus's agreement in regard to the use of the word *one* (as for the word *theandric*, Sergius had prudently suppressed it in his appeal to Honorius). Honorius, therefore, expressly and solidly confutes both Sergius and Cyrus by this argument. According to the expression of Scripture, Christ assumed human flesh. Now, in human flesh there are two wills; one upright,

which is conformed to the divine will ; the other vitiated and contrary to the divine will. Hence, in the Scriptures, flesh is taken in two senses ; there is good flesh, which is conformed to the will of God, and vitiated flesh, which is contrary to the will of God. Now Christ did not assume these *two* wills of human nature ; he assumed *one*,—the good will ; because he did not assume human nature *vitiated*, but upright.

The preceding is an analysis of the epistle which Honorius wrote to Sergius. It is this epistle which gave rise to the whole question in regard to Honorius ; for the heretics not only violated the rule of silence imposed upon them, but, through bad faith, distorting, to suit their own ends, the word *one* used by Honorius in speaking exclusively of the *human nature* of Christ, not of his person, they claimed Honorius as a Monothelite, and, resting on his authority, propagated their error.

The Catholics immediately took up the defence of Honorius. The Abbot John, who was scribe and secretary to Honorius, and who had written the letter, testified as follows : " We said that there is one will in the Lord, not of his divinity and humanity, but of his humanity solely." St. Maximus, Doctor, a " hammer " of the Monothelites, and afterwards martyred by them, asserted and proved that the writings of Honorius did not favor the Monothelites, and that his intention had been to maintain *one* will in the *human nature* of Christ, not in his person. John IV., who, after Severinus, succeeded Honorius in the Papal chair, wrote a defence of Honorius to the Emperor Constantine, in which he makes the same assertions that Maximus had made.

The Lateran Synod, convoked by St. Martin against the Monothelites, fifteen years after the date of Honorius's letter, condemned the Monophysites and anathematized them by name, without making any mention of Honorius ; nay, it even asserted that all the Roman pontiffs had not, since the rise of the heresy, desisted from solicitude for the faith, writing to the erring, etc. The series of these pontiffs is as follows : Honorius I. (628), Severinus (640), John IV. (642), Theodore I. (649), St. Martin I., Pope St. Agatho, who convened the Sixth General Council, defended Honorius before the Fathers there assembled, and said that Honorius had exhorted the erring that, "*at least, by keeping silence, they should desist from the error of their doctrine.*"

Notwithstanding all this the Sixth Council burned the letters of Honorius, called Honorius himself a heretic, anathematized him after he had been dead for forty-two years, and this sentence of the Sixth Council was approved by Pope St. Leo II. and following Pontiffs, and was, moreover, approved and repeated by the Seventh and Eighth Councils.

From this series of events and the condemnation by the Council arise the following questions: What is the true sense of this condemnation? What argument can be derived from it against the infallibility of the Pope? And what against the orthodoxy of Honorius himself as a private person? We shall say a few words about each of these in order.

First: In what sense was Honorius condemned by the Council? Not as one who had asserted, taught, or propagated heresy, but as one negligent in his pastoral office, one who had favored *heretics* (not heresy), and had been overindulgent to Sergius.

Let it be observed, in the first place, that, from the first ages of the Church, the name heretic was applied, first, to those who taught or maintained error in good faith; secondly, to those who taught or maintained heretical doctrine, not only with a knowledge of their error, but also with pertinacity and obstinacy; and, lastly, to those who neither taught nor maintained error themselves, but were accessory to the pertinacity of heretics, whether by protecting them, by favoring them, or by not repressing them, if they were obliged to do so by their office; and it was said, moreover, that bishops were obliged to this repression by apostolic tradition and the discipline of the Holy Fathers. The first class of heretics that we have mentioned were not punished; the second and third were visited with equal penalties. What we have said is clearly evident from ecclesiastical history, from the discipline of the primitive Church, and from the Fathers.

Having premised these remarks we may proceed to our arguments.

I. Many were condemned by the Sixth Council; Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Petrus, Paulus, Macarius, etc., and together with these, Honorius. Of all the rest we find it said, in the condemnatory clauses of the Council, that they had maintained one will in Christ; nowhere is this said of Honorius. Therefore it cannot be proved by the authority of the Council that Honorius taught one will in Christ.

II. In none of the Acts of the Council is it said that Honorius is called a heretic because he maintained or taught heresy.

III. It is said expressly, and not once only, that Honorius is condemned because, by his silence, he fostered the Monothelites and followed the counsel of Sergius. For example, Act. Conc. XIII., "We execrate the impious dogmas of these men, and we judge that their own names shall be cast forth from the Holy Church of God, that is to say, Sergius, Cyrus, Pyrrhus, Peter, and Paul, and also Theodore. . . . And with these we order that Honorius be cast out and anathematized, *because* we find by the writings, made to Sergius, that in all things he followed his coun-

sel and confirmed his impious doctrines." The Latin has *sequi mentem ejus*, which is ambiguous, and may mean either to follow the doctrine, or follow the intention and plan of Sergius; but the original Greek text, of which the Latin is a translation, has, without any ambiguity, "followed the counsel."

Honorius, therefore, is not condemned like the rest for his impious dogmas, but because, by following the counsel of Sergius, he did not repress but strengthened (*confirmavit*) an impious dogma.

IV. It is expressly said in the Acts, that God cannot endure that rule of silence, "*Et quomodo non indigneretur Deus qui blasphemebatur et non defendebatur.*" "And how could God but be indignant, who was blasphemed and not defended?" (*In Sermo Prosphonetics*, Act. XVIII.) Hence, also, and for the same reason the Council is indignant, and hurls its anathema against Honorius.

V. The letters of Honorius were burned because they were destructive to the Church and favorable to the heretical contumacy of Sergius, not indeed, in doctrine, but in their approbation of the rule of silence and in too great lenity toward the heresiarch. They are condemned not because they contained the same impiety as the writings of the others, but because "*ad unam eandemque impietatem tenderent*;" they tended (in the Greek concurred) to one and the same impiety."

VI. If, therefore, Honorius is called a heretic, and is anathematized and cast out, it is not for heresy, but for connivance towards heretics. And expressly in this sense was the intention of the Council interpreted by the Emperor Constantine, who was not only present at the Council, but took part in it. In the same sense did St. Leo interpret it, who, having carefully examined the Acts of the Council and conferred with the legates who presided over it, approved them and translated them into Latin. Both Constantine and Leo say that Honorius was condemned, not because he taught error, but because he had favored and strengthened heretics, and had not stained the Church himself, but suffered it to be distained by others.

Second: What argument can be drawn from the condemnation of Honorius against the infallibility of the Pope?

The Catholic doctrine of infallibility is this: "When the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when, in the exercise of his office as Teacher of all Christians, he defines, by his apostolic authority, a doctrine of faith or morals, to be held by the Universal Church, he possesses, through the divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, that infallibility which our Divine Redeemer willed that His Church should possess in defining doctrine concerning faith or morals; and therefore, such definitions

of the Roman Pontiff, of themselves, and not by reason of the consent of the Church, are immutable (*irreformabiles*)." *Council of the Vatican.*

In order, therefore, that the condemnation of Honorius should prove that the Popes did not always possess this infallibility, two things must be established. 1st. That Honorius, exercising his office of Pastor and Teacher, *defined* some doctrine to be held by the Universal Church. 2d. That this doctrine, thus defined, was heretical. But neither can be shown.

For 1st, in Honorius's letters there is no *definition*. In the first place, Honorius says that he does not wish to define anything, and he merely approves the plan of imposing silence; and he assigns no reason for this precept of silence except the fear of giving scandal and offence; and the simplicity of men, which are not motives for defining but for withholding a definition. In the second place, Honorius, in his letters, did only that which Sergius asked of him, and it was because he followed, in this way, the counsels of Sergius, that he was condemned. But Sergius had asked no definition, but only an approbation of the precept of silence. Therefore Honorius gave no sentence of definition, but only a precept of silence.

In the third place, Honorius said to Sergius, in his letter: "It does not behoove us to affirm *one* or *two* operations." "*Non nos oportet unam aut duas operationes predicare.*" But he could not, possibly, define that there was *neither* one nor two wills in Christ, because it is absolutely necessary that there should be *either* one or two. Therefore, Honorius defined nothing, but simply forbade that any should say one or two.

And, 2d, the Council condemned no heresy as having been maintained by Honorius.

In the first place, there was no heresy in Honorius's letters, as we have proved.

In the second place, the Council condemned him, not for heresy, but for connivance with heretics.

Third: What can be drawn from the condemnation, against the faith and uprightness of Honorius as a private person?

1st. That Honorius was not sound in the faith we have shown to be false. The Council did not condemn heresy as having been maintained by Honorius. Therefore his orthodoxy is unquestionable.

2d. Honorius was condemned by the Council for a sin of omission in a most weighty matter which was destructive to the peace of the Church. This condemnation was "*in foro externo*," first, because, in Councils, it is external actions that are condemned, not the intentions of the conscience that are judged; and secondly,

because, forty-two years after the death of Honorius, no judgment could be passed, or was, in fact, passed, upon his intentions. This being premised, it is more than certain that the precept of silence imposed by Honorius and condemned "*in foro externo*" was, as to its objective nature, culpable in itself and in the highest degree pernicious to the Church. It merited, therefore, the condemnation which it received from the Council. But what shall we say of this same precept "*in foro conscientiae*;" that is to say, in reference to the culpability of the act, not considered in itself, but in relation to the intentions of Honorius and the guilt which he thereby incurred, or did not incur, before God? Could Honorius, without any fault before God, have judged that, in those particular circumstances, silence was more opportune than the condemnation of error? Honorius was a Pope, not a prophet. His letter should not be judged by the effects which it produced, but by that which human prudence could suggest to him at the time. What then could human prudence suggest to him? We cannot, here, pass any sentence on this point. There are many Catholics who condemn Honorius; there are others who absolve him from all fault. Any one may believe what seems to him more probable. The Popes are not impeccable, but infallible, and this only when they *define*, with all solemnity, *ex cathedra*.

But it may be said that St. Leo II. asserts that Honorius, being departed, has been punished with eternal condemnation. Therefore, he asserts him to have sinned. We answer that the only possible sense to be attributed to these words is, that Honorius had committed an act, which, *in itself*, merited eternal condemnation. For, as to the *fact* of his perdition, a fact of this kind cannot be decided upon by the Church without most certain signs and miracles; because that fact is one which is hidden from human knowledge. It is true that in the canonization of saints, the Pope judges that eternal salvation has certainly been obtained by the saint canonized; but he judges from indubitable prodigies by which God confirms the arguments of human prudence.

We answer, in the second place, that this testimony of St. Leo would prove, not that Honorius was a heretic (for in that very same passage St. Leo says that Honorius was condemned, "because by his negligence he had fanned the flame of heretical dogma"), but that Honorius had sinned grievously, which opinion any one is free to hold who thinks he sees probable ground for it.

BOOK NOTICES.

DE LA DESTRUCCION DE ANTIGUEDADES MEXICANAS ATRIBUIDA A LOS MISIONEROS EN GENERAL, Y PARTICULARMENTE AL ILLMO. SR. D. FR. JUAN DE ZUMARRAGA, PRIMER OBISPO Y ARZOBISPO DE MEXICO. Por Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta. 8vo. Mexico, 1881. pp. 72.

This dissertation by a learned and diligent scholar in our neighboring republic is a masterpiece of calm, courteous, and thorough discussion, and controversy. Spain and Spanish America have been favorite themes for the historic school of England and America, rather than France, and a series of standard works paint the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, Charles V., and Philip II., as well as the struggle of the last monarch with the United Provinces, and the Conquest of Mexico and Peru. All these works are strongly biassed against the Catholic Church, ready to disparage the good she did, and exaggerate if not invent evil to lay to her charge. Some of the accusations made by Robertson, have been handed down, and under a pen as graceful and fanatical as Prescott's have in our century gone forth with a new impetus to pass as incontrovertible facts. "At the time of the arrival of the Spaniards," says Prescott, "great quantities of these manuscripts (Mexican picture-writing) were treasured up in the country. Numerous persons were employed in painting, and the dexterity of their operations excited the astonishment of the conquerors. Unfortunately this was mingled with other and unworthy feelings. The strange, unknown characters inscribed on them, excited suspicion. They were looked on as magic scrolls, and were regarded in the same light with the idols and temples, as the symbols of a pestilent superstition that must be extirpated. The first archbishop of Mexico, Don Juan de Zumarraga,—a name that should be as immortal as that of Omar,—collected these paintings from every quarter, especially from Tezcuco, the most cultivated capital in Anahuac, and the great depository of the national archives. He then caused them to be piled up in 'a mountain heap,' as it is called by the Spanish writers themselves, in the market-place of Tlateloleo, and reduced them all to ashes! His great countryman, Archbishop Ximenes, had celebrated a similar *auto-da-fé* of Arabic manuscripts in Granada, some twenty years before. Never did fanaticism achieve two more signal triumphs than by the annihilation of so many curious monuments of human ingenuity and learning! The unlettered soldiers were not slow in imitating the example of their prelate. Every chart and volume which fell into their hands was wantonly destroyed, so that when the scholars of a later and more enlightened age anxiously sought to recover some of these memorials of civilization, nearly all had perished, and the few surviving were jealously hidden by the natives."

This is the charge as thousands have read it in his *Conquest of Mexico*. A similar view prevails even in Mexico, fostered by some who seek to dim the prestige of the Church. Sanchez recently, in his *Cuestion Historica*, reasserted it. A reply was made in *El Monitor Republicano*, which drew a second article from Senor Sanchez. Other scholars took part in the discussion, among others Senor Orozco y Berra, well known for his linguistic research. Senor Icazbalceta, in a dissertation forming part of his projected Life of Zumarraga, treats fully and searchingly "The destruction of Mexican Antiquities, attributed to the missionaries in.

general, and especially to the Most Illustrious Fray Juan de Zumarraga, first bishop and archbishop of Mexico." He does his work thoroughly, quoting every author who alludes to the subject from the earliest period, adducing even some overlooked by his antagonists, so as to leave no room for future appeals. Pedro de Gante (1529); Bishop Zumarraga (1531); Motolinia (1536-40); Sahagun (1560-80), mention the destruction of idols. The last mentions the destruction of manuscripts by King Itzcoatl, and also by missionaries or in consequence of their teaching. Duran (1579-81) mentions destruction of manuscripts by some of the old missionaries; Acosta, in 1590, alludes to destruction by one missionary in Yucatan. Davila Pudella, in 1596, mentions the destruction of an idol by Bishop Zumarraga, and he is the first to connect his name with anything of the kind. Herrera (1549-1625) says many were destroyed by missionaries. Torquemada, in his *Monarquía Indrana*, published in 1615, says that the religious and Bishop Zumarraga burned the Histories of the lords of Azcapotzalco, with many other papers of great importance, and says that in the early days of the conversion certain books were burned. He is the first to accuse the bishop of destroying books. Ixtlilxochitl, a descendant of the kings of Tezcoco, ascribes the destruction of the idol of Tezcotzineo to the bishop. From this, Robertson makes the charge, "In obedience to an edict issued by Juan de Zumarraga, a Franciscan monk, the first bishop of Mexico, as many records of the ancient Mexican story as could be collected, were committed to the flames." And Prescott, as we have seen, expands and exaggerates.

Now all the authorities and the host which Senor Icazbalceta adduces to aid his antagonists, fail utterly to sustain Robertson and Prescott. "I do not deny," says Senor Icazbalceta, "that the missionaries destroyed temples, idols, and even manuscripts, as we know it by their own testimony. What I deny is that Bishop Zumarraga burned the archives of Tezcoco, heaped in form of a mountain, and pursued the manuscripts with a kind of rage. He may have destroyed some, but down to this time I cannot verify one single case; yet from an isolated act to a systematic persecution, to the almost complete destruction of the historical treasures of the Aztecs, to the blind fury attributed to him, of seeking out and destroying the manuscripts to the very last of them, the distance is immense." As the discussion went on, the violent terms applied to the bishop and missionaries, softened, and at last disappeared. The charges of fury, ignorance, and fanaticism were abandoned.

There is a sort of mock reverence for antiquity, yet, as Senor Icazbalceta notes, it did not prevent the Mexican liberals from giving the Protestants one of the most ancient and remarkable churches in the city of Mexico, or those Protestants from defacing and destroying all that made it a national monument. In our country it did not prevent the United States government through its agent, Governor Arny, from destroying the archives at Santa Fé and selling them for waste paper.

Senor Icazbalceta examines critically the later authors who, to exalt the ancient Mexicans, ascribe the destruction of historic picture-writings to the missionaries to account for their loss. He shows that the missionaries are the very men who studied this picture-writing, acquired the system, copied all they found of value, with explanations without which it would be almost impossible now to read the manuscripts with certainty. The missionaries adapted the system as a means of instruction and replaced the idolatrous forms by those of the faith they taught. So far from having been wholesale destroyers, these very slandered missionaries are those who have preserved for us these curious hieroglyphics, with the key to unravel them. Senor Icazbalceta shows

how a learned Mexican student, Ramirez, interpreted a figure of an animal and plant as recording a drought that withered even the maguay, or a prevailing epidemic. His interpretation was attacked by one of little experience who maintained that it represented the Viceroy Mendoza (*mell*, the maguey, and *toza*, a mole). A manuscript of an old missionary, giving the names of the viceroys and their symbols, proved that the smatterer was accurate. If a student, like Senor Ramirez, with the aid of what interpretations early missionaries have left us, could thus err, of what real service would the picture-writings be unexplained? You could prove from them that Eden was in America, or that St. Thomas preached here, or any other folly.

The amount of real historical information contained in the picture-writings is also examined, and brought from the region of vague generalities to that of positive fact.

No more valuable historical essay has recently appeared. It covers the whole ground fully and completely, and settles the whole question. The missionaries did not cause a wholesale destruction of manuscripts. Many were destroyed in civil wars, many perished during the campaigns of Cortez, and before their arrival. Bishop Zumarraga cannot be proved to have destroyed any, or issued any edict for the destruction of any. The heap of manuscripts destroyed by his order existed only in the imagination, and is utterly unsupported by contemporary authority. It is one of those stories that grow by general additions. The real Omars in the case are those who have unjustly given the good bishop's name to unmerited odium.

In Mexico no scholar worthy of the name will hereafter revive the slander. With us, unfortunately, it is stereotyped, and Prescott's work will continue to appear with the charge unaltered, with no apology, and no excuse, and continue to be read as history.

The calm dignity, the extensive research, and close reasoning of this essay give a high idea of the forthcoming life of Archbishop Zumarraga. It will be highly discreditable to us if that work, on its appearance in Mexico, is not translated and circulated here.

THE CAUSES AND AIMS OF IRISH AGITATION. By *M. F. Sullivan*. With an Introduction by *Thomas Power O'Connor, M. P.* J. C. McCurdy & Co., Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis.

It is scarcely possible for the people of the United States to regard with indifference the agitation now going on in Ireland. A large part of our population is closely connected with the people of that country by ties of blood or affinity, and thousands of them are actively supporting the agitation both by moral and material means. To see a people numbering five millions, inhabiting a country possessing naturally all the requisites for material prosperity, yet sunk in poverty and almost indescribable misery; a people to a large extent illiterate, yet intellectually highly gifted, generous, virtuous, brave, whose native energy and talents push them forward and upward, in all the lands to which they migrate, to positions of eminence;—to see such a people persistently struggling against adverse forces, of long continuance and almost invincible power, to acquire industrial and political freedom, is a spectacle that can scarcely fail to arrest the attention and command the sympathy of the American people.

For these reasons, and because of the immense power which public opinion here exerts upon the people both of England and of Ireland, it

is important that the true nature of the Irish movement, its purposes and aims, and the underlying facts to which it owes its strength, should be clearly understood. It is all the more important, too, in view of the fact that constant efforts are made by the English correspondents of our leading newspapers, and by articles in English periodicals and journals republished in this country, to turn the current of public opinion against the people of Ireland and in favor of the policy of the English government. As is well and pertinently said by T. P. O'Connor, M. P., who has written the Introduction to the work we are noticing, "Unfortunately, much as has been written and is written daily on Irish subjects, the acquisition of the real merits of the case is far from easy. It is one of the disadvantages of the Irish people in this struggle that their history is told to the world by their enemies; for the English newspaper, or journal, or history is the authority which the mass of mankind accepts, or is obliged to accept. London publishes some of the greatest newspapers of the world. The *Times* has an international as well as a national circulation, while the Irish newspapers are rarely heard of out of Ireland, and are not known even by name by the majority of the English-speaking people. Thus, by a singular fatality, the press—in which, as a rule, all causes find hearing, if not advocacy—is closed to everything on the side of the Irish people, and—worse than this—closed to what seems open."

The purpose of the work before us is to counteract the effects of this one-sided and hostile presentation of the causes, nature, and aims of the Irish movement, by furnishing the information necessary to forming a correct opinion. In popular and attractive form it gives an account of the land laws of Ireland, the condition of the people, the oppressive burdens imposed upon them. It treats of evictions, "boycotting," agrarian crimes, manufactures, revolutionary movements, coercion laws, parliamentary history, education, etc., of the Irish people. Special attention is paid to the immediate causes of the formation of the Land League, its growth, operation, principles, and methods of action. It also contains brief biographical sketches of the leaders of the present agitation, obtained from authentic sources. In short, the work is a convenient manual of reliable information on all the subjects connected with the Irish question. It is a perfect storehouse of facts and figures; and they are so well arranged and so closely connected with the statements they are intended to prove and elucidate, that they are relieved of the dryness which usually attends statistics, and enhance the interest as well as the value of the work. Its comprehensiveness of scope may be inferred from the titles of its respective chapters, they are: "Ireland Prior to the Land War;" "How the People Lost the Land;" "The Reason Ireland has no Manufactures;" "How the People Lost their Parliament;" "A Lettered Nation Reduced by Force and Law to Illiteracy;" "The Irish Tenant of To-day;" "The Peasant Farmer in other Countries;" "Peculiar Features of Irish Landlordism;" "The Landlords Sow the Seed of the Land League;" "The Men who Gathered the Crop;" "A Peaceful and Constitutional Movement;" "A Landlord's Agent goes into the Dictionary ('Boycotting');" "Driven from Home by Famine and by Law;" "Liberty and Crime in Ireland;" "The Land Laws;" "What is the End to be?"

All these topics are treated and explained in a lucid and interesting manner, and in a way which closely connects them with the main purpose of the work. From those of more immediate interest we make a few condensed extracts or summarize the writer's statements. We turn first to the chapter, how the Irish people were made illiterate by force and English law. The subject is elucidated with an array of undeniable

facts and historical statements which prove, beyond all possibility even of doubt, that the blame and reproach implied in the charge of ignorance persistently brought against the Irish people cannot be fairly cast upon them :

"Within a century after the death of St. Patrick the Irish seminaries had so increased that most parts of Europe sent their children to be educated there, and drew thence their bishops and teachers. . . . In the ninth century there were seven thousand students at the university of Armagh and the schools of Cashel. Dindaleathgloss and Lismore vied with it in renown. . . . While the Gothic tempest was trampling down the classic civilization, Ireland providentially became the nursery of saints and of science. Her two most ardent passions were to learn and to teach. From Ireland, as from a fountain head, contemporaneous nations drew those streams of learning which afterwards overspread the Western World."

Nor was this passion for learning destroyed, as is generally supposed, even by the confusion and destruction produced by the invasions of the Danes, and subsequently by those of the English. It survived the adverse effects of continual war and almost total devastation of the country, the plundering and frequent demolition of monasteries, colleges and schools. "The *Annals of the Four Masters* are studded during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries with a brilliant chronology of doctors, poets, and philosophers, as with saints and martyrs." It remained for the penal laws enacted by the English Government to destroy education in Ireland; though they did not and could not destroy the desire of the people to obtain it, as is proved by their persistent efforts to educate their children, notwithstanding the penalties they incurred. Of these penal laws a Protestant writer, Sigerson, says: "Over the heads of the bard, the schoolmaster, and the priest hung the sharp sword of the penal laws." Yet still the thirst for learning continued to exist, and "there were schools held in caves, in mountain glens and behind hedges, where forbidden knowledge was imparted by an outlaw master to illegal pupils, with a youthful sentinel posted on some neighboring eminence to give warning of the approach of the officers of the law. . . . But if it was penal to look for education at home, it was doubly penal to seek for it abroad. . . . It was a criminal offence for a Catholic father to send his child out of Ireland to school, and there were no schools left for him in Ireland." This state of things continued until fifty years ago. In 1832 four-fifths of the people of Ireland could neither read nor write. English law had reduced a nation to illiteracy. "Nor would it be fair," continues the author, "to say that if the privilege of learning has existed for fifty years this generation should be educated. Something more is required to make a people educated than leave to go to school. . . . The parent must be so situated that he can spare the time of the child, buy it books, and clothe it presentably. The landlords extorted such enormous rents from the tenantry—who are, broadly speaking, all the people of Ireland—that the labor of the children was needed on the farms; and if that were not needed the parents were usually without the means to equip them for the school-room." Yet, "in spite of the extreme poverty of the country, and by sacrifices which must be deemed heroic, the people are acquiring education by using such advantages as they are allowed, and there are to day more than a million children in the schools, national and denominational."

Yet, even now, the Catholics of Ireland, comprising four-fifths of its population, remain subject to disabilities and unfair discriminations

through English legislation. To pass over other facts exemplifying this, it is sufficient to refer to the opportunities afforded in Ireland for obtaining a university education. The Catholic monastery of All-Hallows (including a Catholic college) was suppressed; and in 1591 its confiscated grounds were given to a Protestant educational institute, known as Trinity College, to which, until quite recent times, no Catholic could be admitted.

This College, expanded into the University of Dublin, continues, as it was previously, essentially Protestant. The Catholics of Ireland earnestly desire a Catholic University. They have founded one by voluntary contributions, but the English Government does not permit it to grant degrees, and the astounding fact stands forth that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century a Catholic cannot obtain a university degree, except by studying at an institution hostile to his faith, in a country of which four-fifths of the taxpayers who sustain the educational institutions are Catholics.

Ireland is a country without manufactures. There is water-power enough there to drive the machinery of the world. "That she has no extensive coal beds does not account for the absence of factories, because coals can be delivered in Dublin cheaper than in Manchester or London; and France, with her immense diversity of manufactures, has to import coal. The soil of Ireland is capable of producing, at a minimum of outlay, raw material which could profitably be manufactured for the home and foreign markets. Instead of devoting her energy in this direction we find that her one article of trade, in which she is relatively insignificant—the linen—is produced largely from imported flax, her own soil not being adapted to the cultivation of the best quality. She has nothing to sell except the food produced by her land. She has to send abroad, chiefly to England, for everything she buys. A country thus situated cannot be a prosperous country. A country in which there is but one means of living, and that one dependent on inexorable physical laws, must be a poor country, and must have periods of suffering."

The author shows that this was not always the condition of Ireland; that once she had manufactures; that her not having them now is not the fault of her people; that she lacks, manifestly, neither the aptitude nor the desire to engage in mechanical and other manufacturing occupations, and that the absence of manufactures from Ireland is owing entirely to the hostile legislation of England. This conclusion is proved by an array of facts which place its correctness beyond all doubt. The history of English legislation against Irish manufactures, as detailed by the author, is exceedingly interesting; and we commend it to those especially who wonder at the poverty of Ireland, and at the fact that her people are there engaged in no other occupation than that of farming. What the condition of the people who are thus shut up to the sole work of tilling the land is well told in the chapter entitled "The Irish Tenant of To-day." Passing over the history of England's oppression, fraud, and injustice, as graphically sketched in the chapters, "How the People Lost the Land," and "How the Parliament was Lost," the chapter describing the present situation of the Irish tenant is sufficient to convince every unprejudiced reader that the condition of the Irish tenant is an anomaly among all countries professing to be governed by the principles of Christian civilization; that it surpasses in hopelessness, misery, and absolute dependence upon the whims, caprices, and arbitrary pleasure of landlords the condition of the peasantry of any other European country. In proving this the author devotes a chapter to the description of "The Peasant Farmer in Other Countries," in which a summary is given

of their Land Laws and the legislative provisions made in those countries, during the last hundred years, intended to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry, and their influences in promoting the general interests and prosperity of the respective countries; all of which are reviewed in an interesting and able manner.

In the chapter which follows this the "Peculiar Features of Irish Landlordism" are sketched with a powerful hand; its cruelty, intense selfishness, its indifference to suffering; its extortionate exactions; the manner in which it crushes out thrift and energy, and imposes an actual penalty upon the tenant's improving either the land or his own condition.

To the great body of the people of the United States, whose reading about the Irish question has been almost necessarily confined to publications written from the English point of view, and who know Ireland only as thus represented, or rather misrepresented, we especially commend these chapters. We wish they could be brought to the attention of every one who is indifferent upon the Irish question, or has taken up the idea that it is an agitation that is causeless, or based only upon sentimental grievances. They would find in these chapters no rhetorical generalities or descriptions drawn from imagination, but facts gathered from sources of unquestionable reliability, and statements by persons of unimpeachable veracity, entirely disconnected from the Irish Land movement, revealing the true nature and effects of Irish landlordism, its grinding oppression, its exorbitant exactions, and the depths of squalid, hopeless poverty and misery to which it reduces Irish tenants, which require no appeals to feeling to fill every human mind with detestation of the Irish land system, and commiseration for those upon whom it has been imposed. These facts carry with them their own proof that prosperity is impossible in Ireland as long as this system is allowed to continue.

Following the chapters to which we have just been referring is a long and interesting account of the occurrences which led immediately to the formation of the Land League, the men who were its chief originators or foremost supporters; of the nature of the movement thus organized, the manner in which it is carried forward, and the manner, too, in which it has been opposed by the British Government. The coercion law lately put in force in Ireland; the arrest and imprisonment without allowing bail, or trial, before a jury, of Irish suspects; the shameful treatment to which Irish political prisoners are compelled to submit; the parliamentary strategy of the Land League members of the British Parliament; the real nature and object of boycotting; the circumstances which led to it; the peaceful and legal character of the Land League movement; and the results it has accomplished, are all well described and discussed. The subjects of emigration and of crime are elucidated by reliable statistics; and the real character and working of the Land Act of 1870, and of that recently enacted, are clearly shown. The last chapter is devoted to a discussion of "What the End is to be," and concludes with the statement, "The demands which are made now are two: Peasant Proprietary and Home Rule. History will yet record the day on which both shall have been obtained."

SCIENTIFIC CULTURE, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By *Josiah Parsons Cooke*, Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy in Harvard College. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1881.

The essays which make up this volume were written, as we learn from the preface, at different times and on special occasions. They all are, however, connected with, and have a general bearing upon the subject of scientific culture.

The author may justly lay claim to possessing large experience in teaching physical science to college students, having given instruction in the experimental sciences at Cambridge for thirty years. As is naturally to be expected in the case of a person who devotes himself, if not entirely and exclusively, yet primarily and as his chief pursuit to one department of knowledge, he elevates physical science to a very high place in educational training, and claims for its special study a wider and deeper importance than most persons will concede. Yet still he avoids the mistake commonly made by devotees of the physical sciences of underrating classical and philosophical studies. To classical studies he certainly does not fail to attach due importance, as the following very truthful remarks clearly show :

"In our day there has risen a warm discussion as to the relative claims of the two kinds of culture, and attempts are made to create an antagonism between them ; but all culture is the same in spirit. Its object is to awaken and strengthen the powers of the mind ; for these, like the muscles of the body, are developed and rendered strong and active only by exercise ; while, on the other hand, they may become atrophied from mere want of use. Science culture differs in its methods from the old classical culture, but it has the same spirit and the same object. You must not, therefore, expect me to advocate the former at the expense of the latter ; for, although I have labored assiduously during a quarter of a century to establish the methods of science teaching which have now become general, I am far from believing that they are the only true modes of obtaining a liberal education. So far from this, if it were necessary to choose one of two systems, I should favor the classical ; and why ?"

"Language is the medium of thought, and cannot be separated from it. He who would think well must have a good command of language, and he who has the best command of language, I am almost tempted to say, will think the best. For this reason a certain amount of critical study of language is essential to every educated man, and such study is not likely to be gained except through the great ancient languages, the advocates of classical scholarship say cannot be gained. I am not ready to accept this dictum ; but I most willingly concede that in the present state of our schools it is not likely to be gained."

"But, while I concede all this, I do not believe, on the other hand, that the classical is the only effective method of culture. . . . Yet, in abandoning the old-tried method, which is known to be good, for the new, you must be careful that you gain the advantages which the new offers ; and you will not gain the new culture you seek unless you study science in the right way. In the classical departments the methods are so well established and have been so long tested by experience, that there can hardly be a wrong way. But in science there is not only a wrong way, but this wrong way is so easy and alluring that you will almost certainly stray into it unless you earnestly strive to keep out of it."

We have made these quotations for the purpose of showing the spirit with which Professor Cooke is animated in discussing the different subjects his essays treat of. It is in marked contrast with that of very many, we were going to say most, persons whose studies are chiefly or exclusively directed to physical science. The difference between Professor Cooke and these persons, in this respect, is one that is all-important and is entirely in his favor.

The "wrong method" which he has in his mind, is dependence on textbooks and acquiring a mechanical knowledge of facts. Both as a specimen of his opinions on this point, and because in expressing them

he clearly points out the weakness and silliness of the course of study persisted in, in spite of severe but entirely just criticism, by those who control our public school system, we quote a part of what he says on this point :

"To study the natural sciences merely as a collection of interesting facts which it is well for every educated man to know, seldom serves a useful purpose. The young mind becomes wearied with the details, and soon forgets what it has never more than half acquired. The lessons become an exercise of mere memory and of nothing more ; and if, as is too frequently the case, an attempt is made to cram the half-formed mind in a single school-year with an epitome of half the natural sciences—natural philosophy, astronomy and chemistry, physiology, zoology, botany and mineralogy, following each other in rapid succession—these studies become a great evil, an actual nuisance, which I should be the first to vote to abate. The tone of mind is not only not improved but seriously impaired, and the best product is a superficial, smattering smartness, which is the crying evil, not only of our schools but of our country."

The following, too, is a strong statement, yet, perhaps, not too strong :

"In order that the (physical) sciences should be of value in our educational system, they must be taught more from things than books, and never from books without the things. They must be taught, also, by real living teachers, who are themselves interested in what they teach, are interested also in their pupils, and understand how to direct them aright. Above all, the teachers must see to it that their pupils study with the understanding and not with the memory, not permitting a single lesson to be recited, which is not thoroughly understood, taking the greatest care not to load the memory with any useless lumber, and eschewing merely memorized rules as they would deadly poison. The great difficulty against which the teachers of natural science have to contend in the colleges are the wretched treadmill habits the students bring with them from the schools. Allow our students to memorize their lessons, and they will appear respectably well, but you might as easily remove a mountain as to make many of them think."

But we have already exceeded the prescribed limits in our notice of this one lecture or essay, and pass from it with the single additional remark that it is replete throughout with valuable practical suggestions both to teachers and to students of the physical sciences.

The essay on "The Nobility of Knowledge" was delivered before "the Free Institute" at Worcester, Mass. In the truth, the elevation and comprehensiveness of its thoughts, it far transcends the average of discourses usually delivered before such institutions. A few sentences will serve to convey an idea of its ruling ideas :

"'Knowledge is power. Knowledge is wealth.' These trite maxims are sufficiently esteemed in our community, and need not be enforced by any one. . . . I desire to impress upon you the fact that knowledge has nobler fruits than these, and that the worth of your knowledge is to be measured not by the credits it will add to your account in the ledger or the position it may give you among men, but by the extent to which it educates your higher nature, and elevates you in the scale of manhood. . . . Nor is it the extent of the knowledge alone which ennobles, but much more the spirit and aim with which it is cultivated. . . . And let me add that what I have said is true not only of the individual, but also, and to an even higher degree, of the nation. . . . What can you expect in a nation whose highest ideal is the dollar, or what the dollar will buy, but venality, corruption, and ultimate ruin."

The author has no very exalted ideas of our "universities" (so called), or of the popular notions respecting them, and of what they are expected to do. He says:

"Our people for the most part look upon universities and other higher institutions of learning as merely schools for recruiting the learned professions, and estimate their efficiency solely by the amount of teaching work which they perform. But however important the teaching function of the university may be, I need not tell you that this is not its chief value to a community. The university should be the centre of scientific investigation and literary culture, the nursery of lofty aspirations and noble thoughts, and thus should become the soul of the higher life of the nation. For this, and for this chiefly, it should be sustained and honored, and no cost and no sacrifice can be too great which are required to maintain its efficiency; and its success should be measured by the amount of knowledge it produces rather than by the amount of instruction it imparts."

In the following remarks Professor Cooke points out one of the chief causes of the fact that our American so-called universities are lamentably deficient in literary and scientific, not to speak of philosophic, productiveness in comparison with those of the Old World:

"The deficiency," he says, "arises not from any want of proper aims in our scholars, but simply from the circumstance that our people do not sufficiently appreciate the value of the higher forms of literary and scientific work to bear the burden which the production necessarily entails. Scholars must live as well as other men, and in a style which is in harmony with their surroundings and cultivated tastes, and their best efforts cannot be devoted to the extension of knowledge unless they are relieved from anxiety in regard to their daily bread."

"In our colleges the professors are paid for teaching only, while in a foreign university the teaching is only secondary, and the professor is expected to announce in his lectures the results of his own study, and not the thoughts of other men. Until the whole status of the professors in our chief universities can be changed, very little original thought or investigation can be expected, and these institutions cannot become what they should be, the soul of the higher life of the nation."

The author's statements are unquestionably true, so far as they go; but they do not go far enough. Unfortunately, the professors and teachers of American colleges and universities are themselves very generally deeply imbued with the prevailing materialistic and skeptical spirit of the age, and this necessarily tends to narrow and dwarf their intellectuality, and shut out from their vision those higher realms of truth, which faith and earnest devout meditation upon its eternal realities would open to them. Truth is not valued now for the truth's own sake, as it was by the scholars and thinkers of the Middle Ages, well called "the Ages of Faith." Hence we look in vain now for "the divine passion for knowledge," for the exclusive devotion to its attainment and the profound far-reaching thought which characterized those ages, and produced of men who cared not for salaries, or refined surroundings, or for the gratification of cultivated tastes; who owned perhaps nothing but the coarse garments that covered them and a few books, intellectual giants whose lofty stature and immense strength the world is now incapable of correctly measuring or estimating.

The remainder of the volume before us is made up of "An Address upon the Elementary Teaching of the Physical Sciences," in which teachers will find many valuable suggestions as to methods and ways of arousing the attention and directing the thoughts of their pupils respect-

ing the facts and phenomena of the material world ; of an essay on " the Radiometer as furnishing fresh evidence of a Molecular Universe," and " Memoirs of Thomas Graham and William Hallowes Miller."

Interwoven with the main subjects of these essays and memoirs are frequent references to Davy, Faraday, and many other ardent and successful students of physical science, their labors and methods of investigation, and the manner in which each step in discovery prepared the way for farther advances, etc. The volume throughout is replete with interesting statements and valuable suggestions, clearly and beautifully expressed.

SANCTUARY-BOYS. Illustrated Manual, embracing the Ceremonies of the Inferior Ministers at Low Mass, High Mass, Solemn High Mass, Vespers, Asperges, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, and Absolution for the Dead. By *Rev. James A. McCallen*, S.S. Published with the approval of His Grace, The Most Rev. Archbishop of Baltimore. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1881.

We know of no work recently issued from the Catholic press which is likely to be more extensively useful than this truly excellent and practical *Manual*. The want of such a book to place in the hands of Sanctuary-boys, and aid the clergy in instructing and training them to discharge promptly and decorously the duties and functions they are appointed to perform, is generally acknowledged. The *Manual* is well calculated to supply this want. It is comprehensive in its scope ; plain and exact in its directions. But to this, and to the character and contents of the work in detail, we shall refer more specially at the close of this notice.

The necessity of ceremonies in religious worship, and the importance of grace, order, and decorum in their performance, are so little understood, if understood at all, by non-Catholics, that we may be pardoned for making some general remarks upon these subjects before further noticing Father McCallen's work.

Religious ceremonies are a necessary concomitant of public religious services. As religion consists not merely of belief and sentiments interiorly cherished, but also of acts properly expressing them, it is essential to the very nature of worship as truthful and consistent that the act should correspond in form and character with that of which it is designed to be the outward manifestation. The requirements of human nature, too, demand this. It is a necessity of our nature that every deep and earnest sentiment of the soul should have an adequate form of expression. The feelings of affection and esteem which one individual cherishes for another, the loyal attachment of subjects or citizens for honored rulers, the love of parents for their children, and of children for their parents, all are unsatisfied unless they take outward shape in the form of actual manifestation. Nor are mere words sufficient. There must be some token given or act performed indicative of the interior feeling to satisfy and complete it.

Sound reason, therefore, teaches that God who created human nature, who gave to it its constituent elements, laws, and modes of action, and who established the relations which subsist between HIM and man, would make religion to conform in every respect to the divinely given nature of man ; and, therefore, that the submission, the contrition, the sense of dependence, the gratitude for blessings received, the desire for divine forgiveness, favor, and help, the reverence, love, and adoration of man for God should all express themselves in suitable acts.

That these acts should not only be consistent with themselves as true symbols of their interior meaning, but should also have all the beauty,

grandeur, and solemnity possible for man to clothe them in, seems to us self-evident. No one in his senses would advocate as proper that subjects should express their loyalty to a secular prince in ill-conceived, awkward, or slovenly forms of speech and action. Still less can it be advocated or defended on grounds consistent with enlightened reason, or even the simplest common sense, when the being to whom homage is to be paid, is not an earthly potentate, but the supreme ruler of heaven and earth, the Lord of lords, and King of kings.

Therefore it is that ceremonies of some kind are inseparably and necessarily connected with religion under every form, in every nation, race, and tribe. We say inseparably and necessarily. For, as we have already remarked, *every* sentiment that finds lodgment in the human heart, whether of love or hate, of honor or contempt, of reverence or of irreverence, struggles to exhibit and express itself in the form of outward action; and only when it thus externalizes itself, may it be regarded as entire and complete. There have been religious fanatics who denied this, but in their efforts to give their denial force and to actualize it in their own worship, they have adopted ceremonies of the stiffest formality.

Nothing can be more rigidly, mechanically formal than the customs and manner of worship which the "Friends" have adopted for the professed purpose of excluding forms. And so it is with other sects who profess opposition to religious forms and aim at what they style purely spiritual worship. Their forms may be arbitrary, changing according to the whims and notions of preachers or people; they may be uncouth and irreverent, or the reverse, but forms of some kind there must be. Religious worship without forms through which it may express itself is as much an impossibility, and as much a self-contradiction in terms, as is the conception of a spoken language, capable of expressing the thoughts of intelligent beings, yet having neither vocal sounds nor words. Mere formality in worship results not from the existence of forms, their number or their fewness, their complexity or their simplicity, but from the absence in the forms themselves of true symbolical significance; or from the absence of real devotion on the part of worshippers.

It is not only not surprising, therefore, but simply what was to be expected that God, in revealing Himself to man, should also make known in what manner and with what ceremonial and symbolical acts He would be most acceptably worshipped. Consequently, along with the remnants of the primitive revelation which tradition has handed down are interlinked accounts of sacrifices and other outward acts through which man rendered homage and adoration to his Creator. In the revelation under the Mosaical dispensation, the proper ceremonies connected with each function and part of divine worship were prescribed with the utmost minuteness. Throughout all these ceremonies there is obviously not only perfect consistency between them as parts of a common system, but also consistency between the acts as external forms, and the truths and realities they symbolized. As God, too, is the source and author of all material grandeur and beauty, all that earth could furnish and human skill and art could form that was beautiful and grand, were made to contribute to the impressiveness and solemnity of the worship of God in the tabernacle and the temple.

The Christian dispensation is not only the completion and fulfilment of that of the Old Law, but also far transcends it: Hence, in perfect accordance with propriety and sound reason, as well as with the express injunction of St. Paul that all things pertaining to divine worship should be done with decency and order, and adhering to sacred tradition handed

down from Apostolic times the Church has always carefully prescribed that the most impressive and imposing ceremonies should attend the exhibition of the glorious truths and sublime mysteries of the faith, and the functions and offices of the service of the Sanctuary. To further this, all the resources of human taste, art, and skill, guided and inspired by true faith and profound devotion, have been brought into requisition, in order that in their grace and beauty, their majestic grandeur and decorous order, these solemn ceremonies might, as far as possible, suggest and image forth the worship of the Blessed in heaven.

Hence, not without reason, but rather with the deepest and strongest reasons, and for the double purpose of honoring God by a holy carefulness for decorum, and grace, and majesty, as symbols of Him who is the author of all that is decorous, graceful, and majestic in nature, and for exciting the deepest devotion and reverence in the hearts of the faithful, the Church has, from the earliest ages of Christianity, left nothing undone to secure the careful and decorous fulfilment of her sacred liturgy in all respects. By her Pontifical constitutions, by the acts of Councils, and by the decrees of Sacred Congregations, she has, from time to time, brought this subject to the attention of her clergy and bishops, and enjoined them not to neglect it. In her Missals, Rituals, and Ceremonials she has carefully laid down specific rules as regards every function and part of divine worship, and has made their strict observance obligatory. And because, especially in missionary countries and rural districts the number of ordained clerics is insufficient for all the minor offices and functions, she has directed and admonished the pastors of churches to call to their assistance virtuous and pious youths, and to instruct and carefully train them to the decorous performance of those minor offices and functions, so that in all things the services of the Church might be characterized by holy propriety, decorum, order, and solemnity.

Yet the work of training youths by means of merely verbal instructions, for the purpose of thus assisting in the Sanctuary, is both tedious and difficult. To lessen this difficulty the volume before us has been composed and published. Its object, as stated by its author in his preface, is "to lighten the labor of the Reverend Clergy by furnishing them with an easy and practical means of instructing those under their charge in the exact and worthy performance of these ceremonies. For this purpose, we have aimed at making the *Manual* a textbook, which, by the simplicity of its language, the fulness of details, and the number of plates illustrating and explaining the text, may be readily used by the young readers for which it is intended. . . . We have endeavored to conform our teachings, on all points, to that of the Roman Ceremonial."

The comprehensiveness of the work may be inferred from the following brief summary of its contents: Chapter I. treats of the general dispositions and conduct of the Sanctuary-boys, of ceremonies common to all the Sanctuary-boys, and of directions for the use of the *Manual*. Then, in succeeding chapters, follow minute but plain instructions on ceremonies special to the Sanctuary-boys who assist at the divine offices, vested in cassock and surplice; ceremonies special to the Sanctuary-boys who serve at the altar, including vesting of the celebrant, manner of presenting the cup, cruets, incense-boat, and censer; manner of carrying the processional-cross, censer, incense-boat, candle-sticks, torches, and missal; incensing; and directions for aiding certain movements of the celebrant. Following these are special and minute instructions for serving at Low Mass, both on ordinary occasions and in presence of the Blessed Sacrament solemnly exposed; at the Low Mass of a bishop, at Low Mass in presence of a bishop, and at Low Mass for the dead; with like directions for the

Asperges before High Mass ; for serving at High Mass on different occasions ; in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed ; at High Mass for the dead ; at the Absolution for the dead after High Mass ; at Vespers, and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament ; Asperges before Solemn High Mass ; at Solemn High Mass ; at Solemn High Mass before the Blessed Sacrament exposed ; at Solemn High Mass in presence of the bishop, when the bishop is vested in cope, and when he is vested in cappa ; ceremonies special to Solemn High Mass for the dead ; and absolution for the dead after Solemn High Mass, when the body is present, and when the body is not present. To each chapter a series of questions is appended, by the aid of which the Sanctuary-boys may be examined in their knowledge of the matters treated, before being required to carry them out in practice. The value of the work and its easiness of comprehension are greatly increased by the number of illustrations, exceeding a hundred, showing the places to be occupied by the Sanctuary-boys at different parts of the Sacred Functions, their postures, etc.

The Reverend author of the *Manual* has brought to the task of preparing it the advantages of long and careful study of the subject and of large experience as Master of Ceremonies in the Cathedral of Baltimore. Nor has he relied solely upon his own learning and experience, but has availed himself also of the suggestions of a number of the Right Reverend and Reverend Clergy, both Regular and Secular, to whom he submitted the proof-sheets of his work for revision and correction before its publication.

Prefixed to the work is a warm letter of approval, from His Grace, the Most Rev. James Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore.

THE FATHERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY. By *Rev. George A. Jackson*. New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1831.

This little volume is the second in chronological order of the series of "Early Christian Literature Primers," edited by Professor George P. Fisher, D.D. It consists of extracts from the writings of Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and notices of Caius, Julius Africanus, Alexander of Jerusalem, Dionysius of Alexandria, Archelaus, Alexander of Lycopolis, Methodius, Peter of Alexandria, Alexander of Alexandria, and other Greek writers ; and so, too, extracts from the writings of Tertullian and Cyprian, and notices of Minucius Felix, Novatian, Arnobius, Lactantius, Commodianus, Victorinus, and Dionysius of Rome, Latin writers. The extracts and notices are necessarily brief, yet sufficiently full, particularly of Irenæus, Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and Cyprian, to give the reader a fair idea of their styles of writing, subjects and methods of treating them.

The work in form and intention is not controversial, but purely historical and literary. It is clear, however, from the writer's thoughtful and concise introductory chapters to the Greek and Latin writers respectively, that he has a fixed and definite theory on the development of the Greek and Latin elements in the Church, and the influences they severally exerted. His theory merits notice and criticism because, while it is erroneous on a vital point, it is in some respects true and exceedingly plausible ; it falls in, too, with the prevailing heretical theory of the growth of Christianity in the early ages of the Church. The error to which we refer influences the author's statements of the position of the writers whom he quotes and notices, but it comes to view most plainly

in his "Introduction" to the Latin writers. He there says that "with some qualifications the Patristic Church was Greek as the Primitive Church had been Jewish, and the Mediæval Church was to be Latin. Its unity, like that of the Greek nation, was federative; each church, like each of the Grecian states, was a little commonwealth. As the Greece which resisted the Persians was one, not by any imperial organization, but by common ideas and a common love of liberty, so the Church of the Fathers was one not by any organic connection, but by common thoughts and sympathies, above all by a common loyalty to Christ. Naturally the questions which agitated such a Church were those which concern the individual soul rather than society. Its members made much of their personal beliefs and speculative opinions; and so long as the old free spirit lasted, they allowed one another large freedom of thought, only requiring that common instinct of loyalty to Christ. Happily for the world, that free spirit did not die out from the East for at least two centuries after Paul had proclaimed the individual relationship of the soul to God. For, meantime, such thinkers as Justin, and Irenæus, and Hippolytus, and Clement, and, above all, Origen, within the Church, and the better minds of the Gnostics outside of the Church, had so shown the breadth and adaptations of Christian truth that, when the time came for the iron bands of mediæval Christianity to be broken, the world needed not to grope in the dark, but still found in Christianity a divine guidance."

"But already, before that paralysis of the Greek mind which doomed the East to a dead orthodoxy, a division was appearing in the Church of the Fathers. Though still predominantly Greek, its Western churches were beginning to assert something more than individual freedom. . . . The coming spirit was Roman. . . . Gradually the Latin elements assert themselves in the churches, and as the old Greek spirit ceases to act upon them from the East, the Roman spirit takes its place. . . . The genius of the Greek expressing itself in thought, of the Latin in ruling power, the Christianity which was to the former a body of truth, became to the latter a system of government. Since religions take on national traits by the influence upon them of leading minds who embody the national spirit, Christianity could assume a Latin type only as there appeared in the Church superior minds saturated with the Roman spirit. . . . Upon the foundation of a regard for law, the Roman state had reared a vast superstructure, which was now its most striking feature. Equally would Christianity, when once the legal foundations were laid, rear thereupon a political fabric, in time to become its most striking feature. To give this element there was needed, not the rude vigor and obscure position of a Tertullian, but the social leverage of the courtly habits and the administrative genius of a Cyprian. The chair of the Bishop of Carthage becomes to Cyprian not simply the seat of a pastor of a city; it is also the throne of the Christian proconsul, whose influence is felt to the bounds of the province. . . . But as no proconsul thought of his province as other than as part of a great whole, whose centre was on the banks of the Tiber, so Cyprian thought of the African Church as an integral part of the one universal Christian body; and to his Roman mind where else could be the centre of a world-wide power if not in Rome? Still, the bishop was as devoutly Christian as he was stanchly Roman, and for what he deems the proper church government he seeks an apostolic constitution. This he finds ('Treatise on the Unity of the Church') in the charge to Peter,—'I say unto thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church,' and in the common tradition that the Apostle thus honored was the first bishop

of the Church in Rome. As the successor of Peter, the bishop of the imperial city was to rank as *primus inter pares* with respect to all other bishops, and so as the head of the Church Catholic. In like manner the bishop of the governing city of a province was to be first among his Episcopal brethren."

Thus clearly and plausibly the author states his theory, and the prevailing rationalistic theory, of the growth and development of the government of the Church, and the origin of the Papacy. The trouble with the theory is that it is untrue, both theologically and historically. Its historical untruth consists not so much in misstatements of facts as of defective or erroneous explanations of them, their causes and relations. It is perfectly true, as the author says, that "St. Paul proclaimed the individual relationship of the soul to God;" but not, as the author implies, that this relationship exists and is maintained independently of the Church and its Sacraments. If there is anything clear about St. Paul, it is that he insisted not less strenuously upon the latter truth than upon the former; and, as regards the authority of the bishops over priests and of the Bishop of Rome as Supreme Pontiff of the Church, there is abundant proof that they existed from the very commencement of the Church and owed their existence not to the development of human thought, but to divine command and commission. We simply point out these errors of the author, as it would not comport with the limits of a book notice to disprove them in detail.

These errors, however, very slightly affect the critical and literary value of the volume. The quotations from the various works of the different Greek and Latin writers noticed in the work are made judiciously, and give a very fair idea of the spirit and genius of those writers, their leading thoughts, their modes of combating errors and defending and elucidating truths.

POEMS BY JAMES CLARENCE MANGAN, with a Biographical Introduction by John Mitchell. New York: P. M. Haverly. 1881.

The American public are deeply indebted to Mr. Haverly for this collection of the choicest productions of one of Ireland's most highly-gifted poets, one whose name is a household word in many an Irish home, yet scarcely known and entirely unappreciated in England. Mr. Mitchell, the author of the admirable biographical and critical introduction prefixed to the poems, clearly explains why this is. He says that Mangan "was not only an Irishman, not only an Irish papist, not only an Irish papist rebel; but, through his whole literary life of twenty years, he never deigned to attorn to English criticism, never published a line in any English periodical or through any English bookseller, never seemed to be aware that there was a British public to please. He was a rebel politically, and a rebel intellectually,—a rebel with his whole heart and soul against the British spirit of the age. The consequence was sure, and not unexpected. Hardly anybody in England knew the name of such a person, and the only critique of his volumes, called 'German Anthology,' which I have ever met with, is a very short and contemptuous notice in the *Foreign Quarterly* for October, 1845."

On this issue is joined, and an appeal is made from English taste to American. "In the eyes of Americans," says Mangan's biographer, "that can hardly be a great crime (though to an Englishman it is the sin against the Holy Ghost), to ignore British opinion and despise equally British censure and applause. Moreover, I believe there is in these United States quite enough of the Celtic blood and warmth of tem-

perament, enough too of the true Celtic ear for melody, to recognize in the poems of Mangan that marvellous charm which makes him the household and heart-enshrined darling of many an Irish home. I have never yet met a cultivated Irishman or woman, of genuine Irish nature, who did not prize Mangan above all the poets that their island of song ever nursed. This one fact makes it worth while surely to understand with what wand of power, and what musical incantations he wrought so wondrous a magic."

It would be interesting to follow the writer of the introduction in his graphic delineation of Mangan's sad and sorrowful life. But regard for the limits of this notice forbids. Suffice it to say that rarely have we read anything that moved us more deeply. Immersed in the deepest abyss of deepest poverty he struggled and labored on a miserable pittance, earned as copyist for a scrivener, to support a mother and a sister; subsequently he obtained a subordinate position in the Dublin University Library. He educated himself, how, or in what way, no one ever knew, into a thorough classical scholar; and of modern languages, besides the English, he was familiar with German, French, and Spanish, and roved at will through the glowing gardens of their poetic literature. It has been supposed that he also understood the Persian and Coptic languages, but his biographer says: "This is at least doubtful, and certainly his poems purporting to be translated from the Persian and the Coptic were altogether his own. Somebody asked him why he gave credit to Hafiz for such exquisite gems of his own poetry; because, he said, Hafiz paid better than Mangan, and any critic could see that they were only *half his*."

Yet all this time he was the slave of opium. He was jilted by a beautiful coquette, who laid her snares for him, flattered by the admiration of a genius who poured at her feet all the wealth of his imagination and affection, and then was coolly discarded. He was betrayed and deserted in his utmost hour of need by a false friend; and, in short, the storms of misfortune and sorrow seemed to pour down their utmost fury upon his defenceless head. He was in every respect naturally unfitted to battle with adversity. Silent, shy, reserved, companionless, shrinking even from those who from sympathy and pity forced their friendship upon him, his utter misery and desolation closely shut up in his own heart, his being was drowned in the blackest despair. Yet there was no bitterness in his spirit, no malignity, nor defiance, nor vengeful misanthropy; no revenge. He was always humble and affectionate, prayerful; and though sometimes for weeks bound in the torpor of the horrible drug to which he was a slave, yet "something," says his biographer, saved him from insanity and from suicide. "Perhaps it was religion," continues his biographer; "I am not aware that at this time he had any practical connection with his Church,—he was a Catholic,—but there was always present with him a devotional sentiment, and an humble, contrite heart. Before his death, too, he showed more profound interest in matters of faith, by more frequently translating Catholic hymns and paraphrasing the Sacred Scriptures." We add that during his last illness in Meath Hospital, where he lingered for several days, he was assiduously attended by Father Meehan, who knew and loved him; and he died while, at his own request, the penitential psalms were being read.

Contrary to our intention we have dwelt too long upon Clarence Mangan's sorrowful personal history to permit us to say much of his poems. A very large part of them is made up of, so-called, translations of the choicest gems of German and old Irish poetry. They are rather paraphrases, or reproductions, in which the thought and imagery are

amplified and enriched with the wealth of his own rich genius, and the rhythm improved by his own exquisite sense of melody and his power of versification. In deep, genuine pathos, truthfulness to nature, power of description, melodious rhythm, and wealth of imagery, Clarence Mangan has few equals. "Of his translations," his biographer says, "that though those of Longfellow and Bulwer are more literal, yet if Mangan's are once read, in fitting mood of mind, their melody haunts the ear, and the soft, dreamy beauty of the sumptuous robe which they sometimes throw around the dry bones of a ballad, harsh and meagre before, leads one to believe that if the German author could see himself so richly clothed, he would admit that in the account between him and his translator, the balance would be heavily in favor of the latter." A perusal of these translations will show, we think, that this is not too favorable an estimate. The translations of old Irish songs and ballads are usually those which are most sorrowful and pathetic, thus harmonizing perfectly with his own spirit. Among the most remarkable of these are his version of "O'Hussey's Ode to the Maguire," "The Lament of the Irish Princes," "Sarsfield," "Kinkora," and "Dark Rosaleen."

ORIGINAL, SHORT, AND PRACTICAL SERMONS FOR EVERY SUNDAY OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR. Three Sermons for Every Sunday. By F. X. Weninger, S. J., Doctor of Theology. Cincinnati: C. J. H. Lowen.

To the preparation of these discourses Rev. Father Weninger has brought the experience of over fifty years in the sacred ministry. His chief motive in composing and publishing them, as he states in his preface, was the thought that he "would do a good work in presenting to his brethren in the holy ministry a series of sermons, which, in twelve sections, would cover the whole field of ecclesiastical eloquence." The sermons for all the Sundays and Feasts of the ecclesiastical year—three for each Sunday and Feast—form the first two sections. The volume before us contains those merely for the Sundays. The next volume, we presume, will contain those for the Feasts. The Reverend author states that it was not his intention to present to the clergy sermons in the style of lectures. He believes that this would be of very little utility, being of the opinion of St. Francis de Sales that "nothing does more harm to the fruit of a sermon than tiresome length," and that, judging from his "long experience in the Old and New World, no sermons for Sundays and Feasts, delivered at *Mass*," should exceed twenty-five minutes in the time required to deliver them. He has further endeavored to so construct these discourses "that the preacher will find the subject announced in an original way and developed systematically, though each discourse is at the same time short and practical, not requiring for its distinct delivery more than twenty-five minutes. Nor are the discourses, notwithstanding their brevity, mere sketches, but thoroughly elaborated sermons."

On examination of the volume before us it appears that Father Weninger has been successful in carrying out his purposes as above stated. The sermons are direct, pointed, brief, and practical; and the chief divisions and thoughts are naturally and logically connected with the announced themes. They will furnish valuable assistance to the clergy in choosing and developing suitable subjects for the different Sundays of the entire ecclesiastical year.

THE HOLY SACRIFICE OF THE MASS. By the *Right Rev. Herbert Vaughan*, Bishop of Salford. P. Fox, 14 S. Fifth Street. 1881.

The death of our Lord and the Holy Mass are inseparably connected, the sacrifice of the cross and of the altar being absolutely identical in the Divine Officer and in the Victim offered. The Mass, therefore, is the great central act of worship in the universe, filling the entire creation of God with a homage, adoration, and thanksgiving of infinite value, while at the same time, like an abundant river flowing from Calvary, it pours forth over all who approach it with faith and devotion, pardon of sin, remission of temporal punishment, an immeasurable increase of grace, and all kinds of blessings, spiritual and temporal. St. Thomas and the theologians of the Church teach that a single Mass gives greater honor to the Blessed Trinity than the homage of all the angels and saints of heaven put together; and St. Bonaventure teaches that, as to the sanctification of souls, God confers on the world as great a benefit in each Mass as He did in the moment of the Incarnation.

It is enough to mention these truths of Catholic faith to realize the losses which are suffered through ignorance of the value of the Mass. Because of that ignorance, because they have never formed a correct conception of this Divine Sacrifice, how many, even among Catholics, are cold and indifferent; how many fail to avail themselves of the inestimable blessings they might obtain through it, and how many of those who assist at the offering of the Holy Sacrifice do so without the devotion and intelligent recollection which they ought to have, and which a true knowledge of what the Mass is would inspire and aid them in cherishing and exhibiting.

For the purpose of correcting this ignorance, and diffusing among Catholics a more lofty and a true idea of the Mass, the little work before us was written. Being written solely for Catholics it is not controversial, but exclusively practical and devotional. But devotion to be real and lasting must be based upon doctrine, and hence, as the Right Reverend author informs his readers in his preface, he has endeavored in simple language to lay before his readers the teaching of the Fathers of the Church, and of the great theologians Saint Thomas, Suarez, and Lessius, and Cardinals De Lugo, Bona, and Franzelin.

The purpose of the Right Reverend author of the work, as stated by himself, is not to explain "the prayers of the Mass, deep and beautiful as they are, and full of Scriptural allusion; nor the origin and profound significance of various sacrificial vestments; nor the meaning of the many sacred ceremonies which regulate the conduct of the priest and accompany the Sacrifice from the beginning to the end. The history of these things leads up to the Apostolic age, and there are so many books explaining them, and translations of the Missal are so common, that I need not touch upon them in the following pages. . . . What I propose to do in this little book is to draw attention to the substance; to the very heart and soul of this great act of worship; to explain to you the nature and benefits of the Sacrifice, and how to assist at it."

In the prosecution of his purpose Bishop Vaughan shows what the Mass is; that it is not a mere form of prayer, but is essentially an act, and therefore "differs essentially from all other formularies of devotion, such as Morning or Night Prayers, Vespers, Rosary, and Benediction." He also shows how ignorance of this truth causes non-Catholics to make groundless and senseless objections to the ceremonial of the Mass, and how, too, the want of clear understanding of the distinction produces in many Catholics a want of that deep devotion which should inspire all who assist at offering up of the Mass. He then explains that it is an act of

sacrifice, shows that an external sacrifice has been regarded always, from the beginning of the world, as an essential part of divine worship, and explains in what sacrifice consists. He then explains in separate chapters "The Priesthood of Christ;" that "Jesus Christ is the Chief Priest of the Mass;" that He is "The Divine Victim of the Mass;" "The Identity of the Sacrifice of the Mass with the Sacrifice of Calvary;" and that "The Mass is the Great Central Act of Worship." He then speaks of "The Divine Perfections Manifested in the Mass;" "The Virtue Manifested by the Sacred Humanity in the Mass;" "The Holy Angels Assisting at Mass;" "The Four Great Ends of Sacrifice;" "Why Every Rational Creature should go to Mass;" "Why the Grateful should go to Mass;" "Why the Greatest Sinners should go to Mass;" "Why the Needy should go to Mass;" "Why the Sacrifice of the Mass is in the Form of Food;" "The Obligation to Hear Mass;" and what you must do when you cannot hear Mass. The Right Reverend writer then treats of High Mass and Parochial Mass; of "Modesty of Dress at Mass;" "Hearing Mass Daily;" of "Union with the Perpetual Sacrifice;" "Getting Masses said especially for the Souls in Purgatory;" "On Serving at Mass;" and "Various Methods of Hearing Mass."

As will be seen from this summary of the contents of the work it is very comprehensive in scope and the topics that are treated. Yet the statements and explanations are so direct, so concise, yet lucid, that they are comprised within the compass of a very small volume, forming a most excellent practical and devotional manual of instruction on the highest act of divine worship, the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

THE HOUSEHOLD LIBRARY OF CATHOLIC POETS, FROM CHAUCER TO THE PRESENT DAY (1350-1881). Edited by *Eliot Ryder*. Joseph A. Lyons: The University of Notre Dame. Notre Dame, Illinois. 1881.

Elevating and strengthening as is the influence which true faith exerts upon all the faculties of the soul, it could not be otherwise than that Catholics should enrich every department of literature with their contributions. Yet very few persons are aware of the greatness and value of these contributions. This is particularly the case with regard to poetry. Comparatively few persons can mention the names of a dozen Catholic poets. They may be familiar with their works, but they do not know them as Catholics. The cause of this is not difficult to find. The Reformation followed close upon the invention of printing, and all things pertaining to Catholic faith have been carefully withheld from the people. The various dictionaries and cyclopædias of literature, edited almost entirely by Protestants, and compiled for the non-Catholic market, have carefully concealed the religious faith of nearly all Catholic writers of eminence whom they mentioned, and have omitted mention of many others of equal or approximate eminence. Those who were not exceedingly well known to fame have been ignored altogether. Very few persons think of Chaucer, Spenser, or Dryden as Catholics, and if Pope's Catholicity is referred to it is probably with an assumption of surprise that "a papist" could have written so well.

It is important that this ignorance of what Catholics have done and are doing in the field of literature should be dispelled; that Catholics, at least, should know what the children of the true faith have accomplished in this respect; and that those who assume them to be lacking in either the power to produce or the capacity to appreciate should be shown their egregious error. Yet this is no easy task, owing to the extent and manner in which, as has already been remarked, the religious

belief of Catholic writers, particularly of Catholic poets, has been almost universally ignored, even where it has not been designedly concealed, in the most widely known and popular cyclopædias, and manuals, and dictionaries of literature. The compiler and editor of the work before us, as was to be expected under the circumstances, met with this difficulty. Referring to it he says: "It may be truly said that the researches required to ascertain who were and who were not Catholics has constituted the chief labor in preparing this volume."

The editor has not included selections from all Catholics who have written poetry. Several of the earlier English poets have been omitted because their productions figure but slightly in literature at the present day, and also because their language, long since obsolete, would be unintelligible to the average reader. Obvious reasons have led to other omissions. The necessity of preventing the volume assuming too large proportions has required him to confine his selections almost entirely to the lyrical productions of the poets represented in his work, and to select the briefest of their poems. In making these selections the editor has taken them from standard sources. The chronological method of arrangement has been adopted, as far as was possible, both for the sake of convenience and because it best afforded a general survey of the progress of Catholic contributions to poetic literature in connection with history.

We have thus dwelt *in extenso* upon the design of the work, its plan and scope, and upon the ideas which guided and controlled its editor in preparing it, because we desire to impress our readers with a sense of its merits. It is a valuable as well as an exceedingly attractive book. It comprises many of the finest productions of Catholic poetic genius, and, within the compass of a convenient volume, furnishes a fair and comprehensive view of what Catholics have done in the field of English poetry.

It would do the work injustice to dismiss it without referring to its external appearance and general typographical make-up. It is a truly beautiful volume, forming a fitting casket for the rich and brilliant gems of thought it contains. Its binding, presswork, and paper are all that good taste and an appreciation of the beautiful could desire.

THE ART OF THINKING WELL. By *Rev. James Balmes*, Author of *Letters to a Sceptic*, etc. Translated from the Spanish by Rev. William McDonald, D.D. Preceded by a Life of the Author. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1882.

Balmes is chiefly known in this country by his work contrasting the respective influences of the Catholic religion and of Protestantism upon civilization, and his "Fundamental Philosophy." Yet he was an indefatigable writer as well as a profound student. Nor were his studies and pursuits exclusively historical and philosophical. They included mathematics, law, medicine, and politics, so far at least as the latter were concerned with religion. He possessed both untiring industry and extraordinary intellectual talent. At the age of seventeen he was already considered a prodigy of learning, and was regarded by his professors, Drs. Barri, Caixal, Xarrie, Ricord, and Galli, with such respect, that they often prolonged their examinations beyond the fixed time, for the pleasure of hearing his clear and brilliant solutions. His subsequent career, which is sketched in the first part of the volume before us, showed that the bright promise of his early youth was not unfulfilled. But though his career was a brilliant one and his labors fruitful in writings which have exerted a widespread and deep influence, his years were few. In the thirty-eighth year of his age, in the city of Vich, after receiving the last sacraments of the Church, he peacefully passed from earth.

The treatise on "The Art of Thinking Well" is a lucid, logical, and practical exposition of the important subject with which it deals. After preliminary considerations of what it is "To Think Well," and "What is Truth," the author passes on to treat in successive chapters of Attention, Choice of a Profession, Questions of Possibility, Questions about Existence, Knowledge acquired by Immediate Testimony of the Senses, Knowledge of the Existence of Things acquired directly by the Senses, Logic in accord with Charity; on Human Authority, Newspapers, Books of Travel, History; General Considerations of the Means of Knowing the Nature, Properties, and Relations of Beings; Good Perception, Judgment, Reasoning; All is not done by Reasoning; Teaching, Invention; The Understanding, the Heart, and the Imagination; Philosophy of History; Religion; Practical Understanding.

These various subjects are philosophically, profoundly discussed. Yet the explication of them is so simple, direct, and lucid, and the examples illustrating the principles laid down are so happily chosen and stated, that the work may be understood and read with interest and profit by any person of ordinary intelligence and thoughtfulness.

THE PRISONERS OF THE KING; THOUGHTS ON THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF PURGATORY. By *Henry James Coleridge*, of the Society of Jesus. A New Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1882.

This work does not claim to be a systematic treatise on the doctrine of Purgatory with which it deals. It is rather a collection of reflections on the subject growing out of the spiritual significance and import of the miracles of our Divine Lord. For this very reason, we think, it is all the better adapted for general reading.

The Reverend Father explains in his preface how the thought of composing this volume and its plans and contents came to him. It occurred to him while preaching "during the Octave with which the Society of the Helpers of the Holy Souls is accustomed to celebrate the annual commemoration of the Faithful Departed" that "some of the miracles of our Lord might be usefully applied in illustration of the doctrine of Purgatory. . . . Our Lord's miracles were almost universally acts of mercy as well as acts of authority, and thus it is natural to find that they are full of teaching as to the various spiritual miseries of souls and His tenderness in succoring them. The Holy Souls are sufferers to a degree and in a manner which are but faintly pictured in the bodily maladies which our Lord so lovingly relieved, and they are sufferers whose case He has left very much to the charity of the children of the Militant Church. His Sacred Heart looked further than the outward disease or privation for which He used His healing or restoring power, and, if it is most natural to consider all bodily evils as shadows and images by which spiritual infirmities are represented, it is not any exaggerated extension of the same principle of accommodation to consider the sufferings of Purgatory, all of which are caused by sin or negligence, as included under it. And no phase or department of Christian devotion can ever lose by being connected in any way with considerations on the acts and sayings of our Lord."

Employing this principle of accommodation and following out the general thought expressed in the foregoing quotation, Father Coleridge beautifully and clearly sets forth his reflections upon Purgatory, the condition and sufferings of Holy Souls, the desire of our Lord that they should be speedily released, and the duties of Christians on earth towards them, suggested by and deduced from careful examination and study of the miracles of our Divine Lord.

SEVEN VOICES OF SYMPATHY, from the Writings of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Edited by Charlotte Fiske Bates. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1882.

The writings of Mr. Longfellow are so well known and so generally admired that a judicious selection can scarcely fail to secure acceptance from the American public. The editor of the volume before us at first undertook, at the suggestion of the late James T. Fields, the preparation of a collection from Longfellow's poems for the solace of bereavement. Subsequently, however, she changed the aim and extent of the work by selecting not only from his poems, but also from his prose writings. At the same time she expanded her plan so as to embrace extracts not only for those who were afflicted by the death of dear friends and relatives, but also "for the depressed, the neglected, the toiling, the erring, the struggling, and the aged." She has accordingly distributed her selections under the several heads of: I. Bereavement and Sorrow; II. Weakness, Struggle, and Aspiration; III. Labor and Endurance; IV. Restlessness, Doubt, and Darkness; V. Self-denial and Philanthropy; VI. Neglect, Disappointment, and Injustice; and VII. Retrospection and Old Age.

To these she also, with excellent judgment, has prefixed two others of Longfellow's poems: "The Author to his Readers," and "Auf Wiedersehen," being Mr. Longfellow's "Tribute in Memory of James T. Fields."

The collection has evidently been made with great care and judicious discrimination. It contains many of the happiest and most beautiful parts of Mr. Longfellow's writings, and will doubtless meet with a welcome reception from those to whom it is intended to convey sympathy and consolation.

A SURE WAY TO A HAPPY MARRIAGE: A Book of Instructions for those betrothed and for the married. From the German of Rev. Conrad Sickinger. By Rev. Edward Ign. Taylor, of St. Peter's Pro-Cathedral, Wilmington (Del.). New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis: Berringer Brothers, Printers to the Holy Apostolic See.

In all ages there have been many unchristian marriages, but there has never been a time when in professedly Christian countries more such unchristian marriages take place than in our own age. Unfortunately, too, they are increasing from year to year. Their fruits are plainly visible everywhere in the domestic unhappiness and misery, the absence of true conjugal love and esteem, the prevalence of conjugal unfaithfulness, the disregard of parental and of filial obligations, and the growth of vice, immorality, and crime immediately connected with conjugal family relations. Marriage is a sacrament, and the relations and obligations it creates are of divine institution.

Where this great truth and the subsidiary truths connected with it are lost sight of or disregarded, the results that follow are as certain as they are lamentable. It was, therefore, a happy thought that led Father Taylor to translate into English this excellent and beautiful work of Father Sickinger. It is divided into three parts, treating respectively of virginity, betrothal, and marriage. Each of these parts in its various subdivisions, instructs the reader on the different subjects pertaining to them. It is a most interesting and excellent book—one which it would be well for the clergy to recommend to persons contemplating matrimony, and for parents to put into the hands of their children, and we may add, for them themselves to read.

THE ILLUSTRATED CATHOLIC FAMILY ANNUAL FOR 1882. With Calendars calculated for different Parallels of Latitude, and adapted for use throughout the United States. New York; The Catholic Publication Society Co.

This excellent Annual increases in the interest and variety of its matter with each year of its publication. The number for the present year, in addition to the usual secular and religious Calendar and astronomical calculations, contains a list of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church in the United States, a number of valuable statistical tables, sketches and portraits of the characters, lives, and labors of many distinguished Catholic writers, founders of Religious Orders, Prelates and Saints; also engravings of ancient ruins, shrines, and churches. Among the most interesting of the sketches, we specially note the papers upon the Most Rev. F. N. Blanchet, D.D., who recently resigned his office of Archbishop of Oregon, at the advanced age of eighty-six years, after serving as bishop for thirty-six years, and as priest for sixty-two; upon St. Catharine of Sienna; Father Olier, Founder of the Sulpicians; Very Rev. Nicholas Dominic Young, O.S.D.; Very Rev. Canon Oakley; Kenelm Henry Digby; Catharine McAuley; Cardinal Breton; Herman Von Mallincrodt, Pauline Mallincrodt, Bertrand du Guesclin, and the great Spanish poet-priest, Rev. Pedro Calderon de la Barca.

The Annual also contains clear and explicit statements of the Days of Obligation to hear Mass and abstain from servile work in the different dioceses in the United States; of the Fasting Days of Obligation, and of the Abstinence Days.

LEAVES FROM THE ANNALS OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY. In three volumes. I. Ireland; II. England, Scotland, and the Colonies; III. America. Volume I., Ireland, containing Sketches of the Convents established by the Holy Foundress, and their earlier developments. By a Member of the Order of Mercy, Authoress of the "Life of Catharine McAuley," "Life of St. Alphonsus," "Life of Clement F. Hbfbauer," "Glimpses of Pleasant Homes," etc. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company. 1881.

The Annals of the Sisters of Mercy cannot fail to interest every one who loves to read of the works and achievements in the wide field of its charitable ministrations—more glorious than the highest exploits of the world's most renowned soldiers, statesmen, scientists, and philosophers. The volume before us comprises the most interesting of those interesting annals,—those referring to the origin, foundation, progress, labors, difficulties, and successful results of the Order in Ireland, its present condition and numerical strength. The narration of them by so practiced and highly gifted a writer as the authoress makes their perusal all the more attractive.

APPLETON'S STANDARD SYSTEM OF PENMANSHIP. Prepared by Lyman Smith. D. Appleton & Co.: Boston, New York, and Chicago.

We have received from Messrs. Appleton & Co. samples of different series of their system of penmanship. They comprise, respectively, short courses for tracing letters in lead pencil and in ink intended for beginners, and two longer and fuller courses for more advanced pupils. They also contain "model drill and movement exercises," designed to educate the muscles of the arm and fingers so to produce free and easy movements in using the pen. Ample and clear directions are given respecting the movements that should be made, and the proper manner of forming and connecting the letters. It is claimed that the system will produce a free and practical style of writing in the school-room; and, from the examination we have made, we are of the opinion that the series is well designed to accomplish its intended purpose.

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

VOL. VII.—APRIL, 1882.—No. 26.

THE RELIGIOUS RIGHTS OF CATHOLICS IN PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS.

THERE is a general impression that religious liberty exists in the United States, and that every one is free to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. This is, however, a fallacy. The Constitution of the United States does not guarantee any such liberty; it simply declares that Congress shall make no law establishing any religion or prohibiting the free exercise of any. And the Supreme Court of the United States, in a case originating in New Orleans, decided that the Constitution does not prevent a State from having an established religion.¹ Each one of the United States may have an established church, as Massachusetts had in the early part of this century. An amendment to the Constitution of the United States, introduced some years ago by Mr. Blaine, would have gone further and have taken this power absolutely from the States. Had the amendment been adopted it would, if construed fairly and honorably, have dealt a death-blow to the "Protestant religion" as the official State religion in many parts of the country.

No term, perhaps, is more abused than that of religious freedom. When a Catholic hears some orator in bombastic period and turgid phrase laud to the skies the founders of New England as advocates of religious liberty, when, in fact, they openly denounced toleration as evil and enforced uniformity with the halter; when he hears New Netherland claimed as a home of religious liberty though it allowed no public worship but the Calvinist and compelled all to

¹ *Permoli v. The First Municipality*, 3 Howard, 609.

support it; when he hears Rhode Island claimed as the first colony to acknowledge the rights of conscience and give full freedom to religion, though, in fact, it excluded Catholics from that boon as distinctly as Georgia did,—when a Catholic hears this, he will look up at the speaker and try philosophically to form some idea of the mental process by which men, who have sufficient intelligence to read and write and an amount of honesty sufficient to keep them out of State prison, can continue to repeat absurdities which a very slight amount of examination or reflection ought to make them blush even to have uttered or countenanced.

It is a very difficult thing to understand such men and such minds, and yet, parrot-like, men go on repeating the same old song. *Mentita est iniquitas sibi* is a curious statement, if we analyze it, and this word of truth may clear the matter up. Iniquity is, inherently, simply unfairness, a want of equity, of justice. And here we see this prevailing traditional want of fairness, where Catholics are concerned, not only perverting the truth, but perverting the mind so as to accept error for truth, lying not to others but to itself.

In the last century, during the colonial days, Congregationalism was established by law in most of New England, the Church of England in Virginia, New York, and some other colonies, while others—and all, to some extent—maintained the supremacy of the “Protestant religion.” Notwithstanding the great change wrought by the Revolution, and the establishment of the present Federal government, this virtual establishment of the Protestant religion exists, to some extent, under the mask of religious liberty. “The Bible,” says Chillingworth, “is the religion of Protestants,” using the word Bible to mean King James’s English translation. The same Bible, we are constantly told, is the only rule of Protestant faith. We have public schools in all parts, and this book, which is the religion of Protestants, their professed rule of faith, is forced into the schools, and men stultify themselves by asserting that these schools are non-sectarian, as though their being Protestant did not necessarily constitute their being distinctly sectarian and a violation of religious freedom. A recent Russian work on this country notes the self-deceit and fraud of this course, and states that the public school system of the United States, while pretending and professing to be non-sectarian and without religious bias, is really Protestant. It is consequently proselytizing, and the States year by year raise and expend millions of dollars which are employed to weaken the faith of young Catholics and imbue them with Protestant ideas. Under Mr. Blaine’s amendment the Supreme Court of the United States, whose decisions alone are law, would undoubtedly be compelled to declare our present school system un-

constitutional, as a gross violation of liberty of conscience. So long as each State has power to establish a religion, in whole or in part, it may make Protestantism the official religion, and enforce its doctrines, worship, and forms in the State schools, State poor-houses, State prisons, State asylums; but once an amendment to the Constitution of the United States takes this power from the several States, this enforcement of the Protestant religion in any State will be a violation of the Federal Constitution.

The minds of our fellow-citizens are so warped and biassed on this point, in regard to the schools, that we Catholics prefer to suffer wrong, to be taxed for schools which are as Protestant as any Protestant church, to which we cannot in conscience send our children, and then to erect, endow, and maintain schools where our offspring may be educated without losing but preserving their faith.

In regard to the penal and eleemosynary institutions in each State the case is different. Penal institutions must ever belong to the State, and many eleemosynary institutions, especially those of a reformatory character, must continue to be State institutions, although the Catholic body has no fewer than 374 asylums and hospitals in the country, models of correct and economical management, and fruitful in the best results.

The question arises as to the religious status of Catholics in the penal and eleemosynary institutions under State control. When a person is committed to jail, penitentiary, or State prison, it is never made part of the sentence that he shall, during the time for which he is sentenced, be cut off from attending the worship of the church to which he belongs, nor is a part of his sentence that he shall be compelled to take part in any form of worship which is repugnant to him. It is not part of his punishment; the law does not make it so; the court does not pronounce it. If he is cut off, it is not as part of the punishment awarded to him. Yet if this is done, and not done as part of his punishment, it is hard to conceive under what pretext it is done. It is not a necessary sequel of his sentence.

The right to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, the right not to be forced to join in a worship which he believes to be unacceptable to God, is a right which the convict possesses, and of which no man has a right to deprive him.

Still stronger is the case of reformatories, where moral reformation rather than punishment is the aim. To do violence to the religious convictions implanted into a person from the cradle, to force such a person to take part in religious exercises which a person's faith forbids, may produce hypocrites and canting scoundrels, but cannot send out such persons morally reformed or better than

when they entered. When, as has frequently happened, this compulsory attendance on religious services is enforced by coarse and brutal severity, we cannot wonder at the poverty of results shown by such institutions as the House of Refuge or the Elmira Reformatory.

The third class of institutions, is created in behalf of those whose poverty appeals for shelter, who are simply unfortunate, not criminal, who have done nothing to forfeit any right. There can be no pretext whatever for any wanton prohibition by which they are cut off from the opportunity of attending the worship of their own church, or for any rule by which they are forced to join in a worship which they in their own hearts condemn.

Catholics, in most States, have for years had reason to complain that in all these institutions their erring or unfortunate fellow-believers have wantonly been deprived of a right which Americans boast exists in every part of the country, and of which our Protestant fellow-citizens would never submit to be deprived.

"The Protestant religion," using the term in the sense in which it is understood in many old statutes, is established almost universally in the penal and eleemosynary institutions. A Catholic inmate cannot attend the worship of his church or practice its ordinances, inasmuch as a Catholic priest is not allowed to say Mass for the Catholics or communicate with them. On the contrary, there is a Protestant chaplain who holds Protestant service which Catholics are compelled to attend.

To put the facts in blunt, plain language would excite general reproach, and, accordingly, the plan is carried out with marvellous bad faith and hypocrisy. One of the favorite explanations for this system of religious tyranny and oppression is that it would interfere with the discipline of an institution to have many persons coming to officiate for the prisoners or inmates. Where human rights and human freedom are concerned Americans ought not to deem the discipline of a prison or poor house paramount. But the pretext is one made absolutely in bad faith. The time required for the celebration of Mass, allowing a period previously for hearing the confessions of any who wish to comply with the ordinance of confession, need not exceed an hour, and could precede or follow the Protestant service. The priest would be one appointed by the bishop of the diocese, and it would be his duty to present his authorization to the authorities of the institution.

Another hypocritical pretext is that the chaplain makes non-sectarian discourses, and that Catholics ought not to complain; but as the Protestant chaplain takes his Protestant Bible and utters Protestant doctrine, he and his Bible and his doctrine are utterly sectarian, and intensely sectarian, so far as a Catholic is concerned.

Governor Cornell of New York, on vetoing "An act to secure to inmates of institutions for the care of the poor, freedom of worship, and to provide for the visitation of such institutions for that purpose," saw this insurmountable difficulty, and it taxed all the ingenuity of his bigotry to give a reason. He lays down a new principle utterly unheard of in any land, at variance with Christianity and the whole teaching of its Founder, a principle that Herod and Pilate would have adopted to crush Christianity in the bud. "To be able to enjoy freedom of worship, however," says this official, "presupposes certain conditions, important among which is the ability of independent or self-maintenance."

"Therefore," he concludes, "they should not be subject to the rivalries of sectarian zealots," and he does this as serenely, as though his veto did not consign Catholics, Jews, and all non-Protestants to this very "subjection to sectarian zealots," for so long as they are forced to take part in a religious worship devised by a state or a jailer, they are at the mercy of sectarian zealots, and little as he imagined it, Governor Cornell in his act showed himself a sectarian zealot.

He might learn a lesson in equity and justice from the action of the Western House of Refuge, which resolved: "That the prayer of the petition of parents and guardians of Catholic children in the Western House of Refuge, for freedom of religious profession and worship, be and is hereby granted, in such manner and under such rules and regulations as can be made convenient and consistent with the rules and regulations of the institution."

The position of Catholics in various parts of this country, under existing laws and systems, will give some idea of the extent to which their religious rights are trampled upon by men who claim to be the most liberal and tolerant of mankind, and by the thousands of others who blindly take up a popular cry without ever stopping to think and reflect for themselves.

We are fond of boasting of the superiority of America in point of liberality to all other countries, and we consider England as far behind us in this regard. We are welcoming the persecuted Jews from Russia with no little self-laudation of our great moral grandeur and utter freedom from any spirit of persecution, yet if the Russian Jew becomes an inmate of a State institution he will find that he will be compelled to attend Protestant worship, and be punished as contumacious if he resists.

During the time when the penal laws against Catholics were in full vigor in England, and the prisons were crowded with recusants,—that is, Catholics who refused to take an oath condemning their own religion,—the authorities delighted in forcing the Catholic prisoners to the prison chapels where a Protestant officiated.

The Catholics never yielded, but by shuffling, praying aloud, and otherwise defeated the tyrannical object, although it resulted in much hardship and privation to themselves.

We do now what the English did then. Lest any one ask whether the English government is any better now, we give the following extracts from acts on the statute-books of Great Britain:

"From the Act 31 and 32 Vict., cap. 122 (July 31st, 1868), entitled 'An Act to make further Amendments in the Laws for the Relief of the Poor in England and Wales.'

"SECTION 16. *A Separate Creed Register to be Kept in Every Workhouse and Pauper School.*—The officer for the time being acting as the master of a workhouse, or as the master or superintendent of a district or other pauper school, shall keep a register of the religious creed of the pauper inmates of such workhouse or school separate from all other registers, in such form and with such particulars as shall be prescribed by the Poor-law Board by an order under their seal, and shall, as regards every inmate of such workhouse or school at the date to be fixed by such order, and subsequently upon the admission of every inmate therein, make due inquiry into the religious creed of such inmate, and enter such religious creed in such register.

"SEC. 17. *How the Religion of Children is to be Entered in the Creed Register.*—In regard to any child in the workhouse or school under the age of twelve years, whether either of its parents be in the workhouse or not, or whether it be an orphan or deserted child, the master or superintendent shall enter in such register, as the religious creed of such child, the religious creed of the father, if the master or superintendent know or can ascertain the same by reasonable inquiry; or, if the same cannot be so ascertained, the creed of the mother of such child, if the same be known to the said master or superintendent, or can be by him in like manner ascertained; and the creed of an illegitimate child under the said age shall be deemed to be that of its mother when that can be ascertained.

"SEC. 19. *Creed Register to be Open to Inspection of Minister.*—Every minister of any denomination officiating in the church, chapel, or other registered place of religious worship of such denomination which shall be nearest to any workhouse or school, or any ratepayer of any parish in the Union, shall be allowed to inspect the register which contains the entry of the religious creed of the inmates at any time of any day, except Sunday, between the hours of ten before noon and four after noon.

"SEC. 20. *The Minister may, subject to Regulations, Visit and Instruct Inmates Registered as of his Religious Creed.*—Such minister may, in accordance with such regulations as the said board shall approve, or by their order prescribe, visit and instruct any inmate of such workhouse or school entered in such register as belonging to the same religious creed as such minister belongs to, unless such inmate, being above the age of fourteen, and after having been visited at least once by such minister, shall object to be instructed by him.

"SEC. 21. *Where no Religious Service is Provided in the Workhouse, the Inmate may, subject to Regulations, go to his own Proper Place of Worship.*—Every inmate for whom a religious service according to his own creed shall not be provided in the workhouse shall be permitted, subject to regulations to be approved of or ordered by the Poor-law Board, to attend, at such times as the said board shall allow, some place of worship of his own denomination within a convenient distance of the said workhouse, if there be such in the opinion of the board: *Provided*, That the guardians may, for abuse of such permission previously granted, or on some other special ground, refuse permission to any particular inmate, and shall in such case cause an entry of such refusal and the grounds thereof to be made in their minutes.

"SEC. 22. *No Child in the Workhouse or School Visited by a Minister of its own Religion shall be Required to Attend any other Religious Service, unless, being above*

Twelve Years of Age, he shall desire to do so, and shall be Considered by the Poor-law Board Competent to Judge in the Matter.—No child, being an inmate of a workhouse or such school as aforesaid, who shall be regularly visited by a minister of his own religious creed for the purpose of religious instruction, shall, if the parents or surviving parent of such child, or in the case of orphans or deserted children, if such minister make request in writing to that effect, be instructed in any other religious creed, or be required or permitted to attend the service of any other religious creed, than that entered in such register as aforesaid, except any child above the age of twelve years who shall desire to receive instruction in some other creed, or to attend the service of any other religious creed, and who shall be considered by the Poor-law Board to be competent to exercise a judgment upon the subject.”

No similar legislation protecting the rights of conscience exists in any part of the United States. Nearly forty years ago a law to protect the religious rights of inmates of State institutions was introduced into the New York legislature, but failed to pass, and we have seen that Governor Cornell, in 1881, vetoed a law that did pass. What was said a few years ago still applies.

“We have likewise to complain,” says the *Catholic Union* of New York, “of the partiality which prevails in the administration of the State prisons, and in almost all the penitentiaries and reformatories. Not a Catholic priest has ever been appointed chaplain to one of these State prisons, and although a large number of our coreligionists are unfortunately inmates of these institutions, from the time they enter to the hour they finally quit their cells, they are dependent on the pleasure or caprice of the superintendent or officer in charge for the privilege of enjoying the spiritual consolations of their religion; nay more, such convicts are obliged to attend worship where doctrines are taught which they do not and cannot believe.”

Ohio has the credit of having been one of the first to put on her statute-book a law which would prevent keepers of prisons, matrons of poorhouses, and superintendents of asylums from forcing the poor creatures under their brutal control to attend such religious services as they fancied, or preventing access to the clergymen of their faith. In 1874–1875 was passed the following act:

“An Act to Secure Liberty of Conscience in Matters of Religion to Persons Imprisoned or Detained by Authority of Law.

“SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That, as liberty of conscience is not forfeited by reason of conviction of crime or by reason of detention in any penal, reformatory, or eleemosynary institution, or any house of refuge, workhouse, jail, or public asylum in this State, no person in any such institution shall be compelled to attend religious worship or instruction of a form which is against the dictates of his or her conscience; and it shall be the duty of every director, trustee, superintendent, or other person having in charge any such institution to furnish ample and equal facilities to all such persons for receiving the ministrations of the authorized clergymen of their own religious denominations or persuasions, under such reasonable rules and regulations as the trustees, directors, managers, or superintendents*

shall make; but no such rules shall be so construed as to prevent the clergyman of any denomination from fully administering the rites of his denomination to such inmates; *provided*, such ministration entail no expense on the public treasury."

There is nothing in this that is not in perfect harmony with American institutions and a natural sequel to the religious freedom it is our claim to have established, unless that freedom is a mere delusion and a sham. Yet it is melancholy to be compelled to state that the people of Ohio are so far removed from any real spirit of liberty that this act aroused the most bitter and vindictive feeling throughout the State. It was regarded as a direct blow at the Protestant ascendancy, and the voters of the State demanded its repeal. The Protestant Church in Ohio could not exist—it was not safe—unless its doctrines and worship were forced on the Catholics and other inmates of the penal and eleemosynary institutions. The law was doomed. The next year—the centennial year of American independence—saw it repealed (January 21st, 1876) and blotted from the statute-book. Ohio put distinctly on record the glaring and terrible fact that she absolutely rejected the principles of religious liberty and, like New England of old, proclaimed toleration "an evil egg." Henceforward the Catholic in that State is left to the tender mercies of any bigot in power in prison or poorhouse, who can feel assured that his brutality and tyranny have the sanction and moral support of the highest citizens of the State. Now, as of yore, in the Commonwealth of Ohio, the Catholic priest—who offers his labor gratuitously to instruct and reform Catholic prisoners, while Protestant clergymen are drawing salaries for trying to pervert and demoralize them—is told, as he has been defiantly told for years, that he cannot and must not enter.

Kentucky has just passed a law similar to that adopted in Ohio and then so basely and so ignominiously repealed. The chivalric State of Henry Clay promises better things, and we cannot fear that it will ever degrade itself by repealing a law founded on natural justice and the inherent right of every one to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience.

This act is as follows:

"SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky*, That all persons committed to any State prison, reform school, house of refuge, or other place of confinement in said State, shall be allowed spiritual advice and spiritual ministration from any recognized clergyman of the denomination or church to which such persons so committed or received may respectively belong or have belonged prior to their being so committed or received into such prison, school, house of refuge, or other place of confinement. Such advice and ministration to be given within the prison, or reform school, or house of refuge, or other building where the inmates of same are required by law to be confined or imprisoned, in such manner as will secure to such persons the free exercise of their religious belief; and such religious

consolation, advice, and ministration shall be allowed separate and apart, and out of the presence and hearing of any person other than the clergyman who is ministering to such inmates and the officer in charge of same. Such clergyman shall have the right, at the time fixed, as hereinafter provided, and in all cases of serious sickness, for the benefit of those sick, without regard to time, to visit any of said institutions, and to see and communicate freely and untrammelled with such of said sick inmates as belong to the church or society of which he is a clergyman.

"SEC. 2. It shall be the duty of the board of trustees, or persons or officers having control and management of said institutions to set apart not less than one hour on the first day of each week, in which any of the clergymen in good standing, of any church or denomination, may freely minister and impart moral and religious instruction to, and perform such religious service as the law of their respective churches may require for those of the said inmates who respectively belong to such church or society, or did belong thereto prior to their being committed or confined to such institutions, and to provide and furnish to such clergymen, on such occasions, a room or apartment whereby they may be enabled to freely and properly discharge their duties as such clergymen. *Provided*, That all such religious ministrations shall be given between the hours of eight o'clock in the forenoon and five o'clock in the afternoon, except in special cases, such as sickness, when such ministration may be given at any hour and on any day; and that the board of officers in charge of said institutions shall designate to each denomination the hours so designated, when a clergyman shall commence and impart such ministrations and instructions, and the time they shall occupy, giving to each denomination an equal amount of time, without partiality or any unjust discrimination whatever. *Provided*, That if, by the belief of such denomination, any other day of the week than the first day be regarded as the Sabbath, then such instruction and services may be held on such other day.

"SEC. 3. In all matters pertaining to religion, the rights of conscience and the free exercise thereof shall be scrupulously respected and guarded. *Provided*, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to prohibit or limit such freedom of speech among the employes or inmates of said institutions as is permitted by the rules and regulations thereof not in conflict with this act.

"SEC. 4. Nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to authorize any additional expenditure on the part of the State or of any of said institutions.

"SEC. 5. All acts and parts of acts inconsistent with this act are hereby repealed.

"SEC. 6. A wilful violation of the provisions of this act shall be a misdemeanor, and shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars nor more than one hundred dollars.

"SEC. 7. The provisions of this act shall also apply to the Institute of St. Xavier, in the city of Louisville.

"SEC. 8. Nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent or prohibit the reading of the Bible or the moral instructions as now practiced in said institutions."

This is, we think, the most full, clear, and explicit law yet passed in any State to protect the religious liberty of inmates of State institutions. It was drawn with care, to meet all the difficulties, but in its practical working may encounter obstacles not foreseen.

The constitutions of many of the States, and the line of decisions under them, are broad enough in their terms to protect Catholics, but, unfortunately, when the rights of a Catholic are brought into the courts, constitution and law are alike forgotten, the ermine is trailed in the mire, and the judge yields to popular clamor and bigotry.

Nothing, one would imagine, could be more explicit and clear than the language of the Constitution of Pennsylvania: "That all

men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any minister against his consent." (Constitution of Pennsylvania, Art. ix, Sec. 3.) In construing this, the courts declare "that Christianity is part of the common law of Pennsylvania; not Christianity founded on any particular religious tenets, but Christianity with liberty of conscience to all men."

Yet, in utter defiance of this, it is maintained that it is illegal to have the Catholic worship offered in a penal or eleemosynary institution by a Catholic clergyman for the Catholic inmates. It is never permitted. The Catholic who passes its portals finds the high-sounding promises of the Constitution of the State founded by the liberal and tolerant Penn to be

"Like Dead Sea fruit, that tempts the eye
And turns to ashes on the lips."

While he is in the merciless clutches of the Pennsylvania law and its fanatically bigoted executors, he can never take part in the worship of God which his conscience calls for, and the ministrations of a Protestant of some shade are forced on him, for the State (Penitentiaries, x, 32) establishes in each prison a religious instructor (mark the sophistical ingenuity to avoid the word chaplain) "to attend to the moral and religious instruction of the convicts." In some parts (33) the inspectors may appoint a moral instructor "to advise and instruct the prisoners, and perform such other services as appertain to his station." If these moral and religious gentlemen confined their ministrations to Protestants who wished their services, and drew their pay, leaving Catholics to the unpaid ministrations of their own clergy, it might be endurable; but the same law (Sec. 24) declares that none but official visitors, designated in the law, shall have any communication with the convicts, and that no visitor shall supply them with any article of any kind. No priest, therefore, can have any communication with them, give an inmate a Catholic book, a pair of beads, a crucifix, or anything to revive his faith and lead him to contrition and an amendment of his life.

Yet, to be just, there is one Pennsylvania institution where the sun of justice must shine with greater force, and some faint idea of religious liberty seems to have dawned on the benighted minds of Pennsylvania legislators. A Catholic in the Western House of Refuge has no rights in health, but in sickness he enters at once into the possession of a liberty of conscience not recognized in any

¹ *Updegraph v. Commonwealth*, 11 S. & R., 394, 400; *Zeissweis v. James*, 63 Penn. Rep., 465.

of his faith in health. The distinction is a curious one, and seems to be a new and brilliant idea. Who ever heard of any country, state, or kingdom where a sick man was held to be able to buy or sell, make note or bond, execute a will or deed, marry, or lecture on women's rights, but where a man in sound health was disqualified to do any of these things? There is no trace anywhere else of sick persons having greater civil rights than the healthy, of any man gaining rights as he loses health, and incurring, with health, any civil disability.

"All persons," says this curious Pennsylvania enactment, "committed to the Western House of Refuge shall be allowed, in all cases of sickness, spiritual advice and spiritual ministration from any recognized clergyman of the denomination to which said inmate may belong, such advice and ministration to be obtained within sight of the person or persons having such inmates in charge; but if any person or persons seeking such desire the same out of the hearing of any officer of said institution, then, in that instance, they shall not be debarred by any rule of said house of refuge."

In other words, in every other Pennsylvania institution the dying Catholic may implore and appeal for the ministration of a priest to admit him to the ordinances of his church; the demon of inexorable bigotry prevents it in the name of religious liberty; the priest is excluded; the dying sinner must perish in agony,

"Unshrived, unhouseled, unannealed."

Only in this favored spot is the Catholic secure in the rights that are inalienable,—rights for which our ancestors rose and battled a century ago. If this provision of law is founded on reason, is conformable to the Constitution of the State of Pennsylvania, to natural justice, and sound reason, it should be extended to every institution in the Commonwealth, and to every inmate, whether in health or sickness. No court, surely, will declare the act unconstitutional or at variance with justice or natural rights. It upholds them and enforces them.¹

Pennsylvania is not the only State which has put on its statute-book an act just as far as it goes, but by implication arraigning its general legislation for bigotry and intolerance. Massachusetts (General Laws, p. 863) provides: "Prisoners in the State prison, or in any jail, house of correction, almshouse, or other place of

¹ The case of Henry Ackley, a Catholic boy, who died May 29th, 1879, of cruel treatment in the Philadelphia House of Refuge, shows that in other institutions the same just law should obtain. Indeed, the terrible records of the Blockley Almshouse and one at least of the prisons show that the institutions of the State are conducted with gross inhumanity.

confinement, may, in their illness, on request to the warden, or keeper, or master, receive the visits of any clergyman they may desire."

This is not as broad or as explicit as the Pennsylvania act, and confined the right to the reception of a visit. When a priest, in an almshouse in that State, wished to hear the confession of a dying woman, the wife of the keeper refused to leave the apartment. The clergyman put her out of the room, attended to the dying member of his flock, and was sued for damages. The Supreme Court of Massachusetts (May 8th, 1878) decided against the clergyman. They regarded the wife of the keeper as a State officer, empowered to prevent a Catholic priest from carrying out an ordinance of his church, and condemned the priest for interfering with the keeper's wife in the discharge of what men of common sense will call her bigoted interference with the wishes of a dying woman, and her little better than devilish wish to prevent her from obtaining from the ministry of her clergyman the religious consolation which she desired; but the Solons of the Massachusetts bench regarded her as embodying the awful majesty of the Bay State, and performing a praiseworthy act.

A similar case occurred at Louisville, Kentucky, in January, 1880.

Yet in Massachusetts there was on the statute-book this law :

"An act to provide for religious instruction in prisons. 'Be it enacted, etc.,' as follows :

"SECTION 1. No inmate of any prison, jail, or house of correction in this Commonwealth, shall be denied the free exercise of his religious belief and liberty of worshipping God according to the dictates of his conscience, within the place where such inmate may be kept or confined; and it shall be the duty of the officers and boards of officers having the management and direction of any such institutions to make such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the intent and provisions of this act.

"SEC. 2. Nothing herein contained shall be so construed as to impair the discipline of any prison so far as may be needful for the good government and safe custody of its inmates.

"SEC. 3. This act shall take effect upon its passage.

["APPROVED, April 15th, 1875."]

This dying penitent was denied the liberty and free exercise of private confession, imposed by her religious belief, and the intruder who insisted on hearing what she said under the seal of confession was held up by this judge to be acting within the legitimate sphere of duties imposed by the State, not on her, but on her husband. Probably his honor would hold that his own wife in his absence could grant an order of arrest or try a case.

New Jersey is a State where inmates of public institutions are deprived of freedom of worship and of their religious liberties. It

is done with the full knowledge of the legislature, which has refused to remedy the evil. The State reformatory is closed to the Catholic clergyman, and the State refuses to charter a Catholic reformatory, or confide the erring young of that faith to those who can make religion a means of their reformation. The superintendent of the reform school is to use his endeavors for the formation of religious habits, with such subordinate officers as the trustees may appoint. The State prison has a moral instructor, but the keeper is required "on Sunday to admit to the hall of the prison a sufficient number of pious, intelligent persons, competent to give instruction to the prisoners in the doctrines of the Christian religion." This does not, however, cover the ground, and under it a Catholic clergyman could not claim the right to say Mass for the Catholic inmates. It merely provides for instructions, but does not entitle the prisoners to have the public worship of God according to the dictates of their conscience; and instructing the people and offering worship to God are two very distinct and different acts.

It is needless to gather further extracts from the multitudinous volumes of laws of our many States and Territories. From what we have cited, the reader will see that in the general decline of respect and regard for individual rights, which is one of the most dangerous signs of our time, no rights are more trampled on or disregarded than those about which Americans generally pride themselves that their country is far beyond all other nations of the earth, and that is, the right to worship God according to the dictates of the individual conscience, according to the rites and ordinances of the ecclesiastical body to which he may belong, and the right to be shielded by the strong arm of the State from any tyrannical endeavor to force him to bend his knee to Baal by compulsory attendance at any form of worship, which, however satisfactory to others, is repugnant to him.

There is scarcely a State in the Union where these rights are not wantonly disregarded. Provisions in State constitutions are ignored, laws passed from time to time have been often crude, and in almost every case too vague and general in their terms, so that keepers and superintendents assume a right to enact laws, and as they have the power, they enforce them with unswerving fidelity to their own false judgment. Judges, too, who listen to fanaticism and prejudice, rather than right and justice, easily find means to evade them, and make new laws for a case instead of carrying out the constitutional laws of the State.

The English act has been tested for years, and has been found to be practical, easy, and free from objection, giving rise to no difficulty or derangement of discipline. Where friends of civil

and religious liberty seek in their respective States to introduce legislation to remedy existing evils, it would, perhaps, be better to adopt the English statute, as one already tested, and well defined by repeated decisions of tribunals whose legal ability will have weight everywhere.

The rights claimed by Catholics are : 1. To be free from compulsory attendance at Protestant worship of any shape or kind, and to be allowed on Sundays to have the Mass, the distinctive act of divine worship, offered for them so that they can attend. 2. To be allowed before Mass and in sickness to go to confession to a priest, without interference from any one, but with full respect for the privacy required by the rules of the Church. 3. To have a priest in sickness to administer the last sacraments.

So long as these rights are denied, Catholics must make constant efforts to secure them. To be deprived of these, is the hardest trial that can be imposed on a Catholic, and one that he feels most keenly. The Catholic may be remiss in his duties, fall under temptation, but whenever a good impulse arises in his heart he yearns for the means his Church affords him for amending his life. When he finds that instead of allowing him to profit by these means, the hireling officials, often ignorant and cruel men, try by brutality and punishment to force him to join in other worship, his worst passions are aroused, the feeling that might have led to permanent amendment is crushed, and the poor creature seeks only revenge. The New York House of Refuge gives an example of this, where the Catholic boys, provoked to rebellion by the cruel and arbitrary intolerance of those in power, resorted to violence, but the only result was that it sent them to the State prison, although the keepers were certainly not guiltless, either in the eyes of God or man.

A strenuous effort is always made by men whose bigotry blinds their judgment to prevent Catholics from enjoying their religious rights. One superintendent took the ground that the reformatories were for bad boys, not for church members or saints. Here he started from Protestant ground, and wished to carry his idea of church membership into the Catholic Church, where it never belonged. According to him, if a boy was sorry for his past life and really desirous of amendment, he ought not to be allowed to go to confession and seek the grace of God to keep his good resolutions. He insisted that the boy in such a case ought to be discharged, as he was no longer a fit subject for the reformatory. So little did this man, who boasted of twenty years' experience, know of the weakness of the best of human resolutions.

He insisted that he ought to be the only religious teacher for boys of all creeds, apparently unconscious that as a Protestant his

instructions must necessarily be sectarian to all who are not Protestants, for he laid it down with all gravity that all sectarian teachings should be carefully avoided and excluded from all charitable and penal institutions—which would have excluded his own when addressed to any but Protestants who accepted them; but in all his arguments he never recognized the inherent right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, without compulsion from any power.

"It seems almost incredible," says the *Catholic Young Men's National Union*, in 1881, "that a government so just and fair as ours, should allow such a state of affairs to exist, and we feel confident that if the matter is properly presented to the liberty-loving people of America, they will see that justice is done to all."

The discrepancies between the action of various States, and the general neglect of the States to frame clear and precise laws to protect the inhabitants in the enjoyment of their civil and religious rights, causes regret that the amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which was called for by the State of New Hampshire,—not by any movement of the Catholics as some have stated,—had not gone further, and not only prohibited Congress from impairing the religious liberty of the individual, but also declared that no State should by legal enactment, or, in fact, prevent any one from enjoying the right to worship God, or force him to take part in an alien worship..

The amendment introduced by Mr. Blaine aimed in this direction, but it was very crude and confused, and left room for equivocation and doubt. It prohibited the inculcating the doctrines of a sect, but was silent at the same time in regard to a class of sects. He was not certainly so shallow a man as to hold that the forcing of the tenets held by four or five sects in common on persons who did not accept them was a whit less sectarian than the forcing of the doctrines of any one sect on them. The evil to be checked is the forcing in prison, poor-house, or poor-school, public school if you will, the doctrines or theories or forms of worship of any one or thousand sects on any man or woman, boy or girl, whom God has made free, whom Christ has made free, and whom every American of every shade of religious and political thought ought to desire to see free to worship God.

The Blaine amendment could be easily recast so as to secure complete religious liberty to all men throughout the whole republic. It would be of incalculable service by neutralizing the miserable proselytizing spirit, which, in the general apathy of the masses of the people, allows a few fanatics to make every public institution, prison, penal institution, asylum, poorhouse, and other eleemosynary work, a vehicle for their petty systems of forcing

one set of religious ideas on persons who dislike and oppose them, and who, when checked in their nefarious trade, appeal by violent invective to the unthinking, and arouse a storm of religious hatred, under the influence of which they secure a new lease of power to make the State a tool in their proselytizing schemes.

Unless such an amendment is passed there must be constantly recurring excitements, unhealthy and demoralizing, injurious to the country, and fostering angry feelings between different classes in the community. So long as a class feel that they are wronged, they will seek redress. Sound policy, true wisdom, dictate that the wrong should be redressed promptly, and in this case that can be most completely and fully accomplished only by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

MODERN SPIRITISM VERSUS CHRISTIANITY.

On Miracles and Modern Spiritualism. Three Essays, by Alfred Russel Wallace. James Burns, 15 Southampton Row. London. 1875.

Der Spiritismus und das Christenthum. Dr. J. Wieser, S. J. Zeitschrift fuer Katholische Theologie. Innsbruck, Felician Rauch. 1880 and 1881.

A NEW and formidable enemy is lifting its head with a bold front against, not only Catholicity, but Christianity itself, and that enemy is Modern Spiritism.¹ It is not new in its nature and existence. Spiritism, which is nothing else than a systematic communication with certain spirits that claim to be departed souls, is very old. In ancient times it flourished under the name of *necromancy* among all gentile nations, and its abettors were condemned and punished by the law of Moses. Gœrres, Kreutzer, and Mirville, have shown that the practice of this the worst form of magic has continued unabated among idolatrous peoples down to our own day, and that there has not been an age in which it did not create disturbances here or there within the pale of Christianity.

¹ *Spiritualism*, according to the etymology of the word, is a generic term, applicable to everything spiritual; *Spiritism*, on the contrary, is a specific denomination proper only to spiritology. Hence, Spiritism is the correct *term* for the subject under consideration.

Externally, the novelty of Modern Spiritism lies in the manner in which it asserts itself among Christians, in its publicity, its rapid and immense diffusion, its brilliant triumphs, and its extraordinary pretensions and promises. Internally, it is new above all in the manifestation and exertion of an unprecedented intrinsic strength. The specific difference that distinguishes Modern Spiritism from all its forerunners, is its organization into a religion based on revelation and miracles,¹ and this is what makes it not only a new, but also a formidable enemy of Christianity. Modern Spiritism is not built, like the effete sects, upon negation; it is positive in word and work. It opposes Christian revelation and miracles with its own new revelation and marvels. By means of its marvels it can sate the sensational appetite of the empty-hearted irreligious multitudes; by its revelations it offers to solve every doubt, remove every anxiety, and abolish every difference of opinion, on the subject of religion; by the united influence of both it pledges itself to unite all nations in universal social and religious peace and concord, and within another century's time to usher in the millennium or golden age of the human race; and in all this it lays claim to a sublime providential mission, to wit, to give to the world the complement and ultimate perfection of Christianity, by at length interpreting and explaining it to the satisfaction of the minds and hearts of all men.

It is, therefore, of paramount importance to a Christian to study with great care the strength and weakness of this dangerous adversary, to have a clear view of the history of the rise, progress, triumphs, marvels, revelation, claims, and promises of Spiritism, to ascertain the value of its revelation, claims, and promises, and most of all to examine and judge its claims to the throne, sceptre and crown of Christianity.

Modern Spiritism was born in our midst; in its origin and progress it was at first exclusively American. There are those who remember how the revelations of the Fox family at Hydesville, New York, in 1848, sent the news of its discovery as if by telegraph through the land. The story of the haunting spirit of an unknown murdered man was nothing new in itself; every family had its traditional store of such winter-night tales. Moreover, the many similar events on record in well-authenticated history, as for instance Gœrres' account of the "rapping spirit" at Tedworth, in the reign of Charles II., should have been calculated, it

¹ This specific difference furnishes the best definition of the Spiritism that is called modern. Dr. Wieser's definition (*loc. cit.*, p. 662), "methodical experimenting in order to obtain certain strange phenomena, and by their means putting oneself in communication with their causes, to wit, the souls of the departed," evidently applies to Spiritism or necromancy in general.

would seem, to make the murdered beggar of Hydesville the family-talk of an evening, to be forgotten the next day. But this was not an ordinary ghost-story; the low rapping of the beggar's spirit inaugurated a greater drama than the eternal monotone of the buried majesty of the King of Denmark, on the drawbridge of the castle at Elsinore. That apparition at Hydesville was not made for the special benefit of the Fox family; it was meant for the world. For it must not be forgotten that the troublesome spirits, annoying, however, only because they created hard talk among Christian neighbors, would not depart from the haunted family but on condition that the girls should challenge a public examination. For the Christian mind that condition possesses a deep significance, as it is only another proof that the powers of darkness are not let loose on so vast a scale, unless men freely lend themselves to their designs and machinations. The Fox family accepted the condition, and the result was the examination of the celebrated "Rochester rappings," which gave Spiritism to the country. The sequel is the history of its triumphs. The movement rolled like a great wave from the Atlantic to the Pacific shore; in two years, Spiritism spread through the length and breadth of the land.

Foreign writers of distinction, especially Englishmen, were happy to announce to the European world, that the unprecedented spread of the Spiritist movement among us was owing to certain inherent defects,—and who does not know them?—of our national character; but when the fearless French, the unyielding German, and even the lofty English character, began to bend under the strange power, and presently caught up the American mania with enthusiasm, it became apparent that some other than a mere national weakness favored the rise and progress of Spiritism. History was only repeating itself. The ancient Greeks and Romans, who are still looked upon as the highest types of that greatness of which the natural man is capable, were as much given to magic as the nations whom they called barbarians, and necromancy, which is the Spiritism of that ancient world, was at home among them as much as Spiritism is among us to-day. Among the Jews alone it could get no footing; abettors of necromancy were held guilty of sin, and were punished with death by the law of Moses. As was laid down in a previous article,¹ in the ancient world the Jews alone preserved the correct knowledge and appreciation of the spirit-world; the Gentiles more and more lost sight of both, the farther they fell away from the true God, and corrupted the tradition of his primitive revelation. The same law of degeneracy has ruled the realms of error into which the sects have wandered away from the Church

¹ *Vide* October No., 1881, on the Spirit-world.

in the new law. Here lies the secret of the success of Spiritism. National character has very little to do with it; before its influence men of all nations are alike. The mysterious and the marvellous wield, by a law of our nature, a fascination over our souls, so strong, so enticing, so almost irresistible, as to prove when unlawful one of the most potent and dangerous temptations even to the virtuous. Had there been no tradition, no doctrine, no law, no religious principle to check that inborn curiosity and appetite, there is not a man, woman, or child, but would to-day be initiated in the mysteries of modern necromancy. If so many have resisted the temptation, those barriers must have stood in the way of their natural impulse; if millions have actually yielded, they must have either not recognized them, or overleaped them in defiance. If Spiritism has not been able to gain entrance into the stronghold of Catholicity, as is the fact, the wall of religion must surround it; if it has actually entered the domain of the sects and triumphed, it is because their wall was broken down. In point of fact, the sects as such did not raise their voices in protest, did not as such condemn and anathematize the intruder, did not offer resistance, but remained throughout listless, indifferent, and inactive. True, good men from among them, to whom the Christian faith was still the greatest gift of heaven, strove by all the means in their power to oppose the magical practices spreading around them; true, American Congregationalists especially distinguished themselves in the struggle against the new enemy, but neither they nor any other denomination were able to hinder its ravages upon their own domain. And what wonder? Only one power under heaven could effectually break and cripple the power of this adversary, only the old Christian doctrine on the spirit-world could arm men against its attacks, and that saving truth was either not to be had among the sects, or had grown so weak as not to be able to hold its ground. Defeat was inevitable, and it was signal. The very champions of the denominations who stood foremost in the fight, the very pastors who undertook to defend their flocks, found their own armor of faith too weak, discovered greater evidence and stronger in Spiritism than in Christianity, and surrendered at discretion if they did not openly go over to the enemy. From this last ignoble step many were doubtless deterred by the dread of losing their pulpit and their salary; but the fact was not the less patent that Spiritism had nothing to fear from the ministers of the sects. In their despair many of their flocks went so far as to look for help outside the citadel of religion, and in 1854 the world beheld with amazement the humiliating and sorrowful spectacle of fifteen thousand American Christians signing a memorial, praying Congress to examine into the doings of Spiritism. As was to be

expected, Congress received the petition as a good joke, some members moving that the investigation be intrusted to three thousand clergymen, others to the Committee of Foreign Relations, until it was ordered to "lie on the table." Nothing could have betrayed more effectually the decrepitude and helplessness of the sects. The sad fact was that the people were not stronger, and why should they be, than their pastors. They had long been taught, from father to son, that the individual is the judge of religion, and consequently of God, and they had exercised that right until it brought them to the borders of Rationalism and Materialism. Why should they heed the unlawfulness of Spiritism? They recognized neither a God, nor a Church, nor a religion to forbid it; they would do as they pleased, simply because they would own no religious restraint. Millions had thus been reared to live and toil only for this earthly life, and the food of such souls must invariably be what is popularly called *sensation*. Sensation is not an American product; it is in its essence pagan, or animal, if you choose, for as the very etymology of the word indicates, it is based upon sensuous pleasure, and may be savage, half-civilized, or refined, will always be found ruling supreme where the fundamental dogmas of Christian faith are torn out of man's heart, and this wearisome earth is all that is left to fill up the vast, unbearable void. By the millions, therefore, who had lost Christian faith, Spiritism was welcomed as an immense, a soul-stirring, and above all an inexhaustible sensation. In a few years Spiritism claimed a following of ten millions in our country alone. There may be exaggeration in the number, but those who have followed the history of Spiritism know that its triumph over the sects was complete; the reason, be it remembered, was that they had not enough of Christianity left to offer effectual resistance.

It would be a great mistake to imagine that the great sensation influenced the masses of the ignorant and unreasoning only; learned men, not only individually, but frequently in bodies corporate for the purpose, at once made it their task to subject the new phenomena to the closest scrutiny. As early as 1850, in a séance held in the rooms of Dr. Griswold in Boston, we find William Cullen Bryant, George Bancroft, James Fenimore Cooper, N. P. Willis, Dr. Hawkes, John Bigelow, Dr. E. E. Marcy, and Richard B. Kimball¹ examining into the doings of the Misses Fox. The answers of the spirits, we are told, were only partly satisfactory, sometimes even false; but the correct answers given to Mr. Cooper concerning the sex, age, and time and manner of death of a near relative he was thinking of, sent the wise men to their homes with a feeling akin to a severe chill. Presently, Professor Mapes, and Hare,

¹ The account of this séance was published by Mr. Kimball.

who won the proud title of "the American Faraday," and many other men distinguished in all the higher walks of life, openly declared themselves adherents and defenders of Spiritism.

And now, with the double prestige of popularity and respectability, Spiritism advanced to attack and overthrow Materialism.

In 1851, Judge Edmonds and Mr. Partridge, of New York city, openly embraced, practiced, and defended Spiritism, and the latter gentleman became, without knowing it, one of its greatest champions. It will be remembered that he called a Spiritist conference at his own house, to deliberate upon the best ways and means of opposing Materialism. The result of the labors of the conference was given to the public in the shape of a circular, in which the American people were informed that "the Divine Author of the universe is a conscious spiritual being, that He revealed somewhat of the spiritual world in ages long since past, through the medium of the Jewish people, and that in our own day and through our own American people, manifestations are being made from the spiritual into the natural world, whereby the immortality and unbroken continuity of the personal existence of all men is being daily demonstrated."

This was defying the "gods" of Materialism. Though from the first it had been evident that Spiritism by its very nature threw down the gauntlet to Materialists, and from the first men had eagerly watched to see whether they would take it up, Materialists had thought fit simply to ignore the enemy. But here came the open challenge of the New York conference, peremptorily summoning them, as they were men, to a fair contest. Spiritism presented itself before the tribunal of Materialism and demanded a trial.

The lesser scientists and naturalists avoided the subject with a strong aversion, natural enough, if we bear in mind the fixity of their "everlasting doctrines," and their well-developed instinct of self-preservation. These weak men took refuge behind the terrible front of a certain great chief, who had happened to catch an ill-starred impostor at his jugglery, and with his customary elevation above the rest of mankind, had forthwith pronounced his anathema, now and forever, upon all Spiritism as American humbug. That theatrical *tour de force* is now remembered only to make the wonderful Tyndall ridiculous. The truly great scientists, great above all in that they were thoroughly honest, did not hesitate to look the new enemy squarely in the face. Holding the object and purpose of science to be the examination and explanation of all existing phenomena, they realized that Spiritism must perforce fall within the sphere of scientific investigation. The extraordinary phenomena must either be explained or explained away. A denial of their reality, merely because they happened to be uncomfortably

obtrusive and dangerously aggressive, could not be safely ventured in the face of a host of witnesses, so many, so various, so intelligent, and so unobjectionable, that it would have been foolhardy to attempt to give them the lie. The reality of the facts once for all unimpeachable, it devolved upon true science to point out their causes, and to declare the truth, if need be at the sacrifice of the whole Materialistic creed. In a word, as honest scientists they saw that it was a duty, and as Materialists they felt that it was a necessity, to institute a high inquisition and sit in judgment on the cause of Spiritism. The cause was tried, not only in our country but also in England, France, and Germany, and to their credit be it said, men never fulfilled a difficult duty more conscientiously, more scrupulously. The result of the thousand and one trials was startling. The force of evidence on the side of Spiritism was irresistible to minds open to conviction, and the greatest Materialists of the day became from judges its leading advocates. The grand inquisition of Materialists was in a few months turned into the propaganda of Spiritism, spreading it through the entire civilized world, through South America, through Europe, and through far Australia. Daniel Home took the lead in Scotland; William Crookes, the discoverer of thallium, and Alfred Russel Wallace, in England; Baron Gueldenstubbe, and Hippolyte Rivail (better known under the sobriquet of Allan Kardec), in France; States Attorney Aksakof (a Russian) and Professor Zoellner, in Germany; and Professor Butlerow, in St. Petersburg. England, especially, filled the first ranks with her illustrious men, such as Professors Morgan, Wharley, and Challis, William Carpenter, and Edward William Cox.

As among us, so also throughout Europe, numerous associations, technically called *circles*, were organized for the express purpose of giving the new phenomena a scientific investigation, always with the same result of conversion to Spiritism. The most noteworthy of these circles were, the "Scientific society for psychologic studies" in Paris, the "Berlin society for transcendental experimental physics," and the Spiritist society "Psyche" in Berlin, the "Society for Spiritist studies" in Leipzig, and the most famous of all, the special committee of the Dialectical Society of London.

Not the least interesting portions of Mr. Wallace's essays are those in which he gives an account of the desperate struggle of Materialists against the overwhelming evidence of their own experiments upon Spiritist phenomena. From among many examples in point to illustrate this death-struggle, it will be sufficient to select the committee of the Dialectical Society of London, and the great name of Alfred Russel Wallace.

In 1869 a paper on Spiritism, read by one of the members, ex-

cited the curiosity of the London Dialectical Society, a body of highly educated men, most of whom were Materialists and Free-thinkers. A committee of thirty-three members, made up of judges, physicians, professors, and high Church clergymen, was appointed "to examine and report upon the phenomena."

Of the thirty-three only eight believed at all in Spiritism; the rest were either skeptical or positively inimical. They divided into subcommittees of seven or eight to experiment in their own houses so as to preclude all possibility of deception. For two years these men examined their own experiments with the most painstaking care, and in 1871 reported as a body in favor of Spiritism. Upon the refusal of the executive board of the society to give the report to the press, the committee published it on their own responsibility.

The experience of Alfred Russel Wallace is only a repetition of a thousand similar stories, but must be preferred as a piece of evidence, because of the high authority of the great naturalist, as well as the prominent role he has assumed among the champions of Spiritism. In his *Notes of Personal Evidence* (Essay ii., No. X.), he writes :-

"During twelve years of tropical wanderings, occupied in the study of natural history, I heard occasionally of the strange phenomena said to be occurring in America and Europe under the general name of 'table-turning' and 'spirit-rapping;' and being aware, from my own knowledge of mesmerism, that there were mysteries connected with the human mind which *modern science ignored, because it could not explain*, I determined to seize the first opportunity on my return home to examine into these matters. It is true, perhaps, that I ought to state that for twenty-five years I had been an utter skeptic as to the existence of any preterhuman or superhuman intelligences, and that I never for a moment contemplated the possibility that the marvels related by Spiritualists could be literally true. If I have now changed my opinion, it is simply by the force of evidence. . . . I came to the inquiry utterly unbiassed by hopes or fears, because I knew that my belief could not affect the reality, and with an ingrained prejudice against even such a word as 'spirit,' which I have hardly yet overcome."

For eight years Mr. Wallace brought his keen powers of observation to bear upon the phenomena, assiduously repeating test-experiments in his own house, in the presence and with the assistance of none but his intimate and most trustworthy friends. At the end of that time he openly declared himself a believer, and became an advocate of Spiritism. His conversion was based entirely on his own personal experience. After describing his own experiments, he concludes :

"I have since witnessed a great variety of phenomena, some of

which are alluded to in other parts of this volume; but I attach most importance to those which I have carefully and repeatedly tested, and which give me a solid basis of fact by which to judge of what others relate, or of what I have myself seen under less favorable circumstances."

At the same time he exposes the inability of materialistic science to explain the facts away. "Surely," he says of his own experiments, "these are phenomena about which there can be no mistake. What theories have ever been proposed by our scientific teachers which even attempt to account for them?"

This interrogatory of Mr. Wallace announces more loudly than the battle's trumpets the victory of Spiritism over Materialism. Materialism was defeated, and the consequences of that defeat were inevitable. Spiritism doubled and tripled its power from the very ranks of its conquered adversaries. In a very short time, as Mr. Howitt records, the number of its adherents ran up to twenty millions, of which he assigns ten to America alone. Dr. Wieser thinks the figures are exaggerated, and will hardly allow a census of more than a total of ten millions of Spiritists. Even that, we should think, were victory enough in so short a time. But Spiritism had gained a yet more formidable strength than that of numbers. A fair representation of the vigorous writers of materialism was now arrayed on its side. The result was a literature voluminous and, with all its defects, popular.¹ It is estimated that one hundred thousand Spiritist books and pamphlets have been sold every year in the States alone, and Dr. Wieser gives quite a list of the regular journals published in all Christian lands. Reports, memoirs, and professed histories, with all the recommendations of whatever is choicest in novelty of matter, have been lavished upon the reading world without intermission. Moreover, the countless test-experiments made by the whilom champions of Materialism had only served to draw out the hidden secrets of Spiritism, a huge mass of facts and spirit-communications, which it became the duty of those same champions, now converted, to compare, classify, and reduce to a system. In this manner a scientific *exposé* of the philosophy and theology of Spiritism has been given to the world, revealing its great forces marshalling for nothing less than a desperate struggle against Christianity itself.

The first division of its forces is made up of its marvels; it opposes miracles to miracles.

¹ Turgid bombast and extreme sensationalism are the general characteristics of the Spiritist literature. There are exceptions, it is true, but even they are by no means free from the besetting sin of extravagance. Of all Spiritist writers Mr. Wallace is certainly by far the most moderate, and yet it will be seen that even he gives himself up to the wild imaginings of the Spiritist prophets.

Those extraordinary phenomena which created such a stir in the world, and were the means of gaining such signal victories over the sects and Materialism, are now so generally and well known as to need not so much a detailed description as an accurate and distinct classification. Viewed merely as facts, the minute divisions of Mr. Wallace are as scientific as could be desired;¹ but from a philosophical or theological standpoint they more naturally divide themselves into two large classes, the one *physical*, as rigorously postulating no higher agency than the ordinary forces of physical nature, the other *intellectual*, as necessarily involving the intervention of an intelligent cause.

The physical phenomena most common in the séances were at first of a uniform nature, such as the movement of furniture, the diminution of the specific gravity of bodies, the sounding and playing of musical instruments, notably of the violin, and the like, all effected by an invisible power. Later on came the sudden disappearance and re-appearance of the furniture of locked-up apartments, a feat which the spirits accounted for by their power to dissolve bodies into their atoms and recompound them. The same power over matter explained also the more startling *materialization*, as it is called, of spirit-forms, identical in appearance with those of deceased persons. These phantoms generally appeared only partially, luminous faces or silver-lit hands and arms brushing past the spectators, touching them, allowing themselves to be grasped, and then melting into the air. At times, and frequently enough to place the fact beyond suspicion, entire phantom forms were seen and tested. We believe it was Mr. Crookes who followed the famous phantom, called the "lady in flowing white," into an adjoining room, opened his dark lantern, and stood with the phantom beside the entranced medium, Miss Cooke.² According to Mr. Wallace these phantoms have been successfully photographed, and he gives a detailed description of two phantom pictures of his own mother, which appeared on his own photograph.³ It would take too long to enumerate the other physical marvels, suffice it to say that they culminate in a veritable ordeal of fire, the mediums being thrust partially or wholly into the flames without receiving any injury.

For obvious reasons it is of paramount importance carefully to separate these merely physical phenomena from the intellectual.⁴

¹ *Vide* Mr. Wallace's "Summary of the more important Manifestations, Physical and Mental."—*Essays*.

² Many will remember the experience of Mr. Livermore of New York,—the life-like apparition of his deceased wife through the agency of Miss Fox. Apparitions of entire spirit-forms are very rare.

³ See Mr. Wallace's own account of this incident. It is well worth the attention of those who condemn the phantom-photos as a mean piece of trickery.

⁴ *Vide*, October No., 1881, on the Spirit-world.

It is certain, whatever may be alleged to the contrary, that some of the former have been successfully produced by means of electricity and other physical forces, as appears from the notorious Recantation movement between 1858 and 1862. It would be bad logic, however, to conclude that they are always so produced: the hypothesis of spirit-agency must first be got rid of, a sheer impossibility, now that that agency has been demonstrated even in these effects.¹ It only follows that we cannot with safety argue to spirit-power without eliminating by a careful examination all possibility of deception.²

The case is quite different and the contrary in the intellectual phenomena, which by their very nature rest wholly and always on the actual intervention of an extraneous intelligence.

These intellectual manifestations were in the beginning effected by means of the rappings of the leg of a table, which were very soon superseded by the planchette, psychograph, and similar simple apparatus. Later on it was discovered that some mediums needed only to take hold of a pencil or pen, to be in a manner forced to write with feverish haste, nay, that without any action on the part of the mediums, and under the mere influence of their presence, there was formed a spontaneous writing, called by Spiritists "direct spirit-writing." More wonderful still, and far less explicable, are the "oral communications," made either through the mediums in a comatose state or trance, or by "direct spirit-speech" in the air. The spirits took possession of the mediums, made them discourse on arts and sciences of which they were ignorant, speak one unknown language after another,³ announce events oc-

¹ After reviewing the examinations of the phenomena made by men of science in different countries, Mr. Wallace concludes: "It thus appears that in France, as well as in America and in this country, men of science of no mean rank have investigated these phenomena and have found them to be *realities*; while some of the most eminent hold the *spiritual theory* to be the only one that will explain them."

² It is beyond the purpose of the present review to examine the physical and intellectual phenomena in detail, especially with reference to their spiritual causes. The discussion of this subject may be said to be at an end, and the intervention of spirits from another world can no longer be disputed. If Dr. Wieser has devoted particular attention to the phenomena, it is because the novelty of Spiritism in Germany demanded an exhaustive treatment; he certainly did not fail in striking home once he had made away with the enemy's outposts. Spiritism has joined issue with Christianity upon the ground of revelation and miracles, and this issue is one of the great questions of the day.

³ Judge Edmonds's daughter was wont to speak, when in a mediumistic state, Spanish, French, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Latin, Hungarian, and Indian. The judge said of her: "She knows no language but her own, and a little smattering of boarding-school French, yet she has spoken in nine or ten different tongues, often for an hour at a time, with the ease and fluency of a native. It is not unfrequent that foreigners converse with their spirit-friends through her in their own language."—*Vide Wallace's Essays.*

cunning at the moment across the ocean, read aloud the hearts of the bystanders, diagnose correctly all kinds of diseases, and point out the most effectual course of treatment, prophesy coming events, and last, but not least, give a detailed account of the economy of the universe, the nature of the Spirit-world, and the destiny of man. At times the spirits would do all the talking themselves, but as a rule seemed to prefer to use the tongues of the mediums. The most remarkable feature in all these manifestations is their heterogeneous and conflicting nature. A little wisdom is given forth with a very flood of nonsense, as if the spirits would naturally prefer to play the clown, and only own their superior knowledge when challenged. They are exceedingly fond of such intellectual trifling as will amuse, astonish, or terrify their friends. The revelations concerning vital doctrines have been apparently coaxed from them by importunate questioning; but in reality they seem to be only too glad to propound their "revealed truths," after having worked up the doubting to a proper degree of curiosity and credulity. The result has been the *Spiritist Revelation* concerning the great truths that govern man's higher life.

It is not to be understood that this revelation is the work of the spirits alone. Spiritists themselves warn us, that whereas the spirits that communicate with us are mostly of the lower orders, mostly of an evil disposition, mischievous and wicked, and as prone to deceive us as our weakest brethren in the flesh, their communications must be carefully sifted, and out of all be gathered the pure grain of doctrine. This scrutiny is all the more necessary on account of the inveterate habit of the spirits to be so friendly as to sacrifice the truth to their desire of pleasing and humoring their votaries. However, since it happens that their clients do not disagree very much on the principal doctrines concerning the present and future life, the spirits have been able to come to a *tolerable* agreement in their endeavors to satisfy everybody, thus enabling the leaders of Spiritism to put together the Spiritist Revelation. The most distinguished evangelists of this new gospel are Dixon, Wallace, Kardec, and Zoëllner, who are the acknowledged oracles of American, English, French, and German Spiritists.

Beginning with *Genesis*, we find this revelation dividing itself at the very start into the *Pantheistic* and *Deistic* views of the world, a suicidal division, it would seem, were it not a most amicable accommodation to the two great factions of unchristianized minds.

The father of the *Pantheistic* school of spirits is our own celebrated visionary, Andrew Jackson Davis, who is called the great forerunner of Spiritism. His doctrines, which he dictated in an unconscious state, were published in his book "*The Principles of Nature, her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind*" (1847),

and later on fully developed in his five volumes, of "*The Great Harmony*." His view strongly reminds one of Neo-Schellingism, and is unmitigated Pantheism. According to this revelation there is only one being, which men call God; all other things are only emanations or evolutions of that single primal substance. The seven spheres of perfection through which spirits must ascend to consummated blessedness (which in his hypothesis is reabsorption into the absolute being of God), and the social Utopia of a golden age soon to come upon earth, are the other salient points of his revelation, which agree in the main with those of the *Deistic Revelation*, which will be fully explained below.

If not an open adversary, Dixon was certainly not a friend of Christianity. In his estimation Christ does not rank higher than the founders of the sects, rather stands lower, and is inferior even to the socialist fanatic, Charles Fourier, whose frenzies Davis fully indorses. Pantheistic Spiritism has hitherto had a comparatively small following, at least outside of Germany, where, for aught one might conjecture, the strong Spiritist movement recently inaugurated may turn wholly in its favor. Avowedly Pantheistic, there can be no concealment or palliation of the anti-Christian tendency of this school of Spiritists, and as such it has the anathemas of reason and of Christianity branded upon its forehead.

Deistic Spiritism is a far more wily and dangerous enemy of Christianity. According to Allan Kardec's masterly statement of its doctrines,¹ God *created* the spiritual and corporeal worlds, the former being, however, the original and normal. The spirits of that world range through seven spheres of higher and still higher perfection. The highest sphere, that of angels or pure² spirits, is distinguished for its proximity to the Godhead, for great wisdom, love of good, and purity of feeling. The other classes descend lower and lower in the scale of perfection, reaching down to the lowest depths of intellectual and moral depravity. All those spirits must, however, in the course of ages, ascend to higher spheres even unto the highest. This law of amelioration is carried out by means of *incarnation*; the spirits must become men, a lot which falls to some as a penance, to others as a mission. Thus we have the genesis of man; thus human existence is a trial through which

¹ Le livre des Esprits; Le livre des Médiums; L'Evangile selon le Spiritisme; Le Ciel et l'Infer; La Genèse, les miracles et prédictions, d'après le Spiritisme, are Allan Kardec's principal works. For a fuller analysis of his Revelation, see Father Wieser's Review.

² The angels of Spiritism are not pure spirits in the Catholic or strict philosophical sense of the word. Spiritists call them pure, not because they are by nature independent of matter, or cannot inform a body, for according to their doctrine all spirits, even the pure, can become incarnate. By *pure* they mean that moral and intellectual purity which the words immediately following describe.

spirits must repeatedly pass before they reach final perfection ; thus spirits, after leaving the body in death, are for a time wandering sprites, and then become incarnate again. It is asserted, though some spirit-voices are contradictory, that incarnation never takes place in the bodies of brute beasts. The union of the spirit with the human body is effected by means of the *perispirit*, that semi-material coil which is the ethereal body of the ghost after death. In fine, when the spirit has left the body, all recollections of former existences revive.

The account which spirits give of spiritland is little more than a fanciful sublimation of earth-life. There, as here, we shall have hills, plains, and rivers, gardens and vineyards, fruits and harvests, servants, business, and meals, and phosphorescent (but think of it) clothes. Nay, the lower spirits are so poorly off that they must use our modes of transfer when they do not choose to plod on foot. There is no such thing as judgment beyond the inevitable law of amelioration applied over and over again to the ascending spirit. There is no purgatory unless you choose to call human existence upon earth by that name. There are no devils in the old sense of the word, for all spirits must eventually reach the heights of consummated perfection and bliss. Therefore, there is no hell ; there can be no such thing.

But what about God ? The most knowing spirits, we are told, know no more about Him than we do ; He is even to them *the great unknown*. Ask them about the Trinity, the Father, and Son, and Holy Ghost, and they answer, we do not know. Ask them whether God is a person, and they say they know nothing about it.

And what about Christ ? The blasphemous goblins answer, He is not the Son of God, but one of the highest spirits, who, in his incarnate state, was so purified of the grossness of matter as to be his own medium in working wonders. His are the greatest of Spiritist miracles ; his declaration that He was the Son of God and Saviour of men, was a hallucination. His Church was a superb invention, the highest institution upon earth in the past, an imperfect beginning, however, of that grand providential amelioration of mankind, of which Spiritism, *Modern Spiritism*, is to be the complement and ultimate perfection. Spiritism alone explains the life and miracles of Christ aright, it alone enhances his moral teaching, alone satisfactorily accounts for the wondrous lives of his great followers, the saints, alone reveals the mysterious future of its Apocalypse, alone purifies, develops, and perfects time-honored Christianity, so that it will take captive every human heart, and uniting all men in one fold, inaugurate the millennium of the golden age upon earth. In one word, *Deistic Spiritism* is not the enemy of Christianity ; it is Christianity itself in its complete growth and final perfection.

Such is the brief *résumé* of Kardec's Deistic gospel of Spiritism. Professor Zœllner agrees with him throughout, as may be seen in Dr. Wieser's *Review*. Mr. Wallace's summary is succinct enough to be quoted *verbatim*. He thus formulates the *Moral Teachings of Spiritism* :

1. "Man is a duality, consisting of an organized spiritual form, evolved coincidently with and permeating the physical body, and having corresponding organs and developments.

2. "Death is the separation of this duality, and effects no change in the spirit, morally or intellectually.

3. "Progressive evolution of the intellectual and moral nature is the destiny of individuals, the knowledge, attainments, and experiences of earth-life forming the basis of spirit-life.

4. "Spirits can communicate through properly endowed mediums. They are attracted by those they love or sympathize with, and strive to warn, protect, and influence them for good, by mental impression when they cannot effect any more direct communication; but, as follows from clause 2, their communications will be *fallible*, and must be judged and tested just as we do those of our fellow-men."

After eloquently maintaining that Spiritism explains all miracles, he comes to its revelations concerning God and Christ. He writes:

"Nothing is more common than for religious people at séances to ask questions about God and Christ. In reply, they never get more than *opinions*, or *more frequently the statement that they, the spirits, have no more direct knowledge of those subjects than they had while on earth.*"

Mr. Wallace concludes his great *Defence of Modern Spiritualism*, with the following grand summing up :

"A science of human nature which is founded on observed facts; which appeals only to facts and experiment; which takes no beliefs on trust; which inculcates investigation and self-reliance as the first duties of intelligent beings; which teaches that happiness in a future life can be secured by cultivating and developing to the utmost the higher faculties of our intellectual and moral nature, and *by no other method*, is and must be the natural enemy of all superstition. Spiritism is an experimental science, and affords the only sure foundation for a true philosophy and a pure religion. It abolishes the terms "supernatural" and "miracle," by an extension of the sphere of law and the realm of nature; and in doing so it takes up and explains whatever is true in the superstitions and so-called miracles of all ages. It, and it alone, is able to harmonize conflicting creeds; and it must ultimately lead to concord among mankind in the matter of religion, which has for so many ages been the source of increasing discord and incalculable evil; and it will be able to do this, because it appeals to evidence instead of faith,

and substitutes facts for opinions, and is thus able to demonstrate the source of much of the teaching that men have so often held to be divine."

Such is Modern Spiritism ; such is in brief the history of its rise, progress, triumphs, marvels, revelations, claims, and promises. These broad outlines will, it is hoped, be sufficient to give an accurate idea of this new and formidable enemy of Christianity. Our next endeavor must be to ascertain the value of the Spiritist Revelation, claims, and promises.

THE EXISTENCE OF GOD DEMONSTRATED.

ON WHAT GROUND DOES THE ATHEIST DENY THE EXISTENCE OF GOD ?

FOURTH AND CONCLUDING ARTICLE.

THE human intellect never embraces error, unless it be clothed with the semblance of truth. This lies in the nature of reason itself. With its natural tendency to truth, it cannot adhere to a judgment which is not really or seemingly true. Hence no false opinion, whatever part the will may have in it, can spread among men, unless some reasons for its truth be held forth. Yet the more specious and glittering such reasons are, the sooner it will find its way to the human mind. Since, then, the semblance of truth lends a charm to error, it is not enough to advance solid proofs for a great and important tenet, but it is also necessary to lay open the absurdity of the reasons alleged for its denial, in order thus to undeceive the erring and warn those who are not yet misled against the showy appearance of a fatal falsehood.

Atheism, too, now so widely spread in human society, must have put on an appearance of truth ; and, indeed, it presents itself under a very deceitful garb. It is not contented with some objections against the usual proofs for the existence of God ; it rests on whole philosophical systems ; it is to be traced back to the first principles of science ; it grows from tenets which promise to overthrow all the old laws of thought, and to effect a restoration of all human knowl-

edge. Of course, we cannot discuss here the various theories that result in the denial of God's existence; we intend, however, to reduce them to some general points of view, as far as it is necessary to disclose their intrinsic contradictions, and thus to show the groundlessness and absurdity of the great fundamental heresy of our times.

First of all, critical or transcendental criticism is to be spoken of. Kant had admitted that as cause was an innate form of the understanding, so also the hypothetical syllogism, that is, the conclusion from effect to cause, was an inborn mode of theoretical reason. Hence it followed that as cause and dependence on it, in general, so also the ultimate cause, on which all things depend, had no reality in the objective order, but was, if conceived to be without us, a mere product of our own mind, just as the yellow color of the object seen by a sick person is the effect of the jaundice that affects the eyes. Of Kant's followers some adopted his views with all their consequences; others modified them, so, however, as, with regard to God, to arrive at the same conclusion. Thus, from modern philosophers we sometimes hear the following theory: To the human mind the tendency is inborn to reduce all things known to unity, not so that unity is necessarily discovered by the mind in the object, but so that on the object it is reflected by the mind. Now things are subordinate to one another by the relations of dependence and causality, and hence in this universe order is put by conceiving it to be dependent on one ultimate and absolute cause. Sir William Hamilton is by no means free from such views. So, again, God results from the tendency of our mind; we are forced to believe in Him, yet He is, therefore, not real in Himself, but is created and put over all things only by our ideas. Kant, as long as he speaks of the theoretical reason, explicitly draws all these consequences. Later he tried to avoid atheism by his criticism of the practical reason. Like him also other adherents of innate forms and subjective tendency contrived to retain God's existence by some subterfuge. Yet all shifts resorted to prove ineffectual, as we have already shown in the first article. Modern philosophers unscrupulously deduce from these principles atheism as the last conclusion. Their deduction is, indeed, legitimate. Quite consistently with Kant's theory have the idealists confounded God with man, and has the famous atheist, L. Feuerbach, said the Divinity to be nothing but humanity itself made the object of our thought.

What shall we say of this system of subjective tendency taken as a foundation for atheism? Our judgment is simply this: It rather leads to skepticism than to atheism, destroying both the subjective and the objective order, both mind and nature. First it destroys

reason, and in general all our cognitive faculties. According to it the intellect is not a power of knowing or representing within us things as they are in themselves, but of putting on them forms and relations which do not at all exist in them. The same has been said or may, with equal right, be said of the senses. This being so, there is no faculty within us fit for the attainment of truth; our thoughts and perceptions are illusive; still to trust any of our cognitions, or to think that things are in themselves as we know them, would be folly. Also the objective order is shaken to its foundation. The objects perceived, if considered as distinct from us and real in themselves, are delusions; the ground itself on which objective being rests, and the principles of which it is constituted, have vanished away. For are the causes not that which make up a thing? Are the intrinsic causes not the components of which a being consists, and the extrinsic the agents from which it has existence? But the components of which things are constituted, and the agents which put them into existence being taken away, what can still exist? Reality must, therefore, of necessity entirely fade away. If now we have to reject principles and theories from which evident falsehood is consequentially deduced, what ought we to think of the system of innate forms, the necessary consequence of which is skepticism, the greatest of all absurdities, and the last result of which is the destruction of all,—of cognition, of truth, of being itself? Indeed, such a theory must be utterly false and absurd. Hence one of the principal modern systems considered as a firm basis of atheism is nothing but a monstrous absurdity, leading to the universal denial of all that is.

Another parent of atheism is empiricism. It arrives at the negation of God from a point of departure quite opposite to that taken by idealism. It does not deny the existence of the outside world or confound it with thought, but it rather acknowledges the only reality to be that which is touched and experienced by our senses. However, among the empiricists we must distinguish two classes. Some of them allow man to have no other cognitive faculty than the sensitive; others grant us to be endowed with intellect, but deny the validity of all *a priori* cognitions.

Sensationalism, which disowns the intellectual power, is found already in antiquity, its principal forms being stoicism and epicureanism. In modern times, being revived chiefly by Hobbes and Hume in England and by Condillac in France, it was taken up by the materialists,—by Diderot, D'Alembert, De la Metrie, Helvetius, Holbach (author of *The System of Nature*) in the eighteenth, by Vogt, Moleschott, Büchner, Darwin in our own century. Of course, some improvements were added by our latest professors. Hobbes and Condillac thought sensation was a mere impression of the

material object on the senses, which was successively transformed into imagination, consciousness, judgment, and reasoning, without any activity on the part of the soul. In the opinion of our materialists sensation and, in general, all cognition is a function of the brain, as digestion is one of the stomach, not to use other meaner examples now in use among them.

The spiritual faculties of the soul being eliminated, it is evident that the existence of God can no longer be maintained. Our senses cannot represent to us the immaterial; hence they cannot perceive relations as such or know cause and effect, causality and dependence; nor can they attain a notion of the necessary, universal, and abstract. For this reason our judgments and reasonings about cause and effect, our ideas of the first cause or of pure spirits, are illusive, or at least cannot assure us of what the object is in itself. It is worth while to hear what explanation Hume gives of our mental operations in his *Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding*. Our ideas, says he, are copies of our sensitive impressions, and differ from them only inasmuch as they are less forcible and vivid. The function of the understanding consists merely in associating them according to their resemblance, their contiguity in space and time, and their mutual relations as causes and effects. But how can we form the notion of causality? Sensation or experience, says he, does not exhibit us causality, for its object is solely the impression existing in our organs, the material phenomenon. However, since many phenomena always appear to us in a certain succession, and are thus also associated in our mind, we get habituated to expect that also in the time to come they will and must always follow one another in the same order. This habit of the mind inclines us to conceive things so as if one were the cause of the other, hence to draw the notion of causation, and to reason accordingly. The principle of causality, therefore, is not at all manifested to us by the objects we have perceived by experience, it is not even a postulate of our mind, but merely results from a habit, a quite subjective bent, and implies, on our side, a confusion of dependence and succession. It hence has no objective validity. Nor are we allowed to infer by it the existence of beings beyond the sphere of our experience as the causes of the phenomena we are cognizant of, and of the impressions we receive. Consequently, there is no possibility of knowing, with certainty, the existence of God and the reality of the outside world; for they are not attained but by the principle of causality,—the outside world as the cause of our impressions, and God as the ultimate cause of the world. Nay, God, as a pure spirit of infinite perfection, is not even an object of our thought; for we conceive Him only by indefinitely enlarging

the attributes of human bounty and wisdom. Hume in this way quite consequentially ends with universal skepticism.

Not all sensationalists adopt Hume's theory in full, nor do they proceed as far as he in the way of negation. Some think the principle of causality to arise not from a habit of the mind, but from an innate function of the brain. Hobbes and other English sensationalists shifted in some way or other to save God's existence and even the Christian religion. But it must be said that Hume was much more consistent than they, and that on the first principles of sensationalism he has built up a well-connected system of atheism and skepticism. He is undoubtedly for this reason in such high favor with our modern atheists.

Let us now discuss the question whether or not this kind of sensationalism, however well systematized, gives, in reality, a firm basis to objections against the existence of God. Above all we should ask any serious thinker, must not the fact itself that the sensationalists deprive man of reason and degrade him to the brute, that they void all intellectual knowledge of objective validity, that, if consistent with themselves, they must come to universal doubt, be taken as an evidence of the falsehood of their tenets and principles? Can these, teeming with consequences of so monstrous absurdity, be true and sound? We might with this one remark end the discussion. Still we shall enter into a closer examination of sensationalism and show its intrinsic contradiction more in particular.

First, the fundamental tenet of that system, to wit, that we have no other than sensitive cognition, is untrue and contrary to our experience. Sensation, as the sensationalists themselves say, cannot represent to us but individual bodies according to their material qualities, because the impressions on our organs are material themselves, and refer only to an individual thing acting on us. But it is a matter of fact, daily witnessed by our consciousness, that we know properties of things and natures altogether immaterial. We know what is wisdom, sanctity, simplicity, necessity, truth, falsity, all which objects are simple, unextended, abstract from time, place, and individual existence. Again, we have universal ideas; nor are the universals we conceive collections, or do they consist in mere names which may be given to many things, as Hume thinks, but they are natures or attributes, which are or may be really found in many subjects, and can truly be predicated of each one of them. From universal ideas we form principles, likewise and in the same manner universal. We have notions also of spiritual beings. The most striking instance is the conception of Divinity itself. For we do not conceive it only as an indefinitely high degree of human wisdom and bounty, but as the accumulation of all perfections,

without any limitation, composition, or dependence, as wisdom, sanctity, power, life, being infinitely perfect and self-existent. With all these notions, particularly with that of God, the sensationalists are very well acquainted. For do they not, if we speak, understand what we mean by them? How could they else combat and try to exterminate them by their theories? They must consequently agree that, as we perceive the immaterial, we must have also immaterial powers of cognition.

Secondly, it is thoroughly false that the principle of causality rests on a confusion of succession and dependence and rises from a habit of the mind. We very well distinguish between succession and causality, and sometimes forcibly deny that one thing is the cause of the other simply because they follow one another. We even do not form the conception of causality from succession. We attain it in a quite different way. Whenever we see something to come into existence from non-existence, we must conceive it to have begun its existence dependently on another being. For as nothing can give what it does not possess, the non-existent cannot give itself existence, but must receive it from another existing being. This latter which has given existence we call cause, the former which has received it we call effect. Not on account of succession, therefore, do we imagine a thing to have been effected; succession, if regular, may at most afford a reason to attribute *certain* effects to *certain* causes. We thus also understand the principle of causality to be a universal truth. For not only this or that individual, if it comes into existence, must needs be produced, but whatever is such depends of necessity on a cause. Hence it is likewise evident this principle does not spring from a subjective tendency or habit of our mind, but is founded on the objective order. For the things themselves without us come into existence, and hence of themselves and independently of our thoughts require a sufficient cause, distinct from them, for their existence. The only subterfuge still open to the sensationalists would be to say that we do not directly perceive the things without us, but the impressions or representations within our faculties. So indeed they say, particularly Hume. But therein again they evidently gainsay experience. We are quite conscious of being directly cognizant of the things without us. Not even a sensationalist will ever be seriously convinced that when he converses he does not see or hear his friend himself, but an image existing in his brain; or that when he is beaten he is not touched by a cudgel from outside, but by a mere representation of such a thing; or that when fire has broken out in his house and threatens him with death, he is ruffled only by a subjective impression which he

may calm by cooling his blood with a pail of water. Such skepticism is not only absurd, but, outside lunatic asylums, impossible.

As the sensationalists set forth their fundamental tenets against experience, so they also continually contradict them. They degrade themselves to the brute, but want to be very intelligent, enlightened, and scientific. They reason; they pretend to have acquired a deeper knowledge of nature than other people; they are well versed in mathematics, physics, chemistry, mechanics; they make astonishing inventions and discoveries; they refute opinions opposed to theirs, and, above all, in defending their system they try to support it by reasons and claim for it truth and solidity. How can they perform all such mental operations? Certainly in no other way than by forming and making use of general notions and principles, by resorting to causes and sufficient reasons, by reducing the phenomena to general laws and searching into the intrinsic constitution of things, by perceiving the relations of beings to one another and discovering the intrinsic connection between them, and at last, by admitting all their reasoning to be in agreement with the real and objective order. But any such object they constantly deny that the senses can reach, as soon as a question arises concerning the existence of God or the immortality of the soul. Then they ever repeat that things and principles of that kind are beyond the sphere of our cognizance, that we cannot know anything but what strikes our senses, and will not even allow us to know the cause of our sensitive impressions, the outside world. Are they thus not intricated in evident self-contradiction? They are in the alternative either to grant the falsity of their philosophical system, the basis of their atheistical impiety, or to renounce science and intellectual activity. Not being able or willing to disclaim the latter, they are forced to gainsay every one of their tenets by their own doings and sayings, and to be living witnesses of the absurdity of their own theories. It would be useless to say more of this kind of sensationalism, so disgusting for every human being that is not to resign the dignity of mankind.

May perhaps those empiricists fare better who do not disown the intellect as an immaterial faculty? Francis Bacon, Lord of Verulam, is generally considered as the author of that system, though he by no means adopted all the tenets of modern empiricism. Bacon intended to reorganize science by the inductive method. The following were his leading ideas. He did not deny man's reason, yet thought it, if left to itself, inclined to fictions, prejudices, and barren disputations about mere names. To be useful it ought to apply itself to a thorough investigation of nature with the view entirely to subdue it to man and to make it subservient to his comfort; to be true it ought to be guided by experi-

ence alone. Sensitive experience is, therefore, in his own opinion the only way of attaining true and useful science. Hence the division, as well as the method of science, may easily be gathered. Only philosophy is science. Its object is threefold: God, Nature, Man, Nature, however, being chief among them, because of God and of the soul, since they are beyond our experience, little can be known with certainty. The method of science ought to be but inductive. In former times it was customary to rise immediately from single facts to universal notions and principles, and from them to infer new cognitions by demonstration *a priori*. But thus mere fictions were obtained, not true knowledge. Not to depart from truth and to know things as they are in themselves, we must first gather, by observation and experiments, a multitude of facts, then by comparison reduce them to order, and at last, by induction, deduce from them general laws. These ideas of Bacon's, laid down in his famous work, *Instauratio Magna*, exerted during the last three centuries a very great influence, not only on the development of natural sciences, but also on the study of philosophy and the tendency of mental culture in general. His views on the necessity of following the experimental method in all scientific inquiries were soon adopted by others, modified, and evolved into several philosophical systems. First in this line was Hobbes. Dropping the intellect as a cognitive power distinct from the senses, he gave rise to sensationalism of the worst kind. For the truest development, however, of Bacon's principles we may take Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Locke grants the existence of the intellect, yet to a great extent denies the validity of its operations. The following is about the drift of his system: "From experience," says he, "all our knowledge is founded, and from that it ultimately derives itself. Our observation employed about external sensible objects or about the internal operations of our minds, received and reflected on by ourselves, is that which supplies our understanding with all the material of thinking. These two are the fountains of knowledge, from whence all the ideas we have, or can naturally have, do spring." Our senses, acted on by the particular objects without us, convey to the mind an impression by which we perceive the sensible qualities of the bodies; as heat, cold, yellow, white. In a similar way do the operations of our soul, by producing an impression on the mind, make themselves perceived, and thus furnish us with the perception of thinking, doubting, believing, and other actions. Such naked perceptions of the qualities of the bodies and of the actings of our soul are our simple ideas. In receiving them our understanding is merely passive; for they are but impressions stamped on the mind as on a mirror, which it can neither refuse, nor alter,

nor blot out, nor replace with others acquired by itself or from some other source. They once being received in the mind, the understanding begins to work on them; and it is this operation which is proper to man and distinguishes him from the brute. The acts of the understanding consist in combining several simple ideas into one compound one, and thus all complex ideas are made; in bringing two ideas together and setting them one by another so as to take a view of them at once without uniting them into one, by which way it gets the ideas of relations; in separating them from all other ideas that accompany them in their real existence, which is called abstraction and effects general ideas. Even the abstrusest conceptions, how remote soever they may seem to be from the senses or from our interior operations, are in this way framed by the mind's acting on the simple perceptions obtained from sensation and reflection.¹

These ideas, simple and compound, are either real or fantastical. Real ideas are such as are conformable with the real being and existence of things; fantastical are such as have no conformity with the reality of being to which they are tacitly referred as their archetype. The simple ideas are all real; of the complex some are real, some fantastical. The abstract ideas are not real, for they are notions of genus and species, which are products of the mind, representing not the real essences, that is, the intrinsic constitution of things, but the nominal essences, the collection of qualities in which different beings agree.²

From ideas the mind proceeds to knowledge, which is the perception of their connection and agreement, or their disagreement and repugnance. Its truth is either real or verbal. "Truth is the marking down in words the agreement or disagreement of ideas as it is; falsehood is the marking down in words of the agreement or disagreement of ideas otherwise than it is." So far as between our ideas there is that agreement or disagreement which our words express, truth is verbal; so far as the ideas which we perceive to agree with one another, also agree with nature or are capable of real existence, truth is real. General propositions have no real truth, because the universal ideas underlying them and marked by our words are fantastical and cannot exist in nature; yea, we can seldom be certain of their verbal truth. Maxims, therefore, do not serve the investigation of nature, having no agreement with it; nor do they promote the advance of knowledge, because they are understood by one of the latest operations of our mind, and are, besides, of very little help to us in perceiving the agreement of ideas.³

¹ Essay Concerning Human Understanding, Book II., chap. i.-xiii.

² Book II., chap. xxx; Book III, chap. iii.

³ Book IV., chap. v.-iii.

The psychological part of empiricism was by no author set forth so well as by Locke. All empiricists after his time, even the latest of them, the positivists, have built up their theories on his, taking his explanation of the workings of the mind as a basis for nearly all their tenets. Of positivism, however, we still have to say a few words. Its founder was A. Comte (died in Paris in 1857). In his opinion the object of human knowledge is no other than the phenomena of the visible world with their laws. Causes, essences, and universal principles derived from them, have no objective truth, but exist only in the subjective order of our mind; the value formerly given to them was the cause of the want of man's progress in philosophy. Wherefore, the object of our scientific inquiries is no more the absolute, but the relative; nor can theology, the knowledge of the supreme cause, or metaphysics, the knowledge of the abstract essences, be reckoned any further among the sciences. Both were necessary stages of the mind in its advance towards its last perfection, the true knowledge of nature; yet they hatched only chimeras. By experience and observation we become cognizant of the phenomena of nature and history; by science we reduce the phenomena experienced, according to the inductive method, to their common laws, that is to say, to the invariable order of their succession. The several laws drawn directly from particular phenomena may, by induction, be again reduced to a few others still higher in order and universality and common to several sciences. Such laws of a superior order are the seven highest sciences of mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, sociology, and moral, all which together, constituting one complete system, are called positive philosophy. A personal God, of course, existed no more for the French philosopher. However, man, naturally religious, cannot be without an object of worship. This Comte thought to find in humanity itself, as represented in the great men of all ages. Having accordingly organized a newfangled religion, a part of which was fetichism, he himself officiated as the high priest of humanity. But for this point his school was divided. Some faithfully followed all his ideas; others, headed by E. Littré, rejected his views on religion as inconsistent with his system and tried to satisfy their religious feelings with positivism.

From France positive philosophy spread nearly over all countries of the civilized world, and was enthusiastically received by a great many modern scientists, in England particularly, since Stuart Mill, Baine, and Spencer adopted its principles and its method in several of their scientific works.

It would certainly be very wrong to think that all empiricists are atheists; as Bacon, so Locke, and so even some positivists

condemn atheism. However, empiricism, as expounded by Locke and Comte, cannot but end in the denial of God's existence, if consistently adhered to and developed. First, we cannot even acquire a notion of a personal God, infinite in His perfection. For if we have no other materials of our thinking than the phenomena of this visible world attained by experience, and if all our intellectual activity merely consists in compounding, comparing, and dividing them, we cannot form the idea of the spiritual, simple, infinite, absolute, because it is impossible to compose such a being of material, extended, finite, and dependent elements. And even could we conceive God, we should not know whether or not our idea of Him was objectively true, He being beyond all our experience; and much less should we know whether or not He in reality existed, we having no principles to infer from them His existence by argumentation. For whilst syllogistical demonstration has become impossible for the want of universal ideas and axioms, induction does not reach Him. For by means of this we may from certain facts gather another one similar to them; yet God is far above nature and essentially different from all contingent existences. Atheism, therefore, is the natural offspring of empiricism, and is nowadays everywhere, but particularly in England and America, supported by empirical theories.

Has now empiricism so solid a foundation as to give atheism at least a fair semblance of truth? First, if we can know nothing but the phenomena of the visible world, the power of reason is, to a great extent, destroyed, and human is scarcely different from animal life. Not only are then the spiritual and supersensible objects beyond the reach of our cognizance, but also the nature of the material things, their intrinsic constitution and causality, are entirely hidden from us. Our mind is, as Locke said, no more than a dark room, where by the light of experience resemblances of the natural phenomena are let in, and by our intellect put in order, connected, compared, or separated. Science as the knowledge of things from their causes is no more. Our reasoning is as to all universal and necessary objects unreal and devoid of objective validity. Our loftiest ideas are mere chimeras. The freedom of the will is by many directly denied. Morality has no relation to a divine lawgiver, who is the source of all obligation, or to an infinite good to be obtained as a reward of virtue, or to be lost in punishment of vice. What is of a higher, spiritual nature, of eternal, unchangeable necessity in the moral order has become imaginary. Human nature can reasonably have no other tendency than to comfort, to the enjoyment of nature, to a merely exterior regularity in its actions. Man is but an animal which pursues fruition with more sagacity, skill, and refinement than ordinary

brutes. Hence there is, in many regards, scarcely any difference between sensational and intellectual empiricism. Practically it elevates man above the beast only by an accidental degree; theoretically it also leads to skepticism. For if we deny the veracity of reason as to its proper sphere of immaterial objects, may we not also doubt the truth of experience? Why should one cognitive faculty of man be essentially true, and the other by its intrinsic constitution tend to falsehood when inclining us with necessity to the firm belief in divine and supersensible things? How could it be possible to stultify rational nature, and to grant truth to sensitive nature? Should, if the higher part of man is unfit for truth, the lower be fit for it? Do not also the senses deceive us under certain circumstances, and do they not, to agree with the objective order, need to be guided and corrected by reason? What warrant, then, have we for their veracity?

There is only one way left to escape universal skepticism. The senses, it might be said, by their very constitution refer to the sensible things without us, as consciousness refers to the operations of the mind within us. Since, then, they both report their objects very distinctly as existing and even as acting on us, we must infer that they cannot possibly be fallacious. I very willingly grant this. But just the same reason speaks also for the veracity of the intellect. Being immaterial, it is proportioned by its constitution to immaterial objects, and most distinctly says the essences, causes, and universal principles to have objective truth without us. As by experience we do not perceive the objects without us but as they act or have acted on our organs, so we do not represent to us things by the intellect, but as they have in themselves and independently of us certain natures and constitutions, as they presuppose without us certain extrinsic causes, and imply certain intrinsic principles of action. The conviction forced on us in this regard by the intellect is as strong as that produced by experience with regard to the existence of the phenomena. We must, therefore, either admit the truth of reason, as well as experience, or maintain the falsity of both, and either condemn the fundamental tenets of intellectual empiricism or embrace skepticism.

Having thus, first, shown this kind of empiricism to lead to just the same absurd consequences as sensationalism, I shall, secondly, evince that it likewise cannot lay down its principles without contradicting them. It takes experience for the criterion of all truth, and then judges of the validity of intellectual ideas and the reality of immaterial objects, whilst experience does not know anything at all about them. The empiricists thus in a fundamental question go, against their tenets, far beyond experience. This I think to be the first and a most important self-contradiction of theirs.

Then, on the one hand, they admit the existence of the intellect as an immaterial faculty, and, on the other hand, destroy the objective validity of its operations with regard to objects proportioned to it. For, being immaterial, it must be able to attain also the immaterial, and fit to reach beyond the phenomena the nature of things. Hence they assert and destroy the intellect at the same time; for to maintain that a cognitive faculty cannot attain the object proportioned to it, is tantamount to denying its existence.

Besides, the empiricists are compelled to presuppose the truth of reason as to its universal notions and principles. It is true, they pretend to draw their conclusions and to gain their general laws and axioms by induction resting on experience. Let us, however, ask them, of what induction they make use, whether of complete or incomplete. To complete induction they cannot come by experience. For we can never experimentally know all the instances of a general law, past, present, and future; and, moreover, this kind of induction would not lead us to the discovery of new truth, but would only reduce our experience to a compendious formula. If they appeal to incomplete induction, which supposes several, but not all instances of a universal law to be known, then the question arises how they can proceed from a given number of particular instances to a general principle, or to other similar instances not yet reached by experience. The positivists generally own to make such inferences according to the law that the course of nature is uniform. They agree that this law of uniformity is the foundation of all induction. But, again, how has this most universal law come to our cognizance? Herein lies the great puzzle for the positivists. In solving it they do not agree themselves with one another. If we are to believe Stuart Mill¹ the general law of uniformity of all nature is known to us also by experience; first it is inferred from a few instances and by the tendency of our mind to generalization, without any doubt on our side, yet with no objective certainty; later it increases as to firmness in our knowledge as observation enlarges, until at last by a scientific and more careful induction from the different laws of less universal orders it obtains full surety. However, so the difficulty is rather more intricately than unravelled. For if the law of uniformity of all nature, inasmuch as it is really certain, is the final result of all our inductions that make known to us the less universal laws, how, then, can these latter be firm and certain? Have we here not a petition of the principle? Is not the conclusion already taken as a premise? This Stuart Mill would not grant. He seems to be of opinion that our inductions first give only probability, we being helped in making them by our tendency to gen-

¹ See *System of Logic*, Book IV., chap. iii. and xxi.

eralization, but that at last, from the connection and agreement of all the different laws, the universal uniformity of all nature is certain with full evidence. Even this throws no light on the question. So universal probability is made the mother of universal certainty. If each particular law is only probable and not doubted of on account of our tendency to generalization, it is very difficult to see how the whole of them is known with certainty. Is the firmness, which seems to rise from the agreement of all these probabilities, not also a result of our tendency to generalization? Moreover, this method adopted, the logical strength of induction decreases in proportion as the universality of the law inferred increases. The more universal a law is, the greater is the multitude of the instances comprised in it, the greater is our incapability of experiencing and examining them all, and the smaller the number of those we know in comparison with those we do not know. Nay, the whole of the individual instances, known to us from experience, is to the course of all nature what a pond is to the sea. For this reason a more universal law can according to Mill's method be inferred with but less probability, and the most universal is inferred with least probability. In all such conclusions we directly jump from a few instances to an indefinite multitude, and in the last conclusion we jump from the narrow sphere of our experience to the whole of nature for an unaccountable reason. Locke, therefore, the chief theorist of empiricism, was quite consistent when he thought induction to afford only probability. Hence the surety of science must be given up by the empiricists, just as well as the certainty of the unlearned with regard to future events was explicitly denied by them, against the conviction of mankind.

There is nothing left to them to redeem certainty but to resort to the theory of the ancients. We attain by the intellect, say they, the essential attributes of the things, not only as they individually exist in nature, but also as they may be abstracted from all accidental and individual modifications, and thus become common to many. If such attributes are simple, we may know them from one individual subject at once; if they are more intricate, we employ observation and experiments. In this latter case we make use of induction, which supposes the cognizance of a phenomenon in so many individual instances and under so various circumstances, that it cannot be attributed to an accidental quality of things in which it is seen, but must, in whatever manner, result from their intrinsic constitution and common nature. But the nature of beings is everywhere and always the same, since the components cannot vary, the thing constituted by them not varying. Hence we infer that the same things will always produce the same phenomena,

and will have the same qualities. This idea undoubtedly leads us in making inductions, and from it the rules are derived for performing them without danger of errors. Thus, however, it is to be acknowledged, we know the nature of things and the causes of the phenomena ; we form by abstraction universal principles from universal notions, which are not fictitious, but are truly and really predicated of many things existing in nature. After all, then, the positivists cannot maintain the certainty which they claim for science but by contradicting their theory on universal notions and maxims.

Also in other regards they are forced to gainsay their tenets concerning the notion of essence and causality and the understanding of general principles. Mathematical theoremata they certainly do not prove by induction, but deduce them from the nature and definition of certain geometrical figures and the relation between certain quantities, experience giving us but the occasion to form an idea of them. Nor can they object that mathematical truth is not real ; for they always apply it to the bodies without us and measure nature with it. By their scientific researches, they not only reduce the phenomena to a certain order in their succession, but also endeavor to find out the intrinsic constitution of things, the nature of the forces, the inward connection of the parts in the whole, the influence of one body on the other. What is this, if not an inquiry into the cause, essence, and nature of things ? And when, for proofs alleged, they think their system to be true, and others to be false, do they not rely on the principle of sufficient reason ? Again, in their deductions, they continually make use also of abstract and universal principles, which they take for certain and never try to prove by induction. We can scarcely read a page in the writings of a positivist without meeting with philosophical axioms admitted on immediate evidence. Besides, when they deduce new truths by reasoning and proceed to new discoveries, how do they know their conclusions to be right and true ? Our reasoning must needs have certain rules as a criterion of its rightness, else it becomes arbitrary and loses all its claims to truth. Also the demonstrations of the scientists must, therefore, be made according to the laws of logic. It has been granted also by empiricists, as, for instance, by Haeckel, that the neglect of philosophy had the worst consequences for the natural sciences themselves, because it led them to strange and absurd deductions. Now which are these rules of logic, and how are they obtained ? Not by physical or chemical experiments or by observation, but by applying to our argumentations the most universal principles drawn from the conception of being,—those of contradiction and of agreement and disagreement. Nay, without the principle of contradiction, taken either in an abstract or in a concrete form, we can have no certainty

at all; for of no proposition are we certain, unless we see its contradictory to be impossible. But no contradictory is impossible, if something can both be and not be, and all impossibility is at last resolved in that of being and not being at the same time. Yet this principle cannot be tested by experience, as not being is no-object of our senses or our consciousness.

In many respects, then, do the positivists gainsay their theory. They admit and destroy the intellect at once; they deny man's capability of knowing causes, and continually inquire into them and presuppose their existence; they profess to make use only of induction, and cannot infer anything by it alone; they declare the notions of essences and the principles founded on them to be fictitious, and make frequent use of them, being forced either to do so or to give up all reasoning and even all certainty. They will hence allow us to consider as a very weak basis of atheism that system which they themselves contradict the more the more they praise it, and which supposed to be true, knowledge, science, and morality can subsist no longer.

It remains still to speak of materialism, now no less a support to atheism than positivism. These two systems are intimately connected, yet not identical with each other. Materialism regards the ontological, empiricism the psychological order; by empiricism it is maintained that we can know nothing but matter and its forces, by materialism that in reality there exists nothing but matter. However, they are generally adopted conjointly and upheld by each other. Materialism has been taught already in antiquity by the Ionian philosophers. After their age it has never disappeared from the literary world, yet it was never spread so widely among the educated classes as in our days. The general features of modern materialism we may give in a few lines. There exists nothing, it is said, but matter endowed with forces; because we experience no other being than matter, and whatever we do not experience is imaginary. Hence it is inferred that matter must be self-existent. For as matter is not experienced without force, so force is not perceived but in matter. Yet had matter been produced, it would have been effected by a force, and, consequently, force would exist before and outside matter. As matter is self-existent, so it is also the source of all that is. With necessity it develops motion, activity, order, and evolves itself to the different classes of mundane beings, to inorganic bodies, plants, brutes, man, all which do not differ essentially, but are more or less perfect combinations of material molecules and forces, and have successively by evolution or transformation risen from one another. Herein all modern materialists agree; this is the new gospel taught by all our latest oracles of wisdom and promoters of civilization,—by Spencer, Huxley, Dar-

win, Wallace, Grove, Bain, Lyell, Tyndall in England, by Vogt, Moleschott, Büchner, Schleiden, Virchow, Haeckel in Germany; by Geoffroy St. Hilaire, Naudin, Lecocq, Edgar Guinet, Ferrière, Gaudry in France, by Quadri, Omboni, Montegazza in Italy. If explained in detail, materialism must be divided into many branches and schools. For some of its adherents think that matter produced the different classes of beings by intrinsic tendency, others that it underwent its successive transformations by chance and in consequence of exterior impulses; again the transition from one species to the other according to some takes place at once, according to others little by little and with many intermediate forms.¹

It is needless to remark that materialism is the grossest atheism and that all its tenets and principles tend to replace God with matter. We may, therefore, immediately begin to search into the grounds of this system and lay open its intrinsic contradiction. First, materialism implies all the absurdity of sensational empiricism. It degrades man not only to the beast, but even to brute matter; it denies his soul, intellect, free will, and in general any faculty distinct from merely material forces. Moreover, the first and fundamental principle of materialism rests on empiricism, on the tenet that there is nothing but what we experience by our senses. But this tenet, first, presupposes no intellect to exist, which is false and gain-said by the sensualists themselves, and is, secondly, admitted by the materialists by a petition of the principle. For does not the saying that there is nothing beyond the sphere of sensitive experience not already quite explicitly presuppose the non-existence of an intellectual power, of ideal truths, and of immaterial forces? Thus, while the reality of the intellectual order is to be searched into and tested by solid proofs, they take its unreality as the first and starting principle of all their inquiries; and while the existence of the immaterial is in controversy, they begin with asserting that there are no other than material objects. Wherefore their whole system is quite groundless and illusory. Having so started from a false presupposition, they cannot build up their theory without constant self-contradiction. They pretend experience as the only criterion of truth, and then positively reject the spiritual, immaterial, and ideal, though our senses or consciousness can of such things not know anything at all. They choose a judge whom they know to be blind, promising to stand by his decision; and then, because he cannot pronounce sentence on account of ignorance, they take his silence for a condemnation of the things brought to trial. Thus saying to stick to experience, they go far beyond it. But

¹ On Materialism, its several systems, and its refutation, see Father T. Pesch's, S. J., excellent work: *Institutiones Philosophiæ Naturalis Secundum Principia*. S. Thomæ Aquin. lib. iii., disp. i., sect. ii.

they also contradict it. Experience does not represent to us matter as self-existent, but, on the contrary, manifests such qualities of it as prove its being produced. We experience matter as finite and changing. But finiteness and mutability show a thing to be contingent, and hence to be brought into being by an absolute and first cause, yea, if it be the last subject of all phenomena and all transformations, to have been made out of nothing.

That matter cannot, on account of its inertia, pass by itself from rest to motion, from inactivity to activity, that it could not reduce itself by its own forces to the actual order and unity of the universe and hence required the influence of a highly intelligent orderer, we have already proved in the second article.

Nor can according to experience matter be said to be the source of life. Spontaneous generation, that is, the origin of living beings from brute matter, cannot be proved from one single instance, as the best naturalists openly confess. How, then, can the materialists, nevertheless, have recourse to it, to account for the phenomena of life? They tell us that, in former periods, many millions of centuries ago, there was on this earth quite a different condition of things, in which spontaneous generation was possible, though now, this condition being changed, it can be effected no longer. Is such an assertion based on observation? Or has it, if tested by experience, at least some small probability? Not even so much. The extraordinary conditions of which the materialists speak are known from chemistry and physics. Nearly all of them we may reproduce by art, yet no spontaneous generation was ever obtained; not one plant, and much less an animal, has ever in this way been produced. Many of the most learned scientists, therefore, reject spontaneous generation, and even some materialists confess that in admitting it they adopt something that seems to be absurd and unjustifiable, yet say that they were obliged to do so in order to avoid the still greater absurdity of creation. If, moreover, we call our attention to the difference between life and matter as shown by experience, the impossibility of such generation is undoubtable. The animate and inanimate bodies have quite opposite properties in their composition, size, figure, origin, destruction, and particularly in their operation and evolution. The inorganic bodies are inert; they do not act but inasmuch as they are acted on from outside, and then they react only on the outside body by which they were determined, yet never does their action terminate in their own intrinsic perfection. The organic beings, on the contrary, act much more than they are acted on from outside, and by their action terminate in themselves, because acting as a whole, they intrinsically perfect and develop themselves as a whole. Can now, by addition or combination of parts, a whole

arise which has properties repugnant to the nature of its components? Can of atoms, all of which act only on an exterior subject, a thing be constituted which perfects itself, not indeed like a mechanism in which one part acts on the other, the last again on the first, but by a process in which the minutest cell evolves itself to a wonderful organism, and this again continually preserves and augments itself? In such a transformation, in reality, an intrinsic impossibility is implied, because the whole would contain what is essentially excluded from the parts.

As life does not rise from matter, so, if we are to believe experience, one kind of living beings does not spring from the other. There is absolutely no instance known of a new species originated by the connection of two others, or generated by a stock of a different kind, or developed from a lower class. There are varieties within the same species, but there is no progress from one species to another; this is a law of nature as certain as that of gravity or attraction, proved not only by all the monuments of history, but also by the palæontological fossils found in the strata of the earth. Theories, therefore, contrary to these facts have no foundation, and must by natural science itself be considered as fictitious.

If between the different species of brutes there exists a strict separation, what, then, shall we think of man's origin? Experience, of course, knows of no human being that is the offspring of a brute. But even the possibility of a transition from merely animal to human life is inconceivable. In the very organism there is, with all resemblance, such a difference between man and brute, that as yet all attempts to account for the transformation of the frame of the monkey in that of man have utterly failed, and have been shown by the materialists themselves to be arbitrary and self-contradictory. Also Darwin's theory went out of fashion. A still greater difference between man and brute strikes us, if we examine the phenomena of the intellectual and moral order. The brute has skill for certain works from its birth, but does not by itself advance in it during the course of its whole life; it is unfit to learn arts and sciences; it cannot extend its knowledge by inferences, discoveries, and inventions, or utter its perceptions by language, though it is able to form sounds; it shows no perception of the supersensible, no consciousness, no freedom, no self-control, no election of means to a purpose, no desire of other than sensual gratification. But men by study and exercise develop their powers and acquire their adroitness; they greatly differ among themselves in their talents and their employments; they all judge of that which is beyond the senses; they inquire into the causes of things, and attaining general laws and principles extend, by reasoning, their knowledge indefinitely and discover new truths; they progress in sciences and

arts, and make use of languages rich enough to express all their conceptions; their faculties of intellect and will cannot rest but in infinite truth and infinite goodness, hence in a supersensible object; they reflect on, and have control over themselves; they have the idea of order and freely effect it, as in exterior things so also in their own doings; they take the invisible and external as a rule for their actions, and conceiving purposes regarding the future, invent the means to put them into execution. Shall we believe that this eminence of man above the beasts rises from a somewhat different combination of the chemical and physical forces, or from some material modifications of the brain? Indeed a very bold conception, of which of course the philosophers and theologians of the dark ages were not capable! If we reason but a little on the phenomena proper to the mind, we fully understand that the faculty perceiving the immaterial, the spiritual, the possible, the universal must be immaterial, that the power of the will endowed with freedom can impossibly be a bodily force, that the active principles by which we are enabled to return completely into ourselves by reflection, and to form the idea of the simplicity or unity of an object perceived, is of necessity itself simple and unextended. To judge, therefore, from our experience, there is in man a simple principle of action far raised above matter and quite opposite to it; whilst for the operations of the brutes an active power may be thought to be sufficient, which, though not physical or mechanical, still entirely depends on matter, and cannot act at all but with the forces of the same. Hence, as the immaterial spring from the material, man cannot be a transformation or higher evolution of matter, nor can he have been developed from the brute.

If, then, life in general does not result from matter, if one kind of life is not derived from the other, and if the intellectual life least of all could arise from an organic construction, there must be outside of matter a cause which has infused life into it, and a source which has imparted it an intelligent principle. Matter, therefore, is not the sufficient reason of all that is; on the contrary, it requires, in many respects, a superior cause distinct from itself. It presupposes a Creator who has brought it into existence, a principle of activity which has put it in action and reduced it to order, a source of life which has given it vitality, an intelligent being which has produced and embodied in it a simple, immaterial, rational soul.

Wherefore nature, also studied by observation and experiments, shows in all its stages the marks of a higher power that has acted on it; nor does it find anywhere else so full and satisfactory an explanation as in the book of Genesis, according to which God reduced matter, after having created it, from a chaotic state to order,

produced the different species of plants and animals, and at last made man to his own image and likeness.

To sum up in one word what was said of the several atheistic systems, they all either lower man to the brute or to matter, or declare his intellect to be fallacious and destitute of the power of perceiving the proper object. All the atheists first reason away the faculty of knowing the supersensible with certainty, then proclaim that they see no God, and at last infer that in reality there is none; a method just as absurd as skepticism. For they cannot deny reason but by reason, they cannot prove it to be fallacious and set forth their system but by supposing its dictates to be true; nor can they establish experience as the sole criterion of truth, and on that ground term the supersensible fictitious and imaginary without contradicting experience itself. True, in fact, is the saying of the Scripture: "The fool hath said in his heart there is no God." —Ps. xiii. 1.

From this the absurdity of atheism is fully evident. Man, before he can deny God, must first make an attempt of moral suicide; he must first throw off his dignity, degrade himself to the brute, renounce all truth and goodness beyond our senses, forego the happiness in an infinite object to which his soul tends with all its energy; he must put out the light of his intellect, of universal and necessary principles, of science, and all deeper knowledge, give up the freedom of his will, destroy the whole moral order with all its virtues, as justice, charity, purity; he must deliver up himself and all human society to the fury of the passions, to the tyranny of the stronger, to corruption, fraud, and violence. Still in attempting such a destruction of human nature he is compelled continually to gainsay what he asserts, to build up what he has tried to put down, to admit what he had denied, to wit, to maintain the eminence of reason, which he would disown, and to acknowledge the necessity of the moral order, which he hates. What a sad and sorrowful aspect! If we, moreover, see those who thus strive to bring to naught rational nature pretend to be our greatest benefactors and the wisest of all men, does not atheism present itself to us as a complete darkness of the mind, as a kind of frenzy impelling to self-destruction?

However, it would be wrong to consider atheism as a disease of the intellect alone. The root of this madness lies in the will, which applies the understanding to the consideration of truth, and, where there is no compelling evidence, can incline the same to give or refuse assent to opinions as they agree or disagree with the human passions. It is the will which, first out of pride rejects a divine lawgiver whom it ought to obey in all its action, and then, plunged in sensuality and overpowered by the lower appetites,

loathes all that is spiritual, holy, pure, and ideal. From this source flows atheism with all the systems leading to it,—idealism, empiricism, materialism. Hence St. Paul has derived it when he said that the heathens, because, having known God, they did not glorify Him as God, became vain and foolish in their thoughts and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the likeness of the image of the corruptible man; and that, because they did not like to have God in their knowledge, they were delivered up by Him to a reprobate sense to indulge in the meanest vices, and still not to understand that they who do so are worthy of death.—Rom. i. 21.

Atheism, therefore, is no greater enemy to God than to man himself; it is both a struggle of the intellect against truth, and a most wicked aversion of the will to the true good; it is an entire destruction of all, not only because it denies the centre of all order and the source of all being, but also because it saps the very foundation of human nature and deprives man of everything that is sublime and beautiful, and that confers on him dignity and happiness. I do not know what still could be added to unmask the startling absurdity of atheism; for I think nothing can be more disgusting to rational nature than the destruction of all rational order.

To conclude, let us now in brief compare our modern systems of idealism, materialism, and empiricism with the scholastic philosophy. Who has not heard the former praised for the great results they have attained, for the extraordinary enlightenment they have produced in our times; and who has not heard the latter blamed for its unscientific method, for its fictitious, abstruse, and barren questions, for its servile subjection to theology? How often are not in our latest literature Locke, Hume, Kant, Comte, Darwin, Tyndall eulogized as the greatest geniuses, the reformers of science, the liberators of thought; whilst St. Thomas and the scholastic doctors are run down as patrons of darkness and ignorance? Yet facts, not phrases, ought to prevail on us. That idealism and materialism, just because they denied God's existence, end in the destruction of reason, in the overthrow of morality, in the degradation of man cannot be gainsaid, yea, is openly confessed. This is the great benefit they have bestowed on mankind. The scholastics, on the contrary, having risen from the contingent and finite world to the infinite and absolute being, have also lifted up man to the highest dignity. According to their doctrine, drawn from the greatest lights of Christianity, man is God's creature, formed after his likeness, endowed with reason, which is a spark of the divine intellect, and with a free will, which tends to the fulness of all good. And as in God they give man his most noble origin, so they lead him back to God as his last end, referring to this supreme and infinite good

all his actions, to render him worthy of enjoying it in endless bliss and contemplation. If they profess to be subservient to Christian revelation, they but open their eyes to a higher truth manifested on earth, and from far conduct man to a new and wonderful elevation, to a sublimer and supernatural participation of divine perfections. Which, then, has better deserved of mankind, ancient or modern philosophy? Which has better promoted the order and well-being of human society? Which has more regarded man's dignity and has endeavored to procure him true and imperishable good?

"THE NEW FRENCH MINISTER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION."

A REPLY TO THE "HARPERS'" LATEST CALUMNY.

Mentita est iniquitas sibi. (Ps. xxvi. 12.)

THIS is the remarkable title of an article in the *Harpers' Monthly Magazine* for March, which I think very proper to take for my own. The day the article was published in New York this new minister had already fallen with his friend and supporter, M. Gambetta. It looked strange indeed to see the high hopes of M. Paul Bert, entertained by *Harpers' Magazine*, so soon vanished. "He," said this *anonymous* writer, whom we will call A. G., meaning *anonymous gentleman*, "has never fallen himself nor permitted his family to fall into the toils of the confessorial fraternity, and can be relied upon to prosecute the reform upon which he has embarked, until he shall have rescued the youth of France from the demoralizing influence with which the Jesuits have poisoned most of her seats of learning."

The time allowed him to prosecute this reform has been short indeed; and I wonder what the readers of that unlucky magazine must have thought of it when they saw him fall so soon. It is not, however, very surprising. On many other occasions when the Messrs. Harpers thought they had found an excellent opportunity for injuring "Romanism," it slipped through their fingers, and "Romanism" is to-day as vigorous as ever in the United States. In this last case the bright anticipations of A. G. cannot be any more realized, since they were all founded on the firm determina-

tion of M. Paul Bert, who has already disappeared from the scene. This remark, however, falls far short of an answer. The subject is a very serious one, and it shall be treated by me seriously. For although this brutal attack seems to be directed against the Jesuit order only; although the theological works which are misrepresented, calumniated, vilified, in this article, are those of a simple Jesuit, Father Gury; still a much higher end is aimed at, and it is well for Catholics to know it,—the object is to disgrace as far as possible the Catholic Church in this country. A. G., at the very beginning of his article, page 562 of the Magazine, speaking of the work of Father Gury, says (this time with justice and without exaggeration) that: "It has received the official approval of M. Guibert, Archbishop of Paris, . . . and it is in the hands not only of all the Jesuits, but of large numbers of the clergy of the Latin Church; for, according to the testimony of the Archbishop of Paris, 'this book enjoys the honor of having happily transformed the spirit of the French clergy in the last thirty years.'" A. G. might have said also that it is in the hands of many secular clergymen of the Catholic Church in these United States, with the full approval of the bishops.

More emphatically still he quotes in a note from a recent work by W. C. Cartwright, M.P., London: "No modern treatise can show a more formidable array of guarantees than Father Gury's *Compendium of Moral Theology*. It has been appointed in Roman Catholic seminaries, in all lands, as the standard manual of moral theology; it has been printed in every country, and translated into every tongue,"—this is not correct; it has nearly always appeared in Latin only, as it is not intended for the use of the people, but of clergymen. I hear, however, that there is an edition in German. "In the new issue of De Backer's *Dictionary of Jesuit Writers*," adds Mr. Cartwright, "there are enumerated no fewer than twenty-four editions."

If, therefore, the book "countenances," as M. Bert affirms, "debauchery, theft, incest, robbery, murder," the Catholic bishops who, everywhere, place it in the hands of the candidates for the *holy* ministry, "countenance" the same, and are guilty to the same extent as the writer himself. The Catholics, I repeat, ought to understand this thoroughly.

On them, to be sure, this furious onslaught on their Church cannot produce any impression, except that of disgust. They know full well that if there is on earth an institution founded by Christ for the fostering of virtue, the Catholic Church to whom they have the happiness of belonging is that very institution; that in her long history she has never been forgetful of that duty; and, that at this moment particularly, she is more zealous than ever in fulfilling the

moral task imposed on her by the Incarnate Son of God. The only effect that must be produced on them by this vile attempt will be an increase of affection for the great mother who has engendered them to God, and nourished them with the milk of righteousness.

But there is a great number of men who are not naturally so well disposed towards the Catholic Church, because they know her imperfectly. It is for them particularly that I have undertaken the unpleasant task of rebuking this anonymous gentleman. Many of them, no doubt, have been staggered at the boldness of his affirmations, and perhaps incline to believe that they are true, at least in part. But I am sure that a great number among them are not ready to accept all these charges on trust, and that they are willing to hear what can be said on the other side. Not only many Protestants, but many rationalists also are sensibly aware that the Catholic Church is a great and respectable body. Her ministers occupy everywhere on earth a commanding position among the people who listen to them, and to whom they preach, besides the dogmas of their faith, the rule of life which the gospel prescribes for them. They see that the Christian people who receive these instructions often, at least, lead edifying lives; and if some do not show in their conduct a sufficient correspondence with the moral precepts of the gospel, it always becomes clear that they are not obedient to the spiritual teaching of their pastors. Who of those well-minded Protestants and rationalists could believe that the moral training the Catholics receive publicly every Sunday in their churches, and the daily directions they hear secretly in the tribunal of penance, are made up of principles and conclusions tending to make of them "murderers, thieves, adulterers, and perjurers?" The respect which those parish priests (who have mostly been trained according to Gury's doctrine) experience from the community at large is well known. Chiefly when they die, as too often happens among us, is there but one voice, on all sides, from all parties, to praise them. How can this be accounted for if Paul Bert and A. G. are to be believed?

But particularly noticeable are the marks of deference shown on all occasions to our Catholic bishops. Except a few fanatics who have no eyes to see and no mind to reflect, all are unanimous in speaking well of our prelates; and this becomes most remarkable, and is expressed in terms of the highest praise, whenever the Church mourns their loss, as just happened at the moment I was writing this very paragraph. The death of Bishop Lynch, in Charleston, brought on at once from all sides expressions of the deepest feelings of veneration. And this was not an isolated case. In general it can be stated that, at the demise of Catholic bishops, if all the tributes of commendation which issue from the secular

press were printed together, they would form panegyrics equal at least to those bestowed on the best and most illustrious citizens of this republic when they die. Everybody knows it, and expresses no surprise, because they all are instinctively aware that the dead prelates were truly men of God when alive.

Still these are the men, I repeat, who knowingly and approvingly place the works of Father Gury in the hands of the clerical students in their seminaries. They themselves have deeply studied theology; they know how to discern the drift of any moral doctrine. If M. Bert and A. G. are to be trusted, these bishops must be monsters of hypocrisy, or rather sheer folly. Who can believe it?

Some people may complain that I am trying to transfer from my own shoulders to those of secular priests and bishops, the burden of most heavy accusations which are, in *Harpers' Magazine*, directed most particularly against me—a Jesuit. For I belong to the "confessorial fraternity," as A. G. expresses it in neological language. Let no one be afraid of trickery here. I intend to face the music; and it may soon be a very pleasant music indeed to the ears of the anonymous gentleman. As an excuse for this apparent digression, I must assure every one who will consent to read me, that I would have begun to treat of this part of the subject, personal to me, from the very first line of this paper, had it not been extremely important to show that the attack is aimed at the Catholic Church, as much at least as at the *Jesuits*, and I believe I have done it sufficiently, if perhaps too briefly.

Before coming to the examination of Gury's theology, which is the main object of denunciation, A. G. raves in his praises of M. Bert, and in the odious turn he gives to the previous history of the society of Jesus. Intending to follow him closely, these incidental considerations are first in order.

M. Bert has, it seems, risen high in the field of science in France; though looking at the list of books published by him, and complacently paraded by A. G., I must say he was not much prepared to speak of "moral theology." His studies must have been very scant on that subject. He is, I think, chiefly known as a physiologist of the vivisection order. He must have, in his life, *vivisected* more dogs and rabbits than many other scientists. As the propriety of doing it is just now being warmly discussed in English reviews (see *Nineteenth Century* for January), I will not express any opinion, because I have none. I will not accuse him of having no other object in his experiments than to make these poor animals suffer. I will not call him on this account "a libertine, . . . a wretch, a debauchee, a *chenille*," as A. G. pretends that some "Catholic journals" have done. But I will say this very deliberately, that M. Bert is well known to everybody in France for his ardent hatred of

the Catholic Church, which he does not attempt to conceal. Every one was surprised, nay scandalized, to see him appointed by M. Gambetta as minister of public instruction and *worship*. For worship was included in his attributions. All parties wondered at it, even the most ardent republicans, who openly remonstrated against it. For in France there is still a deep feeling of honor in many who have no religion, and they could not understand how this man could be placed in daily relations with the bishops whom he undisguisedly despised and vilipended. Every fair-minded man will agree that this is a bad preparation for discussing dispassionately such a subject as Catholic moral theology.

He particularly showed this *animus* in the part he took, in 1879, in the discussion of the celebrated 7th article of the Ferry Bill, by which "the Jesuits of all grades . . . were prohibited from engaging in the work of teaching." They had enjoyed this right, which in this country, thank God, is universal, since 1850. During nearly thirty years they had formed a generation of Christian young men, which frightened the *enemies of religion*. For, unfortunately, religion has enemies in France, a portentous phenomenon unknown in this country, thank God again. To prevent, therefore, the progress of Christianity legislation was to be changed, and the faculty granted by the French Chambers in 1850 must be withdrawn in 1879.

Since A. G. extols the conduct of M. Bert on this occasion, the point must be discussed, though very briefly. It is known that the 7th clause of the Ferry Bill which passed through the lower house was rejected by the members of the Senate, by whom, consequently, the Jesuits were considered worthy of teaching. There was no possibility of bringing the two houses to an understanding; thus the 7th clause was rejected; still it had been made a cabinet question by the ministers, who, nevertheless, kept their portfolios,—a strange way of showing respect for parliamentary rules. By a series of intrigues, owing to which obsolete laws were revived against Jesuits and many other religious orders, those very men whose teaching had been approved by the Senate were thenceforth considered as outcasts, having no title to the name of Frenchmen, and they were forthwith expelled from their own houses, from their own property, of which they have not yet recovered the usufruct.

The discussion of this very intricate affair would carry us too far; but people must still remember how men in England, and in this country, used to parliamentary and legal proceedings, were surprised and shocked at this turn of affairs. Those obsolete laws had been allowed to remain silently in the statute-book, some of them a hundred years. Many of them were known to have been only revolutionary laws to which no obedience whatever was due. Their sudden revival was an outrage, an act of tyranny. People

knew it so well, that in the course of these proceedings more than two thousand magistrates, known for their legal knowledge and integrity, gave up their official positions rather than contribute to the odious execution of those *laws*. This affair, I think, is still under protest, and the discussion of this high-handed injustice will revive as soon as there is true liberty in France.

This is the great achievement in which M. Bert took a prominent part. He was then only a deputy, but having to report particularly on the case of the Jesuits, he called them, according to A. G., "a sect which, wherever it has found a home, has provoked civil war; a sect which, at one time or another, has been cursed and hunted out of nearly every country in Europe; and every member of which, under the strict enforcement of the laws of France, should be sent at once to the frontiers." This is the way those gentlemen write the history of their own time. I shall say a word on it by and by.

He also "devoted himself more especially to exposing the immoral doctrines of the Jesuits, from the days of Pascal to our own time; and demonstrating their continual persistence in teaching the odious doctrines denounced in the *Lettres Provinciales*, not only to adolescents, but to children of tender years." The discussion of the "cases of conscience" of Father Gury, will soon show on which side is "immorality;" but I will say here that every sensible man must be more astonished still at the *continual persistence* of the enemies of the Jesuits in referring to the *Lettres Provinciales* of Pascal, which have been a hundred times confuted in every particular, and whose mendacity has been chiefly exposed lately by the Abbé Maynard, in two compact volumes, which leave nothing to be added on the subject. No discussion of it is possible here; still a few words, conclusive enough, will presently be added.

A. G., however, in his garbled account, has the candor to acknowledge that "there was but one possible defence that could have any weight in France against the charges of M. Bert,—that was a prompt denial of their truth. The Jesuit party *did* deny them, and accused the orator—M. Bert—of misrepresenting and falsifying the authorities he cited." His answer to this *defence* of the Jesuits must be examined with some care. The chief thing nevertheless, the proof that he has *misrepresented and falsified his authorities*, will be abundant only when the theology of Gury is discussed.

His first reply to the denial of his adversaries is rather startling: "Pope Innocent XI. denounced and anathematized in detail pretty much all the doctrines of the Jesuits which Pascal had held up to public scorn." I answer, that he did nothing of the kind; if he had, all the Jesuits would have bowed to his decision, and acknowledged Pascal as their conqueror. It is true that some Jan-

senists—not yet unmasked probably—denounced at Rome a multitude of propositions of unsound morality, which, according to them, represented the doctrine of probabilists and of Jesuits. They were examined, as is always done at Rome on the occasion of such denunciations. In 1679 Innocent XI. condemned sixty-five of them. But in his decree, which is given in full, even now, in all extensive treatises of Catholic moral theology, it was stated that they were condemned, such as they had been expressed in the denunciation, *ut jacent*. The names of the pretended authors to whom they were ascribed were not mentioned in the decree. It was not forbidden to read the books from which they were said to be extracted. The Jesuits continued to teach at Rome as they had done from their first introduction there. They proved in a book published at that time that those propositions were opposed to the common doctrine of their moralists. A subsequent examination showed that in the *denunciation* most of these propositions were so loosely put together or even broadly falsified that the authors to whom they had been ascribed could not recognize them as their own. Finally the same Pope soon after proscribed the reading of three libels which were published in quick succession in order to prove that these propositions were extracted from Jesuit authors. This is sufficient, I think, for this point. Innocent XI. did not condemn Jesuits in proscribing these sixty-five propositions.

As to the inconceivable idea that Innocent XI., in this affair, took up the cudgel for Pascal against the Jesuits, it is sufficient to say that he must have known the fact that Alexander VII., one of his near predecessors, had solemnly condemned the *Lettres Provinciales* as soon as they appeared. The ink with which that decree had been signed was not yet faded; and if Innocent had reversed it, the admirers of Pascal would not have let the whole world remain in blissful ignorance on that subject. It is too absurd on the very face of it. Why, those celebrated *Letters* have been condemned by all the authorities of the Church on whom the duty devolved of examining them. The head of the state in France—Louis XIV.—had the book burned publicly in Paris by the hand of the hangman, as an infamous libel, Voltaire himself has declared in his *Siècle de Louis XIV.* that "*tout ce livre porte sur un faux fondement; ce qui est visible.*"

A second reply to the denial of the Jesuits is contained in the pregnant remark of A. G., that their denial was not accepted at that time, since in spite of it "they were hunted like so many rattlesnakes out of every Christian country, even out of Rome, and their order placed under the ban of the Church by the memorable brief of Clement XIV. in 1773." The last part of this remark of A. G. claims first our attention.

What reasons had Clement XIV. for suppressing the Society of Jesus? In his brief—it was not a papal Bull—after having detailed at length the immense and peculiar favors granted by the Popes, his predecessors, to the society founded by St. Ignatius of Loyola, he solemnly proclaims the fact that there had been, and there were still, endless *accusations* against them. Does he declare those accusations to be true, and does he suppress the order on that account? The most attentive reader of the document will not find this to be the case. He may insinuate here and there that individuals of the order had been guilty of faults quite reprehensible; nothing more, and it is not surprising in a body of 22,000 men. As the present question regards *the morality of their casuists*, and A. G. pretends to reply to the denial or defence of the Jesuits on this subject, I have looked into the brief *Dominus et Redemptor* for this purpose; and I have found only two short passages in which Clement XIV. speaks of it. He says in the first: "There arose everywhere violent *contestations* on the doctrine of the order, a doctrine which several persons *accused* of being totally opposed to the orthodox faith and to good morals." The Pope does not add that he agrees with the accusers. In another passage a little further on, he speaks again "of *accusations and complaints* against the society" on several subjects, the last being "the usage and interpretation of those maxims" (of morals of course), "which the Holy See had justly proscribed as scandalous, and evidently detrimental to good morality." The German Protestant, Schoell, in his *Cours d'Histoire des Etats Europeens* (tom. 44, p. 85), resumes the whole in a short paragraph: "In this brief neither the doctrine, nor the morality, nor the religious discipline of the Jesuits, are condemned. The complaints of the secular governments against the order are the only motives alleged for their suppression." In fact the Jesuits were sacrificed for the sake of peace; but alas! their destruction, instead of bringing peace to the Church, increased the confusion then prevailing in Europe, which ended in the most virulent social and political revolutions, with the enslavement of the Church in many European states.

As to the subsequent restoration of the order by Pius VII., and the agreeable pleasantry of A. G., who sees in it an evident impeachment against papal infallibility, the simpleton must be left this time in his ignorance. I suppose that, in his opinion, if Leo XIII. ventures, on some bright morning, to predict that the good weather shall continue in the afternoon, which, however, becomes stormy, the dogma of papal inerrancy is instantly falsified! A. G. speaks also of Pius IX. having suppressed and afterwards restored the Jesuits. I would like to know when and where.

A third reply to the denial or defence of the Jesuits is contained

in a single and short sentence, which runs thus: "It was the same defence which they made to the report and decree of the French Parliament in 1762, but which did not prevent their order from being hunted like so many rattlesnakes, etc." There is no possibility of writing here the history of that celebrated decree of suppression by the French Parliament in 1762, against which the Jesuits were not allowed to *defend* themselves. A. G. writes but a sentence on the subject, I must confine myself to a paragraph. The detailed account of it can be found in many books and pamphlets still extant. Any American will directly understand my short sketch and immediately declare that it was an outrage on justice. The French Parliaments (in the plural) were simply courts of law—not legislatures. Each province of the kingdom had its own. They answered to our Supreme State Courts. There was no Supreme Federal Court as in this country, the Parliament of Paris having no supervision over the others. The first essential duties of courts of law are: 1st, *fairness* to the accused, and 2d, *competence*. Fairness is carried out when the accused is allowed full freedom for his defence. Competence in civil tribunals limits their action to civil, political, or state affairs. Both were shamefully set aside. Not only were the Jesuits not allowed full freedom for their defence, they were not permitted to appear in court by themselves or by counsel. They were only *commanded* to hand over to the courts the book of their constitutions, whose every clause was twisted into horrible meanings, without granting them the faculty of rebutting such an infamous proceeding. It was far worse than the arbitrary conduct of all the Star Chambers that ever sat in England. This cannot be gainsaid; it is true history. With respect to *competence*, it was still worse if possible. The courts of law in France had always been limited to civil cases, as in every civilized country. Any man belonging to a religious order, guilty of heresy, of violating ecclesiastical canons, etc., had to answer before the *ecclesiastical* tribunals, the bishops and the Pope at their head being the highest and supreme authority in such cases as these. Who will believe in this country that in 1762 the French Parliaments condemned the Jesuits for "favoring the Lutherans, the Calvinists, and other innovators of the sixteenth century, for reviving the heresy of Wyckliffe, etc.," for many other violations of mere ecclesiastical discipline? Still it is a fact preserved in the archives of France. The king, highly displeased at these proceedings, assembled the bishops, who came in great number to Paris—more than fifty—and all, with the exception of six, openly expressed their sorrow in case the order was destroyed; and unanimously (including the six prelates of an adverse opinion) pronounced the Jesuits men of an austere and pious life. The Pope meanwhile—it was then Clement XIII.—remon-

strated with all his power against this shameful persecution. The Jesuits, therefore, were declared not guilty by the *proper* tribunals.

The courts, consequently, which destroyed the society in France, in 1762, were neither *competent* nor *fair*. Their action has been condemned by all right-minded historians, by Protestants particularly. If there were *rattlesnakes* in the case, this word cannot be applied to the Jesuits, but to their adversaries, who were, most of them, Jansenists or infidel philosophers, and consequently led in their decisions by a deep animosity, which in itself would have constituted an absolute incompetence to sit as judges.

The same historical verdict would be pronounced if the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, Spain, Italy, etc., could be examined here. There have been, in the whole range of human history, few monsters of cruelty like Pombal in Lisbon, few fools on the throne like Charles III. in Madrid, few hypocrites ministers of state like Tanucci at Naples. These were the rattlesnakes that hunted out the order. But this answer of mine, though altogether unsatisfactory for so important a historical fact, is long enough when compared to the unsubstantiality of the attack which A. G. has *admirably* compressed in a dozen words.

So far I have answered all the most offensive remarks of A. G. on the previous history of the Jesuits. This subject is so vast that the few observations to which I have been obliged to confine myself appear trifling and of scarcely any importance in so momentous a question. But M. P. Bert—though undoubtedly the affair is weighty in his eyes—has been in fact satisfied with discharging a few poisoned arrows into the hated centaur, and A. G. has faithfully imitated his master. I cannot become their compeer. I cannot tell them, "You are too mild in your attack. I might uncover to you sources of invectives against the Jesuits of which you are blissfully ignorant. You are not the first writers in that pleasant literature. You have had ancestors more heavy-weighted than you." According to A. G., M. Bert has written *La Morale des Jesuits* in "a volume of 665 duodecimo pages." I could show him folios of the same kind of stuff; but as the amiable A. G. has been satisfied with giving us in *Harper's Magazine* a few scraps only of that farrago, I must content myself with briefly examining and analyzing it, to see its nature. The reader will, I am sure, agree with me that the sooner we have done with it the better, and there is no need of plunging into the duodecimo volume of M. Bert, nor into the folios which I could procure him. This will suffice also for the reason that the main object here is to treat the question for this age, and the ponderous tomes of two hundred years ago would not do. "M. Bert," A. G. has remarked, "determined to show not what the Jesuits taught in their schools two hundred years ago,

but what they were teaching then, in the year of grace, 1879-80." Let it be done in this brief way by all means, and I am heartily glad that we have at last come to the main point.

Until this moment I think I have fairly followed M. Paul Bert's accusations, such as they have been, *condensed* in the loose phraseology of his mouth-piece in *Harper's Magazine*. But from this out I intend to be more strict still in quoting and dissecting whatever is contained in the remainder of the article, because what precedes is only the introduction to his great object, which is the complete exposure, as he thinks, of Gury's moral theology, that is, of Jesuit immorality.

He begins with an awful solemnity: "It would be difficult for any one who has not read Gury's books and verified the language quoted by M. Bert, to believe it possible that such doctrines as he will find there are not only printed, but taught in schools of theology by persons calling themselves Christians, or that there is any race of people so degraded in civilization as to listen to them." The presumption, however, is that the Catholic bishops and priests who approve of the doctrine of Gury have a right "to be called Christians," and that they belong to "a race of people which is *not* degraded in civilization." It seems only that they do not see in Gury's books what M. Bert has discovered, and that they attach another interpretation to his words. The sequel will soon show who is right. That A. G. "has *verified* the language quoted by M. Bert," I do not believe, and I feel a strong inclination to think that he has never handled the works of the Jesuit theologian. M. Bert may have had some of these books in his possession, but if he had read them he certainly has misquoted and mistranslated them.

Immediately before condescending to quote those dreadful "cases of conscience," which teach, according to M. Bert and his faithful disciple, A. G., such an easy method of committing "murder, incest, theft, lying, perjury, etc.," with a safe conscience, there are some considerations on that word conscience which deserve attention. The article in the magazine says: "By an infinitely elaborated system of definitions, classifications, divisions, and distinctions, every principle of right and wrong is so qualified and narrowed that little remains but a mass of petty aphorisms, which may be, and to all appearances are employed as often to oppose as to sustain each other. . . . Conscience, for instance, is distinguished into right and erroneous, certain or doubtful. Then come secondary divisions into conscience vincibly erroneous and invincibly erroneous, etc." They quote here faithfully Father Gury; but that "he distinguishes between true truth, doubtful truth, and false truth," as they directly after allege, I deny *in toto*. It is only the modern agnostics, for whom there is no absolute truth, who

can use such language. All Catholic theologians, including Father Gury, maintain that in natural religion, as well as in revealed faith, truth is invested with the prerogative of infallibility; there cannot be a half truth; truths of different orders cannot be opposed to each other. Father Gury would be condemned by his superiors and by Rome if he maintained a different opinion. In his belief truth comes from God, and must always be admitted in its entirety.

With regard to conscience, however, every one who is not a fool knows that it is sometimes right, and must be obeyed, sometimes erroneous, and must not be obeyed. The conscience of that pretended Christian who a few years ago killed his son, in order to imitate Abraham, was certainly erroneous. If he had been a Catholic his priest would have told him so, because he would have studied the doctrine of Gury; and Gury is right when he makes those distinctions, divisions, etc., which are necessary to come to a right understanding of a "case of conscience."

The objection which Dr. Littledale, a renowned ritualist in England, made against Catholic moral theology, a short time ago, amounts nearly to the one proposed by P. Bert and A. G. This strange Anglican-Catholic, who knows theology better, however, than either M. Bert or A. G., complained that casuistry in the Romish Church "was a system for dealing with separate cases of sins." He would have preferred, I suppose, that sins should be considered in the lump, not in their *distinctions and divisions* of lies, thefts, murders, etc. Father Ryder of the English Oratory simply remarked in his spirited *Reply to Dr. Littledale's "Plain Reasons,"* that it must be so, because every sin is a "separate case;" the confessional implies a "dealing with separate cases." The book of Father Gury could not be of any use to a student of moral theology unless by bringing on distinctions, divisions, definitions, etc. As to the reproach that by doing so "nothing remains but a mass of petty aphorisms, which may be or are employed as often to oppose as to sustain each other," I reply, that the object of those distinctions, etc., is not to oppose or tally aphorism to aphorism, but to come at last to a moral decision deduced from all the circumstances of the case. That this is opposed to morality and promotive of moral wrong is one of the most strange assertions I ever heard in my life.

It is high time to come at last to that detestable work of moral theology which is, it seems, calculated to horrify mankind and render the Jesuits odious to all men who still preserve in their souls an innate sense of virtue. M. Bert and his echo in *Harpers' Magazine* say with justice that there are two distinct works of Gury: 1st, His *Compendium of Moral Theology*, in two volumes, and 2d, His *Cases of Conscience*, in two volumes also. But they

forget to mention a very important circumstance, which I must supply here. It is this: In the second work each case of conscience has a peculiar reference to some particular passage of the first work, the *Compendium*. Often this reference is pointed out at the end of the "case," by the words *vide Compendium* (in such or such place). This is invariably done when it might be difficult for the student to find out the passage. When only a dunce could miss it, these words are omitted. For a complete stranger to theological studies to snatch at the second work, and throw the case and its decision under the eyes of the people at large without referring to the moral principles explained in the *Compendium* is, to say the least, disingenuous. On many occasions it becomes a positive act of calumny; and my task, in this part of it, shall mainly consist in undoing the wrong of which the accusers have been guilty by referring to the *Compendium*. A. G. probably did not see this, I must give the devil his due, because he blindly followed M. Bert, his leader; but this last gentleman must have been aware of it if he has any sense, because he certainly had in his hands the books of Father Gury, and he could easily perceive the intimate connection between the two works of the Jesuit Father.

To give to an ordinary reader a still clearer idea of this disingenuousness, as I have called it, it suffices to compare it to the folly or guilty captiousness of a man who, reading in a lawyer's speech before a court of law several decisions, based on precedents, authorities, etc., which were as usual merely quoted and not given *in extenso* by the lawyer, would represent him as a knave, trying to foster injustice by loose principles of morality, without paying any attention to the details of precedents and authorities he had merely quoted. It might frequently happen that the speaker would be accused, by the nincompoop listening to him, of advocating theft, robbery, if nothing worse. The two cases are perfectly alike; and the reader of my very imperfect defence of Gury's theology, being warned beforehand, is now prepared to listen to the very strange cases which I have now to dissect and to analyze.

I must give the first case in the text of *Harpers' Magazine* only, because, in spite of all my endeavors, I could not find it either hinted at in the *Compendium* of the Jesuit, or laid down in detail in his *Cases of Conscience*. This gives me the occasion to remark that my task was an arduous one. I had to ferret out the iniquity of the accusers; and in order to merely find out the texts which they translated into English with an apparent boldness and fairness, I was left perfectly in the dark. In not a single one of them is the place where they are supposed to be in the Jesuit author, as much as mentioned. Still, the two works together contain 3246 pages octavo; namely, 1787 for the two volumes of the *Compend-*

ium; 1459 for those of the *Cases*. I will not accuse those gentlemen of want of charity in my regard; but I am uncharitable enough to imagine and to say that evidently they did not wish to render easy any answer to their foul accusations. I have, however, I think, succeeded as well as could be expected.

Let us come to the first "case," brought by M. Bert, as copied by A. G.¹

Question. "Adalbert, wishing to kill his enemy Titius, killed his friend Caius. Has he sinned, and ought he to make restitution?"

Answer. "Adalbert ought to be held guiltless of the homicide, if he had not been able to foresee the death of Caius; if, for example, he had sought to hit no one but Titius. The reason is that this exterior act is not prejudicial in principle to Caius, whom he has involuntarily killed; consequently he is not liable to make restitution to his heirs."

This simply is an out and out calumny. As stated above, I have been absolutely unable to find this case, or anything like it with regard to *homicide* in the four big volumes of Father Gury. But, independently of this, he could not have given this decision in his *Cases of Conscience*, consistently with the principles laid down in his *Compendium*. First, he could not say that Adalbert *had not sinned*, because he states positively in the *Compendium*, like all other Catholic theologians, that a simple wish of committing a crime, is a crime of the same species as the act itself would be; so that the wish to murder must be considered as murder, since Christ says so of adultery, in Matt. v. 28. This is affirmed by Father Gury in his treatise of *Sins* (*de peccatis*, ch. I, Sins of Thought). As to the act of murder, it would be too long to go, in this place, through the whole tract of Father Gury *On the Fifth Precept of the Decalogue*, which treats of anger, homicide, murder, etc. Should the friend

¹ It is perfectly true that I could not find this case in Gury, in spite of all my efforts. But since this paper was sent to the printer it has been pointed out to me. I do not think it necessary to change anything I have written, because what I have said explains the case fully; but I must add a few words on the translation of M. Bert, which is altogether faulty.

In the "question" P. Bert makes the Jesuit ask, "Has he sinned, and ought he to make restitution?" This is not in Gury, who does not intend here to speak of sins of intention.

In the "answer," the following is the true translation of Gury, which is very different from that of M. Bert: "Adalbert must be excused from sin *with regard to the homicide he has committed* (namely, that of Caius), if he could not possibly foresee the killing of Caius; for instance, *in case he had* (before shooting) *examined if there was no danger of striking somebody else*. . . . Therefore he is not liable to make restitution to his heirs. *It would be otherwise if he had not taken any precaution, or if he had dimly foreseen the killing of Caius*." F. Gury thinks, like all sensible men, that whatever happens through mere accident is not imputable. I have italicized the places whose translation by M. Bert is altogether unfaithful, and changes entirely the meaning of the author.

of M. Bert object to any of his decisions in the *Compendium*, let him quote the passage, mentioning the place, which he never does, and an answer shall not be long forthcoming. Any fair man, Protestant or not, who should read Gury and be able to understand his text,—the book has never been translated into any modern language except, it seems, in German,—would not think that the author is "degraded in civilization," according to A. G.; but he would find his doctrine always consonant with that of the Gospel, with the dictates of reason, and the moral *consensus* of all wise men in past ages. This is true of all Catholic theologians, but expressed by Gury with perhaps more clearness and precision than by many other of our moralists. This is probably the cause why the book has been introduced into nearly all Catholic seminaries.

Adalbert, therefore, has *sinned*, not only in thought and desire; but Gury, according to his principles, would never declare him "guiltless of homicide," chiefly for the reasons assigned in the pretended quotation which, for my part, I cannot understand; and I can say that I always understand Gury.

But from the expressions which follow, the case is also one of restitution; and the supposed author asks "if Adalbert is liable to make restitution to the heirs of Caius?" This is very different from the question of murder; but I repeat this particular case of Adalbert, and the answer I could not find in Gury's book. There is, however, the second one quoted by A. G., which may throw some light on the first; because in Gury's *Cases of Conscience* there are two which look like this one of Adalbert, considering the only question of restitution. Therefore, let us come to the

Second Case—"Blazius, wishing to injure his enemy Caius, determines to shoot his ass. He misses the ass, and kills the cow of Titius, sleeping behind the hedge unseen.

Question. "Is Blazius liable to make restitution for the ass which he missed, or the cow which he killed?"

Answer. "He is not. Certainly not for the ass which escaped; neither is he for the cow, since he had not foreseen this misfortune, nor been able to anticipate it."

M. Bert's object here is to amuse his readers at the expense of a mere fool—a Jesuit. But very likely it is out of this case that he *fabricated* the one of homicide on the part of Adalbert. The reader comparing both will easily see that there is a strong resemblance between them.

There are truly two cases in Gury's book which look exactly like this one of M. Bert, except as to the decision, and this is the main point. In the mind of Father Gury they were evidently correlative, and he needed both to explain his thought fully. To quote only the first would be simply a misrepresentation of his doctrine. The

names of the supposed persons are different also from those given out by M. Bert, but the change of names is the affair of this gentleman. I quote the Jesuit author exactly as I find his text.

First. "Lupian, anxious to injure his enemy Sylvan, perceives his calf grazing in the lot of its master. Directly he fires at it, but in vain; instead of the calf he kills the cow of Martial, which was quietly stretched behind a hedge unseen.

Second. "Cletus, wishing to injure Peter, his enemy, goes at night to devastate his vineyard; but it is a great blunder. Peter had a few days before sold this vineyard to Paul, the friend of Cletus, who soon learns with surprise that he has injured his friend, not his enemy."

The question is only one of restitution, and of strict justice. Hence it is found in Gury's book under the heading, *De injusto damnificatione*, "of damage unjustly perpetrated on the neighbor." The *wish* to injure is a different thing, which the author does not examine here, and which he would declare to be a grievous sin, according to the principles laid down in his *Compendium*. The necessity of repairing the damage being the only question to be discussed, he gives for the first case a different decision from that of the second. He says of the first that Lupian is not *bound* to pay either for the calf which has not been touched, nor for the cow whose presence was altogether unknown to him, and which was killed by mere accident. He is no more bound than a man who in hunting kills a horse which he could not see. Of course, I repeat that the question of *sin* is not examined here; and the decisions of the courts of law are always reserved by Father Gury, as not being of his competence. Strict justice in repairs for damage is always aimed at; the question of charity is quite different. If the injured man is poor, Father Gury, as well as all Catholic theologians, requires compensation *ex debito caritatis*, from a duty imposed by Christian charity.

The third case, which ought to have been, but was not mentioned by M. Bert, and which must necessarily be connected with the second, renders the meaning of Father Gury clearer. "Cletus," he says, "is bound in justice to pay damages, because all the conditions required for it exist in the present case; first, a grievous sin; second, an unjust act; third, an act productive of real injury." Explaining himself better still at the end of the discussion, he adds: "The fact of the vineyard belonging to Peter *or* to Paul has nothing to do with the question of justice, but is a mere question of names." The opinion of Father Gury on the subject is simply this: "If the injury inflicted on another is the result of mere accident, the object not being even known as present, there is no obligation in *justice* to repair the damage. But when the injury falls

upon an object well known, visible, intended in fact, compensation must be paid, though there is a mistake about the name of the owner."

I leave it to the reader to decide if this discussion can considerably add to the reputation of M. Paul Bert for honor, truthfulness and fair dealing with a Jesuit. He has evidently followed the advice of Voltaire to his fellow-conspirators against the Church: *Mentez, mes amis, mentez, il en restera toujours quelque chose*. But the best is to come before long.

Fourth case, on lying, equivocation, mental reservation: This is a lively subject. The writer in *Harpers' Magazine* prefaces it by remarking that Mr. Gury's views of lying Ananias and Sapphira would have thought liberal. I beg his pardon. The positive untruth of those two wretched converts was called by St. Peter "a lie to the Holy Ghost" (Acts v. 3); and Father Gury would not have considered it a *venial* sin. M. Bert, it is true, seems to think there are no venial lies, and that all untruths are equally grievous sins. He complains in this very place that Father Gury "distinguishes lies into three classes: the prejudicial lie, which he thinks wrong in proportion to the gravity of the injury it does another; the officious lie, which is venial in principle, because it does not cause grave disorder; and the pleasant lie (a joke), which of course is still more venial." But this is the language of common sense, and every man who enjoys common sense will declare that Father Gury is right here.

As the meaning of *venial sin*, however, in Catholic language, is not understood by many people, I refer to what Dr. Newman says of it in the appendix to his *Apologia*, section viii. Without quoting his words, the mere mention of his explanation suffices here. "The word venial does not mean that it is no sin at all, and that when casuists declare that an act is such, each one is at liberty to do it without minding the consequences. In the doctrine of the Church, a venial sin, unexpiated in this world, is punished in the next by the pains of purgatory, which as every one knows are not of a pleasant nature, and whose duration is not exactly known." This suffices for simple lying.

Before coming to the text of the fourth case furnished by M. Bert, it is important to call attention to the fact that for a long time the Catholics were reproached in England with the doctrine of their casuists with regard to lies, equivocation and mental reservation. We do not hear so much of it in Great Britain at this time, probably owing to the thorough ventilation of the question by Dr. Newman at the end of his *Apologia*. It is so remarkable a production, and it justifies so completely the doctrine of our casuists and of Father Gury in particular, that I would like to copy the whole

of it here. But as the works of the great Cardinal can be so easily procured, I will confine myself to a few passages only. He says, page 358 (Appleton's edition):

"Almost all authors, Catholic and Protestant, admit that *when a just cause is present*, there is some kind or other of verbal misleading which is not sin. Even silence is in certain cases virtually such a misleading, according to the proverb, 'silence gives consent.'

"Another ground of certain authors for saying that an untruth is not a lie where there is a just cause is, that veracity is a kind of justice, and, therefore, when we have no duty of justice to tell truth to another, it is no sin not to do so. Hence we may say the thing that is not to children. . . . to men who ask impertinent questions, etc.

"Another mode of verbal misleading is equivocation or a play upon words; and it is defended on the view that to lie is to use words in a sense which they will not bear. But an equivocator uses them in a received sense, though there is another received sense, and, therefore, according to this definition, he does not lie."

It would be profitless to go through all the other examples furnished by Dr. Newman. But taken in their complexity they render perfectly allowable all the decisions of Father Gury on the subject. It is, however, remarkable that among the authors, Catholic and Protestant, whom he quotes further on, to prove that he is correct in his statement, is found, besides several anglican divines of great repute, Milton himself, the great dissenter, who wrote among other things the following startling propositions: "Veracity is a virtue by which we speak true things to him *to whom* it is equitable, and concerning what things it is suitable for the *good of our neighbor*. . . . All dissimulation is not wrong, for it is not necessary for us always openly to bring out the truth. That only is blamed which is malicious, etc."

It is a pity I must stop here, for what follows is still more remarkable; and if Milton had lived in this age, he might have been enrolled among the disciples of F. Gury.

Let us now come to the bold *Magazine* of the Messrs. Harpers on the question of lying; and the confutation of its contributor will be the more easy that this time at least it was not difficult to find the case among those of the Jesuit author. The name even for once was not changed; so that the attack at last was open, and I had not to look for other analogous examples. I am sorry to say that in the present case M. Bert will be found either very ignorant of Latin or very unscrupulous when Jesuits only are concerned. Who knows if it is not the one as well as the other? This is his text:

"Theofried having inherited an estate, and concealed his wealth to avoid paying his creditors, replies that he has concealed nothing. At another time (2dly), he denies to the judge who interrogates him that he had restored some money he had borrowed. At another time (3dly), to the question of the customs' officers if he had any article liable to duty, he replied that he had not."

Question. "Is Theofried to be condemned as a liar?"

Before speaking of the *answer*, M. Bert must be told that he has either misunderstood the Latin of Gury, or purposely falsified his text. Gury says:

"Theofried having inherited an estate, and *concealed that part of his wealth from which he was NOT obliged to satisfy the claims of his creditors*, replied that he had concealed nothing." The Latin of the italicized phrase, which differs so much from the text of Paul Bert, is: *cum bona occultasset ex quibus NON tenebatur creditoribus satisfacere* (Casus Consc., T. I, p. 280, Pelagaud Edit., 1864).

This alone could allow me to stop a discussion so painful to my feelings, and I think my readers would consider me justified in doing so. But it is better to go on. The second part of the statement of the case by P. Bert can be read above. The text of Gury differs *in toto* from it, because it contains a few words more: "At another time, having borrowed money, *and having returned it—* 'cum jam satisfecisset,' he denies, etc." The third and last part alone is accurate. The consideration of the *answer* is now in order. Let us see first the text of Paul Bert.

Answer. "Theofried has not sinned against truth in the first case, because in reality he concealed nothing in the sense of the interrogation, or in the sense in which he could be justly interrogated." This is truly the answer of Father Gury; and it is the true one considering his genuine text. But as M. Bert had falsified it, he is indignant, and adds: "It is as if he had said he had committed no injustice to his creditors." Of course he did not commit any injustice to his creditors, since, according to the true text of F. Gury, "he was *not* obliged to satisfy their claims from that part of his wealth which he concealed." This was the supposition on which the decision had to be based. But M. Bert, anxious to have the Jesuit condemned by public verdict, suppressed the supposition, and grew indignant at his decision. Is it honest?

In the second case Father Gury decides as in the first, but in his statement of the case he supposed, as was seen, that the borrower had previously returned the amount of the loan; and M. Bert suppressed again that part of the text, in order to have again occasion to accuse the Jesuit.

As to the third case, the answer of Father Gury is precisely that of Blackstone, *a renowned interpreter of law in England*, as Arch-

bishop F. P. Kenrick says in his work on Moral Theology. Blackstone writes in his celebrated *Commentary* (Introduct., sect. 2, n. 58): "In relation to those laws which enjoin only positive duties, and forbid only such things as are not *mala in se*, but *mala prohibita* merely, without any mixture of moral guilt, annexing a penalty to non-compliance, here I apprehend conscience is not farther concerned than by directing a submission to that penalty, in case of our breach of those laws." The imposition of customs' duties is certainly one of the chief enactments of such laws as these. There are, it is true, other English lawyers who are of another opinion; but at least Blackstone has never been taxed of immorality for his doctrine in this case, and Father Gury is entitled to enjoy the same exemption from blame.

Fifth case, on keeping secrets: Here M. Bert and his friend A. G. are really incomprehensible. They start from the loud accusation that "Mr. Gury shows how keeping a secret is as easy as lying." The reader will conclude that Gury's *recipe*—the word is used here—makes it easy to get rid of that obligation even when it has been secured by an oath—*juramento*. Still the Jesuit author seems to be very strict on keeping secrets. I am satisfied here with the text of the writer in *Harpers' Magazine*, and do not intend to confront it with that of the Jesuit author. Those confrontations of texts are always unpleasant and tedious to the reader. All I see in the *Magazine* convinces me that Father Gury is extremely strict on that subject, though they say that "he shows how keeping a secret is as easy as lying." He approves of the conduct of Amand, who refuses to reveal a theft of Marinus, because he had promised under oath not to speak of it to anybody. Brought before the judge he refuses still, because "a secret of this kind binds in all cases, except where the public"—Bert ought to have said with Gury, public *good*—"is interested." Can any casuist be more strict than this? Is it not incomprehensible that M. Bert accuses Father Gury of being lax on keeping a secret?

It is true, the Jesuit author says besides—of which there is not a word in the *Magazine*—that if Amand is a priest, and knows the secret through the confessional only, he cannot reveal it, even to a judge, nay, even in case the public good is interested; he would be bound to lay down his life if necessary rather than reveal it. I wonder that the accusers of Father Gury have not remarked it, and called down the public animadversion on such doctrine as this. Still it was approved by civil magistrates in the city of New York more than fifty years ago. Fathers Kohlman and Fenwick, of the Society of Jesus, were summoned to testify on a crime which they knew through the confessional; both refused, and the judge, who was then, I think, the recorder of the city, accepted their demand

to be excused, and since that time, I think, Catholic clergymen are never called to testify in criminal cases, except when their knowledge is altogether foreign to their ministerial duties.

Sixth case, on extreme necessity, as an excuse for appropriating what belongs to another: First kind of theft, which the Jesuit author freely allows, according to M. Bert.

It is not Jesuit authors only who say that in extreme necessity a man can take the property of another *to the extent of his actual need*. All Catholic theologians are unanimous on that subject; and I am sure that if Protestants had kept the practice of confession (a thing which would not have done them much harm, to say the least of it), their casuists would entirely agree with ours. In this happy country cases of extreme necessity seldom, if ever, happen. But we have among us poor people who have known it, because such cases are common in Europe. In Ireland particularly, how many have died of hunger? How many have saved their life and the lives of their family only through *stealing* a bushel or two of potatoes in a rich neighbor's field? Has not a priest a heart? And can he listen to those most harrowing tales without shedding tears, and consoling, instead of reproving, those who accuse themselves of it as if it were a sin?

Still, A. G. has thought proper to write (page 564 of the magazine): "The doctrines of Communism, which are so rife in all Catholic countries and communities, may probably trace their origin, as they unquestionably have their denominational sanction, in the Jesuits' confessional." Could the man be sincere in writing such a phrase as this? If he did not here positively tell a lie he must be very ignorant. I thought until to-day everybody knew that the doctrines of Communism have originated from two great causes, which are so visible that only a fool can be ignorant of them. First, the economical questions of capital and labor have necessarily arrayed labor against capital. Secondly, the political convulsions of the present age have given origin to many secret societies, among which the Communistic and Socialistic sects became prominent. Had the *Jesuits' confessional* any influence over these fatal causes? As *few* only of the laboring men arrayed against capital, and *none* of the Communists and Socialists make any use of the confessional, it is hard to see how "Communism has unquestionably the Jesuits' denominational sanction." One thing is certain, that whenever Communism obtains some power in any European country, the Jesuits, as well as the secular clergy, are its first victims. Does A. G. imagine that nobody in this country remembers the doings of the *Commune* in Paris in 1871? If it were necessary the Hon. Mr. Washburne, the United States Minister in France at that time, could be applied to. Yet I hear

that such stuff as this of *Harpers' Magazine* has produced some sensation among a number of unreflecting citizens.

Seventh case, on secret compensation: Here there is in the magazine such a farrago of facts disconnected from each other, that it would be extremely tedious to take them apart, as I have invariably done until this moment. It would carry me far beyond the limits assigned to me in this REVIEW, and I could not promise to give to this absurd matter such a degree of interest as would keep my readers awake. It is, therefore, preferable to take those cases *in globo*.

The question of *secret compensation* is very simple in Father Gury's book and in all Catholic authors. No candid Protestant or rationalist can object to it in its primary principles. It is only in a complicated case, as sometimes happens, that there can be any difficulty; then prudence, sagacity, chiefly common sense, must come in to bring on a decision approved by conscience. Of course, if one listens to M. Bert, those qualities can never be found in a Jesuit. Let him keep his opinion, which cannot be considered very valuable by those who have read me so far.

"Compensation," says Gury, "is of two kinds,—namely, *legal* and *extra-legal*. The first is confirmed by the civil law, and consists in extinguishing two debts of equal value by mutual consent. A. owes B. \$100 for cloth; B. owes A. \$100 for wine. They agree they are quits and owe nothing to each other."

This kind of compensation is not secret, and cannot give rise to any "case of conscience," but it is good to mention it because it renders *secret compensation* quite easy of comprehension. This last one is called by Gury "the recovery of one's property by seizing on something of equal value belonging to another." This other person is, of course, supposed to be indebted to the first in the same amount. An example will better explain this definition: A. owes B. \$100, but refuses to pay, and for some reason or other cannot be forced to pay. B. meets with an occasion of secretly coming into the possession of an object belonging to A. of exactly the same value, \$100. Can he do so?

Gury, as well as all other Catholic theologians, says he can, provided four conditions are complied with: First, that the debt of A. to B. is certain; in case of doubt the property of A. cannot be touched, because possession gives him a title in law; secondly, that it is not possible for B. to recover otherwise what is due to him by A.,—every one knows that a process at law is often closed to a poor man; thirdly, that both articles of property be of the same kind, if possible; fourthly, that means be taken in order that A. may never be obliged to reimburse B. or his heirs twice. (See *Compendium De Occulta Compensatione*.) Can there be any doubt

that if those conditions are fulfilled secret compensation is allowable? It is but the realization of this principle of right: "Every one can take what belongs to him wherever he finds it." *Res clamat domino.*

I have neither time nor inclination to examine closely the three or four cases of secret compensation quoted by M. Bert, with the supposed decision of the Jesuit author. I am sure that Father Gury decided according to the principles laid down in his *Compendium*, and no sensible man can find fault with those principles. No reliance, moreover, can be placed on the quotations of his accusers, and I have here a most striking proof of it in the case of Albert, a servant engaged by Medard, which is found at page 566 of the *Magazine*. Thus: *Question*. "Was Albert right in thus securing for himself the rate of wages allowed to other domestics?" *Answer*. In justice Albert ought not to be condemned, because in the absence of an agreement he had an implied right to at least the lowest wages paid to domestics of his class."

I must give the exact *answer* of Father Gury, because, fortunately, I met with it in the volume of his *Cases of Conscience*, and the reader may see that it is *somewhat* different from the one given by M. Bert. (It is found in *Casus de Injuria et forto—Casus X, secundus, de Alberto et Medardo*.)

Answer. "Per se, and speaking strictly, Albert does not seem worthy of condemnation, because, in the absence of an agreement, he had at least an implied right to the lowest wages which are usually given to men of his condition. And from the case—*proinde*—this servant secures for himself only what is justly due to him. But before he did so, it would not be right to allow him to do it, on account of the great danger there is of hallucination. A servant cannot be easily permitted to form a decision in such case from his own judgment only; but in general he must consult a prudent and learned man. He must particularly consult his own conscience to know if he has been exact in his work, as he was bound—*rite*. For Innocent XI. has condemned the proposition which 'permits compensation to servants whenever they think that their work has been greater than the wages they receive.'"

The reader, by examining what part of Gury's answer M. Bert has thought proper to quote, and what large part he has left out, can easily conclude that this *gentleman* is not reliable in his quotations. I think, consequently, that for what remains of his worse than garbled account, I may be permitted not to enter into so many details, which become at last supremely tedious, and that a general survey will be considered sufficient.

Eighth case, on thefts: At page 565 of the *Magazine*, "A. G.,"

following the lead of M. Bert, pretends that the Jesuits "give a pretty liberal construction of the eighth commandment as *handed down* to us by Moses. The crime, according to them, does not consist in appropriating another's property to our own use, but in taking too much at a time, or from too poor a man."

The reader can easily perceive that in all the cases quoted by those *gentlemen*, the question is not to know if theft (whatever may be the quantity stolen), is reprehensible or not. By referring to the *Compendium* of Father Gury, it will instantly appear that he knows and respects the *seventh* commandment of Moses, as well as M. Bert. The only question discussed here, is to know when theft is a grave—*grievous*—sin, or only *venial*. Now it is very amusing to see how the Jesuit Father is accused of laxity,—I shall not speak of the most honorable and saintly name of the founder of the Redemptorists, which is here abominably mixed up in this question,—but the Jesuit Father is positively accused of laxity for deciding that a theft of six francs (say a dollar and a quarter) from a *rich* man, and twelve francs from a *prince*, constitutes a *grievous* sin; one franc—sometimes less—taken from a poor man, also is a *grievous* sin. Whatever is taken under these rates is *venial*.

But according to Catholic theology, a *grievous* or mortal sin, if unexpiated on earth, is punished in the next world by hell; a *venial* sin, by purgatory. I would like to inquire of M. Bert how many hells or purgatories he requires for the punishment of theft in his *strict* theology compared with the laxity of the Jesuits? This is too ridiculous to be discussed any further. We may consequently leave untouched the question of the thefts perpetrated by children and domestics.

I could enlarge here on this question of the confessional with regard to robbery and restitution. But there is no need of it. People, at least in this country, know that the confessional is often useful for restoring property to its rightful owner.

As to the foul accusation in which it is pretended that servants in Catholic countries are less scrupulous on this subject than in other more favored regions, and that with regard to this common evil of *Latin states*, "the confessional of the Jesuits is the school in which this form of crime is professed and licensed," I hope I am not ungentlemanly in calling it a *lie*. Foul language must be answered by the proper word, when a contemptuous silence would not suffice. Every man of sense knows that human nature is the same in all countries, Protestant or Catholic. In our days stealing often takes place in both, on so large a scale, that it is better not to speak of it. But to pretend that the confessional is a "school for thieving," is too odious a calumny to let it pass unanswered. Every one knows that confession is a restraint; it always acts

powerfully on corrupt human nature, and I am confident that many thoughtful Protestants would like to see their Protestant servants amenable to its tribunal. I have no room to say more.

Ninth and last class of miscellaneous cases :

1st. The two first quoted by M. Bert to prove that the Jesuits allow a man "to swear to a lie occasionally where it would promote his interest and convenience," I shall not discuss, because I am tired, and my readers must also be more than tired of such an unpleasant task. I must be satisfied with saying that the Jesuits fully know and admit the commandment of God which saith : "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." Paul Bert will never be able to prove that they teach a contrary doctrine, which the Church would immediately condemn, and which they would not be permitted by Catholic bishops to hold forth in their theological seminaries. This general answer must do for all the twaddle of M. Bert on swearing.

2dly. Their *dealing with heretics* is not what the same M. Bert represents. The case of Leocadie, a *religieuse*, is *falsely* quoted in *Harpers' Magazine*. The decision from the Secretary of the (Roman) Inquisition contains two short answers, the second explaining the first ; and this second one is not even mentioned by M. Bert, though it is the most important. "Leocadie," the worthy secretary writes, and the Jesuit follows his prescription, "cannot go herself to bring a Protestant minister to a Protestant who is sick in her hospital, because this would be to hold communication in spirituals with heretics." But he immediately adds : "*Passive se habeat*," words which the bold accuser does not mention. The meaning of those words is simply : The sick Protestant has friends who are allowed to visit him ; let them go and fetch a Protestant minister. Sister Leocadie will hold herself *passive*. She will allow the minister to come and do what he pleases with the patient. This is more liberal than what has often been done in Protestant hospitals in New York. The regulations of those establishments were often very strict in refusing admission to Catholic clergymen when called by Catholic patients.

3dly, and finally, the case of Calpurnia is such that a Catholic alone can perfectly understand it. Charity for a Catholic embraces the next world as well as this earth. A Catholic mother can rejoice that a crippled child, whose life here below would be miserable, goes to heaven, having received baptism. Her lively faith enables her to bear the natural affliction she feels for the loss of her babe. If in the present case this *natural* affliction is not mentioned, it is only because the *supernatural* rejoicing of the mother forms precisely the difficulty which the moralist has to unravel. But who can suppose, except M. Bert and his friend,

that a Jesuit is ignorant of that same natural affliction which in his ministrations he has had as often occasions to witness as M. Bert did the writhings of dogs, rabbits, and guinea pigs in his innumerable vivisections? Let this be my last answer to the ravings of M. Bert, whom I wish never to quote any more.

In concluding, I hope I shall be allowed to say, with great moderation and justice, that *Harpers' Monthly Magazine* is not always a safe guide when the Catholic religion is concerned; that in reading it prejudices are often imbibed which a man of honor is afterward sorry to have for a moment entertained; that the undisguised hatred of so respectable a body as the Catholic Church is always one of the most dreadful banes of social life; and finally, that when this hatred is carried to the point of wishing to raise a mob against anything belonging to her, it becomes one of the greatest crimes which can be attempted against human society.

AN IRISH GOVERNMENT FOR IRELAND.

THE article on "Ireland's Opportunity," in the last number of this REVIEW, has been quite extensively commented on, copied, or criticised, by the American press of all shades of opinion—political, social, and religious. It has caused an earnest discussion of an Irish question of the first importance. For this purpose it was written, for this is timely, and will be profitable.

Passing over the expressions of approval (a large majority of the whole), three classes of adverse opinion remain:

1. Those that disapproved in part, or on the ground of expediency.
2. Those that utterly disapproved and condemned.
3. Those that obviously misunderstood or misrepresented the suggestions offered.

The discussion, taken as a whole, is a splendid proof of the healthy earnestness and intelligence of Irish sentiment in America, as well as of the cordial sympathy of American sentiment with Ireland's grievances and struggles.

Not a single journal in America has taken the English side in the discussion. Every one that has spoken has supported the Irish cause, more or less modified. This is gratifying and significant.

Some of those who disagreed with the article, did so on the

ground that it was "not wise to raise a new issue till the Irish leaders were released."

There was no new issue raised, but an old and primal one of the Land League, as enunciated by Michael Davitt, was brought into strong light. The Land League was established as a direct step toward nationality, and not an indirect one. It came from the very men who claim to be pre-eminently "nationalists"—the radical revolutionary Irishmen.

The land agitation was not intended by Michael Davitt or Mr. Parnell to be a socialistic movement, ending only when the fundamental ethics relating to landed property were revolutionized in Great Britain and Ireland. Its express purpose was to abolish landlordism in Ireland, by government purchase, and to establish a peasant proprietary by repurchase at easy rates from the government. In the English House of Commons, on the 14th of March, Mr. Sexton said :

"The objects of the Land League are two : the first, to put down rack-renting, eviction, and landlord oppression. The second, to enable every tiller of the soil to become, on fair terms, the owner of his holding."

Let me here emphatically say that the original objects of the Land League, as expressed by the men now imprisoned, should be firmly and faithfully followed till those men have been released. The question of Irish nationality was part of the original Land League programme of Michael Davitt. Its discussion now should not distract but prepare popular opinion, so that when released from prison, the brave and able leaders will find a sentiment ready for immediate operation on the national line.

A misapprehension of the principles of the Land League has been caused by the assertion that the "Absolute No Rent" theory is the vital principle of the movement. This is a direct misstatement. The Manifesto of "No Rent" contained no such doctrine. Here are its words, and their plain meaning has been understood perfectly by the people of Ireland :

"The Executive of the National Land League, forced to abandon the policy of testing the Land Act, feels bound to advise the tenant-farmers of Ireland from this forth to pay no rent until the government relinquishes the existing system of terrorism, and restores the constitutional rights of the people."

Since that document was published, the leaders of the League in Ireland have reiterated the temporary meaning of the "No Rent" policy. Mr. Sexton, M.P., undoubtedly one of the ablest of the leaders now at liberty, and who must have expressed Mr. Parnell's view, in a carefully prepared speech in the House of Commons last month, took special care to emphasize this meaning.

We quote from the report of his speech :

- "The 'No Rent' manifesto had been completely misrepresented. The Chief Secretary had quoted from it a paragraph which was not in it. The Chief Secretary said it told the tenants to pay no rent. What it did was to tell the tenants to pay no rent until the government suspended the existing system of terrorism and restored the constitutional rights of the people (Hear, hear). The manifesto had been justified by the fact that the Land Act, after four months of trial, had proved an absolute failure, and was being openly evaded by the landlords. It was for the government to say how long the manifesto should be acted on. As soon as the government returned to constitutional government the 'No Rent' manifesto would be withdrawn."

The "Absolute No Rent" policy is a "complete misrepresentation" of the Land League, and is by the Irish leaders publicly denounced.

The purpose of my article in the last REVIEW was to call attention to the mistake of aiming the whole Irish force at the secondary target,—the land. No matter how perfect may be the success of the anti-landlord movement, it never can be an Irish ultimatum. Let the Land League reduce rents to a shilling an acre, the government question will remain unsettled. Admitting that the landlords ought to be starved out, starving them out will not solve the difficulty, nor abrogate their legal title to *some* recompense for the estates they hold.

No Irish tenant farmer with common sense hopes to get possession of his farm without paying something, some time, for it. Suppose no rents are paid till the present generation of landlords are starved into their graves. Their heirs, with the title-deeds, will come after them. If they have none, their creditors will step in as owners.

Sooner or later the farmer must pay for the land. The real object of the Land League, as established by Davitt and Parnell, was to get the land for the farmers at the lowest possible price.

There is no other way to get it, except by a successful fight with England; and in this way the price must be paid for it, in money and blood and a ravaged country.

England would prefer to see the Irish people keep their attention fixed on the land question alone. It would induce them to expend their time and energy on a difficulty that can be settled in the end without disturbing Great Britain in the least.

The thing that England really fears is the Irish knife approaching the bond of Union. This is what she will cover up and defend to the last stake. Since the Poynings Act was passed, four hundred years ago, she has had one deliberate policy for Ireland,—to destroy all hope of separate nationality, to make the country an English province, even if in doing so she made it a desert. We shall see her reason further on.

The Irish Parliament of the last century was only a concession granted in a moment of panic. It was made void at the first possible moment of safety to England.

It is pitiable to see Irishmen unable to realize that until this unnatural ligature is cut the very circulation of blood in the national life of Ireland is regulated by the English heart. The public official network of a country is its circulating system. This was clear to Michael Davitt's vision when two years and a half ago he said: "We must seize the offices."

Some others object to the Irish Parliamentary movement, on the ground that it would be better for the Irish farmers to purchase the land from the English government, and then go on with the agitation for a national Parliament. These critics surely cannot have seriously considered their proposition. If the question has eventually to come to actual purchase, as is evident, the English Parliament, composed of landlords, many of them the very landlords interested, would compel the Irish farmers to pay an exorbitant and arbitrary price for the land. What reason is there to think they would act differently? They have the power, and it would be for their interest to use it. Have the English lawmakers ever been so generous to Ireland that she may trust them with this important business?

But, it will be said, if they asked too high a price the farmers would not agree to pay it. Well, what is gained by a deadlock? Time is lost, the people are impoverished, and when the matter is eventually settled the country will have to begin a new agitation, with an old organization. Why should the national question be thus delayed, when by using double harness the Land question and the Parliamentary question will strongly help each other?

There is only one safe and equitable way to manage the sale of the land of Ireland. It must be done by valuers appointed by an Irish Parliament, representing all classes of the Irish people. England has nothing to do with it. These valuers should base their estimates on the present market value, as settled by land in America and other countries, and take into account the unjust extortions from actual holders in past years. This is a purely Irish question, and if the English Parliament is allowed to have anything to do with it the Irish farmers will be the losers.

A fear exists in some minds that Ireland would give up some precious right by entering into a federal union with England—that it would forever bind her to abandon complete independence. This is absurd. Canada has a federal union with England, and surely it would be easier for Canada to declare her independence than if she were situated as Ireland is at present.

Some other critics condemn the idea of a federal union with

England, on the ground that the latter country has never kept faith; that Ireland is virtually at war with her; that it is a lowering of principle to make any terms whatever with her; that Ireland has sore reason to hate and distrust her, and ought to repudiate every connection with her as dangerous and accursed.

With this class of opponents (they are the only critics that utterly disapprove the suggestions of my article), I am inclined in a large measure to agree. They argue with passion, but with probity. But the world, more's the pity, cannot be run on such ideal principles. The ways of men and nations are full of crookedness, selfishness, and falsehood. The relations of countries are at best a compromise. The weak, even if right, are unwise to refuse every honorable means to regain strength. Federal relations with England may be unsatisfactory, but at least they will be an improvement on the present miserable and destructive no-relations.

If there be any way by which Ireland can get rid of England, without coming to terms with her, it ought to be made known by those who oppose a federal union. The only way that we can see is to fight her with arms and drive out her armies. That will be a fight of five to thirty in number, and of five to a thousand in organization, wealth, and starting position. Is Ireland ready, or likely soon to be ready for that conflict? The men who believe in fight and understand all about it, the Revolutionists, say that Ireland is not ready, and will not be until England goes to war with a strong power.

But England will not go to war, "with Ireland at her back with a knife," as Wendell Phillips says. What, then, is to be done? Wait? But it may take a generation before the chance comes; and the present generation of men in Ireland deserve our consideration even more than the generation to follow them. The earth belongs to the men who are now alive on it.

Ireland is at war with England; admitted. But those who want legislative independence only desire to get Ireland treated according to decent warfare. At present she is treated as a nation of unruly rioters and conspirators, without any rights that the English authorities are bound to recognize.

Lastly, there are those who have misunderstood or misrepresented my words, who claim that my advice was to give up the Land League altogether, to "make a new issue," to "abandon the policy laid down by the imprisoned leaders," etc.

These are unjust and untrue assumptions; such a meaning was never dreamt of, nor expressed in my article. Simply and clearly the suggestion there offered was that the present magnificent organization of the Land League be strengthened, not changed or diverted, by taking up, gradually, the original object of an Irish

government for Ireland. But, all things considered, every objection made to the article, as well as every agreement with it, must be regarded as a favorable sign for the future of Ireland. Because, in almost every case, the objections were temperately made for discussion, and they were full of honest conviction.

No country ever agreed on its internal questions. Complete agreement would not work out the best results. The wholesome state is that in which all differences, however strong, face at least one way,—toward the common enemy. It is evident that the Irish people, scattered through the nations, are year by year drawing nearer to this condition.

The question of an Irish Parliament for Ireland is now fairly before England and the world. The leading paper in Ireland, the *Dublin Freeman's Journal*, a few weeks ago said: "The question of Home Rule, a few years ago, was only the sentiment of a small class. To-day it is the idea of all Ireland."

The Land Question is undoubtedly a matter of great importance to Ireland, as to any country. But, it may be overrated; and it has been and is overrated by Irishmen in particular. An overdependence on agricultural industry is a ruinous mistake for the present and future of the country. Even if the Land question could be settled separately, there are other vital interests that can only be attended to by an Irish government.

A need, even more important to Ireland than a peasant-proprietary, is the development of manufacturing industry. No country can be prosperous or safe that has not cultivated skilled labor, so that its natural products may be manufactured into valuable articles for the markets of the world. A pound of iron dug out of the earth may be worth one cent. When refined by skilled labor, made into steel, and manufactured into useful articles, it becomes worth two or three dollars. The country that sells its raw material has one cent; the country that manufactures it has two or three hundred per cent. more profit, besides the increased comfort of the people.

Ireland has extraordinarily rich resources which await the developing hand of her own government. The settlement of the Land question, no matter how it may be done, will leave them all untouched.

• In Tyrone, Waterford, Cork, Antrim, Down, and throughout Connaught, says a famous British geologist and statistician (Mr. T. F. Henderson), writing last year, "are immense stores of iron, which remain unutilized." The same writer says, that from what can now be seen, Ireland has at least 180,000,000 tons of available coal, from which she raises yearly only 130,000 tons; yet she imports over 2,000,000 tons yearly from England.

But even without coal, Ireland possesses abundance of excellent fuel in her peat. There are nearly 3,000,000 acres of bog-land in the island (2,830,000), and the average depth of peat on this enormous surface is 25 feet; in some cases it is over 40 feet.

Ireland has gold, silver, lead and copper, in districts well known to geologists. The work in any of these fields is inconsiderable, and must continue so till the national mind is aroused and instructed by intelligent and paternal care.

It will be, as it has been, the interest of England to keep Ireland in ignorance of her own wealth. There is hardly another portion of the earth, of equal size, with such a diversity of natural riches. Besides those named, there are mineral treasures of sulphur, salt, gypsum, antimony, arsenic, cobalt, magnesia, alum, and steatite. There are mineral springs in various places. There are invaluable clays for porcelain, an endless supply of lime, and a wonderful variety of marble, granite, and other building stone. The millions of acres of her surface capable of production, but now mostly laid down in grass, is unexcelled on the earth for richness and fertility.

Suppose these resources lay open to the scientific eye in the State of Massachusetts, or even in distant Colorado, how soon would the multifarious skill of miner and manufacturer transform them into untold wealth and comfort for the people.

But Ireland's wealth is not in her minerals alone. She has a vast advantage in position; she has the Atlantic side of England, and her coast is quite unlike the outline of Great Britain. This is at once Ireland's advantage and the cause of her misery. England has only two or three great harbors, and these are on the dangerous English Channel; while Ireland has thirty-one harbors suitable for the largest ships and frigates, besides an immense number for coasting vessels. And with this, she has an unrivalled water-power, in her swift rivers, at present almost quite unused.

How are these possibilities to be developed? The establishment of a peasant proprietary will not solve the problem. The "abolition of the landlords," even by an infinite continuance of "no rent," will not do it. England will be glad to see Ireland spending her strength on a fight with the landlords, instead of using it to get back her government, under which she might grow rich and powerful by industrial and commercial development. •

Let this be kept constantly in mind: England does not hold Ireland now merely to make money out of her. As a matter of fact, she keeps her of late years at a loss, and would keep her at a still greater one. It is not as an investment she values her, but as a security against rivalry. It is England's set purpose, because it is her interest to keep Ireland poor and undeveloped. Ireland is too

near and has too many natural advantages to be allowed to grow prosperous and independent, and perhaps dangerous.

If Ireland were ruled by her own people for the next twenty-five years she would take her place as a nation with a magnificent future. She has enough natural resources, and her people have enough intelligence to win one of the first places among the nations of the world.

England must let her have her own Parliament if the Irishmen in Ireland and America make up their minds that it shall be so. They need not appeal to her justice; it is a matter of necessity. For her own safety England must yield. The Irish have grown to be a menacing power. Their kindred in America are potent factors of public opinion. England's interests are in constant danger of collision with American interests. They will rush into each other some time. England's prosperity could be broken in a short time by an anti-English policy in the United States; and outside the Irish element her enemies in America are legion. Her foreign possessions keep her in constant danger of rupture with the great powers. With Ireland in her present temper, England cannot venture on a war with a powerful enemy. She must either satisfy Ireland or swallow a national insult, and while she stands on guard in Dublin and Cork, see her name sink and her rich foreign possessions diminish.

This year the demand for an Irish government for Ireland shall be made. It is made already, and the silent demand has been recognized by England. Words are not needed to show her the inevitable. The Irish must be satisfied, or England's future is in danger—that is clear to her.

The differences of opinion among the Irish do not give her comfort now. They are not the kind of differences she wants; quite the contrary. The least that is asked by the most conservative men is a repeal of the Union and an Irish Parliament. The Irishmen who disagree with these, propose not only complete independence, but the destruction of the whole British aristocratic fabric by a socialistic revolution, in which her own impoverished masses will be invited to participate.

There are, therefore, three horns to the English dilemma, and three immediate horns. She must sit on one, if Irishmen are not blind to their own interests. There is no other way out. Unless a mistaken policy is adopted, Ireland will have her own Parliament within two years at most, probably within one. Never since England bound her into subjection has her present opportunity been equalled. She has grown up to it. All that is needed is the national sentiment of the Irish people, expressed through their present splendid Land League organization.

The main requirement now is the central figure of a Man. That man is in prison, and this, even more than the anti-landlord policy, is the secret of his imprisonment. Gladstone knows, and England knows, that Parnell meant and means to cut the tie between the countries that is strangling Ireland.

There is one comforting thought about his imprisonment. It has separated him from all other men in the hearts of the Irish people. It has intensified and unified his power. He will not have to agitate any more; he will only need to speak. What might have taken years to do, he will be able to accomplish in a week. They imprisoned a man; when they release him they will release an Idea.

THE PRACTICE OF SHAVING IN THE LATIN CHURCH.

Catalanus. Commentaria in Pont. Rom.

Christianus Lupus. Opera omnia.

Baronius. Annales Eccles.

THE present discipline of the clergy of the Latin Church is opposed to the wearing of beards. An attempt to innovate in this matter was severely rebuked, and effectually checked in 1863, by the Papal Nuncio in Bavaria; and the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore direct all the clerics under their charge to conform themselves to the discipline of the clergy of Rome, where beards are not tolerated.¹

A close study of this matter will prove useful and not without interest. We need hardly say that some unfounded theories and false opinions are circulated, the origin of which is undoubtedly to be ascribed to a lack of knowledge of the ancient discipline of the Church. Of those opinions and theories we do not wish to write a direct and elaborate refutation; they must necessarily fall to the ground before an accurate statement of the practice and custom of the Latin Church with regard to the shaving of the beard. Being under the impression that every member of the American clergy will feel interested in giving this subject close and serious attention, we desire to exhibit, in its briefest form possible, the prac-

¹ Num. 151 et docum. IV. in Append. "De Barba a Clericis haud gestanda."

tice of the Latin clergy, the discipline of the Western Church, its antiquity, its origin, its mystical signification.

Let it be remembered that the wearing or shaving of beards is a matter of discipline, that, therefore, with regard to faith and morals, it is a matter of perfect indifference; with interior sanctity it has nothing to do, and our future heavenly glory will not (thank God) be dependent on the size or shape of the wool of our countenance. "Quid enim," we ask with Ratramnus, "refert ad justitiæ non tantum perfectionem, verum etiam inchoationem barbæ detonsio vel conservatio?" L. IV. *Contra Græcorum oppos.* c. 5. However, the love of the Church comprises the love of her discipline; and docile, obedient, dutiful ecclesiastics are ever ready to comply with her ordinances even in matters apparently trifling. The Holy Ghost, moreover, warns us not to despise little things: "Qui spernit modica, paulatim decidet."¹ "Qui fidelis est in minimo et in majori fidelis est; et qui in modico iniquus est, et in majori iniquus est."² When, furthermore, we remember that the Church of Rome is our "Mater et Magistra,"³ whose name we adopt and fondly retain by calling ourselves "Roman Catholics," we must admit that there is much inconsistency in boasting of following the Church of Rome step by step, and in exhibiting in our very persons a conspicuous difference with her in a point of her discipline which is both ancient and modern.

To preclude objections that have evidently nothing to do with the matter under consideration, it is necessary to examine, in this matter, the legislation of Moses and the discipline of the Greek or Eastern Church.

I. We admit that the Jews were forbidden by the Mosaic law to shave their beards; we admit that our blessed Lord let his beard grow in accordance with this Jewish custom and in compliance with the law of Moses. Nevertheless, the discipline of the Latin Church has ever been different from that Jewish custom and from that practice of our Lord.

Let us examine the law of Leviticus concerning the beards of the Jews and inquire into its object. The Lord ordered Moses to give to the whole congregation of the children of Israel the following ordinance: "Neque in rotundum attondebitis comam: nec radetis barbam."⁴ Moses was also ordered to say to the Priests, sons of Aaron: "Non radent caput, nec barbam, neque in carnibus suis facient incisuras."⁵ The same precept was renewed and extended to the Levites, sons of Sadoc, by the Lord speaking to

¹ Eccl. i. xix. 1.

² Pius V. constit. quo primum.

³ Ibid. xxi. 5.

⁴ Luc. xvi. 10.

⁵ Levit. xix. 27.

Ezechiel as follows : " Caput autem suum non radent, neque comam nutrient : sed tondentes attendent capita sua."¹

What was the object of so strange a precept, and why did God legislate on so trifling a matter ? A Lapidé will answer that question briefly : " Hæc (viz., radere caput et barbam et facere incisuras in carne) in luctu faciebant gentiles, ideoque ea vetita sunt Judais."² But when a Lapidé says in an off-hand way that the secular clergy used to wear their beards, and the monks to shave smooth, he is, as we shall see, not a little beside the mark.³

The object, then, of this divine precept, forbidding the shaving of the beard, was to remove people and priests the farthest away possible from all the practices of the priests of idols. St. Jerome bears witness to it : " Perspicue demonstratur nec rasis capitibus, sicut sacerdotes, cultoresque Isidis atque Serapidis, nos esse debere."⁴

What was the practice of those idolatrous priests ? In Asia the Babylonian priests shaved their heads and faces : " In domibus eorum (idolorum) sacerdotes sedent, habentes tunicas scissas, et capita et barbam rasam, quorum capita nuda sunt."⁵ The priests of Baal, in the presence of Elias, cut their own flesh with knives : " Clamabant voce magna et incidebant se juxta ritum suum cultris et lanceolis, donec perfunderentur sanguine."⁶ In Egypt, as Herodotus informs us (Euterpe), the same cruel practice was indulged in, and it lasted to the very time of Lactantius.⁷ Baronius, in his ecclesiastical annals,⁸ quotes two pagan authors, Lucian (de dea Syra) and Apuleius (de Asino Aureo), whose statements corroborate what we have said. Speaking of the antiquity of the temple of the Syrian goddess, the construction of which was ascribed to Deucalion, they inform us that " in that temple, priests, eunuchs without beards, offered sacrifice and cut their own flesh with knives, whilst that sacrifice was going on." And Lucian continues to inform us that " the people that would go to the temple of the Syrian Goddess would shave the hair of their heads, eyebrows, and beards," and concludes thus : " Certis autem notis compunguntur omnes, alii quidem in vola manus, alii autem in cervice : et inde est quod cuncti Assyrii notas inustas habent."⁹ That practice, therefore, must have been a widespread, almost a universal one, as we find it both in Europe and Asia ; it must also have been an inveterate one, as we find it in the fourth century mentioned by Lactantius, quoted above ; and the shaving of head, eyebrows, and beards is hinted at in Martial's expressions :

¹ Ezech. xlv. 20.

² Id. in Levit. xix. 27.

³ Baruch vi. 30.

⁴ Instit. L. I. c. 21.

⁵ Opud Baron. loc cit.

⁶ A Lap. in Levit. xxi. 5.

⁷ S. Hier. in Ezech. xlv. 20.

⁸ III. Reg. xviii. 28.

⁹ Ad annum 58.

"Cohors pilata" and "Linigeri calvi" are borne witness to by St. Ambrose: "Et cum ipsi capita et supercilia sua radant, si quando Isidis suscipiunt sacra."³

These words of St. Ambrose are remarkable in that they pass by the shaving of beards. The reason is that St. Ambrose was speaking of prominent citizens of Rome. The latter were in the habit of shaving smooth, and had, therefore, only to shave their heads and eyebrows in order to be deemed worthy to sacrifice to Isis. It is this custom of shaving among Roman patricians that gave rise to the custom of shaving among the Roman clergy, as the Roman toga became the pattern of the Roman cassock. But we ought not to anticipate; we will see this presently. Let us now draw our conclusion.

We have conclusive evidence that the practice of worshippers of false gods, both priests and people, was to shave every hair of their bodies and to inflict deep gashes in their own flesh; we have in the Ancient Testament strict precepts forbidding Jews and their priests to shave and to cut themselves,—can there, then, be the least doubt in any one's mind that God, in those enactments, had for object to establish a conspicuous difference between His people and the benighted worshippers of idols?

But this divine precept expired with the death of Christ and has lost its power to bind us; not only because the object of removing us from idolatry has no more any practical utility, but mainly because that precept belonged to the ceremonial part of the Mosaic law, which ceased at the coming of the Messias, as St. Thomas teaches.⁴ There is, therefore, no greater obligation to wear beards than to be circumcised.

II. As some of the holy fathers have severe strictures against the shaving of the beard, we must say a word of the practice of the Greek or Eastern Church. There have been, from time immemorial, slight differences in matters of discipline between the Greek and the Latin portions of the Catholic Church; the former use leavened, the latter unleavened bread in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass; the former never fast on Saturdays, among the latter Saturdays are not excepted from the Lenten fast; in the Greek Church the sacrament of confirmation is administered by priests, among the Latins the bishop alone administers that sacrament; the Greek clergy wear long beards, the Latin clergy shave smooth. Such and other differences, by which the doctrine of the true faith is not affected, should never have occasioned a schism between the East

¹ Epigram. Lib. x. 48.

² Ibid. xii. 29, Cf. Forcellini Lexicon.

³ S. Ambros. ad sabin., Ep. lviii.

⁴ 1, 2, qu. ciii. art. 3.

and the West. Human nature, however, is prone to evil, and man's original wickedness tears asunder the bond of peace that ought to unite us all in Christ. The foul work of sowing cockle was begun in the council "in Trullo" and consummated by Photius; and the latter, among the many accusations he brought against the Latins, made a grievous matter of their practice of shaving their beards, though he was, himself, a glabrous, smooth-faced eunuch: "Cum alioquin ipse esset eunuchus glaber."

This charge brought against the Latin clergy is unreasonable and foolish in the extreme; but when, for reasons of vanity and worldliness, some of the Greek clergy departed from the practice of wearing long beards, a practice ancient and universal among them, there is no reason why we should be surprised at the severity of the expressions of Greek fathers. The first we meet is the author of the *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, which constitutions, let it be said by the way, are not, at least in their present shape, the work of St. Clement: "Constitutiones quas vocant apostolicas," says Mansi,² "opus esse spurium, ab iis, quibus ascribuntur, apostolis, tum et ab ipsa apostolarum ætate penitus alienum, nemo theologus modo ignorat vel diffitetur." That work, however, is very old, and it has the following: "Oportet præterea non barbæ pilum corrumpere, nec formam hominis contra naturam mutare. 'Non enim,' inquit lex, 'depilabitis barbas vestras.' Nam decori gratia creator Deus læves mulieres fecit; id porro viris inconcinnum merito iudicavit. Tuvero, si hæc uti placeas feceris, legis violator execrabilis eris apud Deum qui te ad imaginem suam fecit."

The "Constitutiones Apostolicæ" contain the rites and practices of the Eastern Church; no wonder, therefore, that they favor the wearing of beards. The chapter we have quoted is intitled: "De ornatu, et peccato inde proficiscente," and begins with cautioning men against the wickedness of dressing their hair with a view of favorably impressing persons of the weaker sex. The very passage adduced by us refers to that wicked intention: "Tu vero, si hæc uti placeas feceris." Let us add that in the above quotation no mention is made of clerics or monks, and we think we are justified in concluding that the subject we are treating is not affected by the passage in question.

Another writer, very severe on the custom of shaving, is Clement of Alexandria: "Est enim turpe spectaculum: barbæ ad cutem usque tonsura non videtur multum abesse a vulsione et lævore etc."⁴ In that chapter of his *Pædagogus*, Clement gives a com-

¹ Baron. ad annum, 58.

² Constit. L. i. c. 3.

³ Concil. I.

⁴ Pædag. L. iii. c. 11.

pendious rule of life to all Christian men and women, without making any particular allusions to the clergy.

The same remark applies to the third chapter of the same book of Clement of Alexandria, "*Pædagogus*," where he inveighs against Christian men becoming effeminate, and losing the very appearance of virility. The heading of that chapter is "*Adversus viros qui formam colunt*." The Pedagogue, therefore, intends to castigate men who plucked their beards for vanity sake; his remarks do not apply to priests who, for mystical reasons, comply with a custom of long standing. He writes as follows: "*Ad molitiem declinantes, plane effeminantur, illiberali quidem tonsu ac meretricio se tondentes. . . . Quid de iis dixerit quispiam qui eos viderit? Certe tamquam metoposcopus (a physiognomist) ex habitu divinat esse adulteros, effeminatos, utrique Veneri deditos, pilis infestos, glabros, florem virilem abhorrentes, comas, non secus ac mulieres, ornantes.*" Then, venting his well-deserved wrath against barbers who made themselves instrumental in keeping up a fashion so objectionable, he proceeds thus: "*Eos enim, qui viri sunt, radi ac lævigari, quomodo non est degeneris? . . . Eum, qui vir est, pecti et tonderi, crines componentem ad speculum, genasque radi, velli ac deglabrari, quomodo non est plane muliebre? . . . Deus enim voluit feminam quidem esse glabram ac lævem, sola coma, sicut equum juba, sponte naturæ exultantem: virum autem cum sicut leones barba ornasset, virilem etiam fecit hirsuto pectore, quod quidem est roboris et imperii judicium. . . . Id ergo violare quod est virilis naturæ signum, scilicet hirsutum, est impium.*" Those strictures are perfectly applicable to Christian men of the laity; but to apply them, as A Lapide does, to a clergy who, through their vow of celibacy, place themselves above all differences of sexes, and are leading, by anticipation, the life of those that "neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are like angels,"—that is an evident proof of lack of argument. What business has a priest to take precious care of the sign of the virile sex on his face, if he has voluntarily renounced the carnal pleasure with which that sex is connected? We could place this reason in much stronger light; but the matter is delicate, and we turn to the next holy father, St. Epiphanius.

St. Epiphanius¹ comes nearer to the point, inasmuch as he speaks of priests: "*Illi enim tametsi e sacerdotum numero sint.*"² He rebukes them in the following language: "*Sed deterius quiddam ac contrarium ab illis (Massalianis) geritur: siquidem isti barbam, id est, propriam viri formam, resecant; capillos vero ut plurimum prolixiores habent. Atqui quod ad barbam attinet, in Apostolorum Constitutionibus divino sermone ac dogmate præscribitur ne ea*

¹ Hæc. 80, n. 7.

² Ibid. n. 6.

corrumpatur." The "corrumpatur" is the expression of the LXX., where, in the Latin Vulgate, we have "radetis." St. Epiphanius quotes, as we see, the Apostolical Constitutions. If we admit, with Tillemont, that the Doctrines of the Apostles, quoted by St. Athanasius and Eusebius, are different from these Constitutions, we must infer that St. Epiphanius was the first who quoted the latter; from which many draw the inference that those "Constitutiones" were written only a little before the time of St. Epiphanius. The argument, then, he makes use of against the Massalians, is not very convincing, not only because the defence to shave did not originate with the Apostles, those Constitutions not being the latter's work, but also because the ceremonial part of the Divine Law, where that defence is contained, was abrogated with the spread of Christianity. We dismiss this part of our subject, on which we have dwelt already too long, with one remark. If fathers of the Greek or Eastern Church are using strong language in condemnation of the custom of shaving, we must bear in mind that they speak for the clergy of the Eastern Church, and we would be wrong in construing their words so as to imply a censure of the practice of the Latin clergy. Those same fathers sat in œcumenical councils with Latin fathers; they saw the smooth-shaved faces of the latter, and never quarrelled about a matter so trivial; to Photius, the ambitious hypocrite, the author of the "Greek Schism," was reserved the odium of tearing asunder, for that trifling reason, the tunic of Christ. We will treat what we have to say of beards, with regard to the Latin clergy, under the following heads:

1. The origin of the practice of shaving.
2. The antiquity and universality of that practice in Europe.
3. Its mystical signification.

I. ITS ORIGIN.

We write without prejudice; we are not haters of beards, and we repudiate the term of "misopogon" used by A Lapide; we are lovers of ecclesiastical discipline, and it is as such that we venture to come forward on ground seldom trodden before. Our ecclesiastical and liturgical practices have, for the most part, two original causes: one may be called "historical," the other "religious." The light, for instance, we use in our churches, has for religious cause the chandelier with seven branches in the Ancient Temple; its historical origin may be traced to the darkness of the Catacombs, where lamps were an indispensable requisite. We will begin with the "historical" origin of the custom of shaving among the Latin clergy.

I. The following practical rule, with which the Church generally complies, shows her superior wisdom. When working at the

conversion of a nation, her first missionaries adopt the customs, the dress, the external appearance of that nation, in order to remove all the prejudice people naturally have against foreigners; but when the conversion of that nation is an accomplished fact, the Church is jealously careful to establish a conspicuous difference in dress and external appearance between the laity and the clergy, in order to remind the latter of the sanctity of their calling, and the purity of life that calling requires. In compliance with that rule, Albanian priests wear a light mustache, Chinese priests shave their heads, the apostles of the Jews and of Greek nations did wear long beards, and the clergy of Rome did shave smooth, *because the Romans were accustomed to that practice*. This statement ought to be well demonstrated.

We do not mean to say that ever since the foundation of Rome, patricians kept up the custom of shaving their beards, for every reader of Roman history remembers the Roman senators, who, at the time of the first invasion of the Gauls, remained seated on their curule chairs in the forum, and relied on the impression that the sight of their imposing beards would produce on the victors. Ovid calls the ancient Romans his "unshaved ancestors:"

"Denique quodcumque est, quo corpora nostra piantur,
Hoc habet intonsos nomen habebat avos."¹

Scipio, the African, is said to have been the first Roman who took to the use of razors; and Ticinius, a Sicilian, is supposed to have introduced that custom into Rome from his country.² Be that as it may, certain it is that, at the time of the preaching of the Christian doctrine, the Roman emperors, and Roman citizens generally, were in the habit of shaving their beards, and the Roman clergy followed that practice. We are aware that a certain way of plucking out one's beard, so as to have a glossy, womanlike appearance, is found fault with in Julius Cæsar and Emperor Otho by Suetonius, and in the early Christians by Tertullian and St. Cyprian: "Cæterum et viris propter feminas et feminis propter viros, vitio naturæ ingenita est placendi voluntas, propriasque præstigias formæ et hic sexus sibi agnoscit, *barbam acrius cedere*, intervellere, circumradere, capillum disponere . . . omnia illa ut otiosa, ut hostilia pudicitiae recusantur."³ The "corrupta barba in viris"⁴ of St. Cyprian, his words, "cumque scriptum sit, 'non corrumpetis effigiem barbæ vestræ,' *barbam vellit* et faciem suam comit (sc. peccator qui lavacra cum feminis quotidie cebbret),"⁵ and his second quotation of the above text of Leviticus under the heading "*Non vellendum*,"⁶ have an evident reference to the same practice of plucking out one's beard altogether with effeminate intentions.

¹ L. ii. Fastorum.

² Tertull. ii. De Cultu Femin., c. 8.

³ Ibid., c. 30.

⁴ Plin. L. vii. c. 59.

⁵ S. Cypr. De Lapsis., c. 6.

⁶ Id. Lib. iii. Testim., c. 84.

The better to understand those and similar passages of ancient fathers, such as "Placebit et ille qui vultus suos novacula mutat? Infidelis erga faciem suam quam non contentus Saturno et Isidi et Libero proximam facere, etc.;"¹ and "cutem fingere, collum demulcere,"²—we must bear in mind that some of the ancient Romans used a surgical instrument, a kind of pincers, called "volsella" and "vulsella," to pull out the hair of their beards with its root, so as to prevent it from growing again. Forcellini defines the "volsella," "instrumentum pilis e corpore radicitus *evellendis* idoneum;" and Martial³ refers to that practice: "Purgentque sævæ cana labra volsellæ."

Leaving that objectionable practice out of the question, we say, with Baronius, that the habitual shaving of the beard was a Roman custom, and that, consequently, the Roman clergy adopted it. "Barbæ illa abrasio, quæ more majorum absque fuco, arteve simpliciter facta esset, æque communis Romanis omnibus erat. . . . Christiani Romæ agentes cur non sicut ceteri, abrasa incederent barba, cum honestus, spectatusque haberetur ejusmodi communis omnium cultus, nec aliqua vel levis saltem esset ejus observationis superstitio?"⁴ Gellius,⁵ quoted by Baronius, informs us that the practice of shaving was, in the Romans, a mark of nobility, giving us to understand that slaves only wore beards: "In Occidente, atque potissimum Romæ, qui præsertim maturioris ætatis erant, tamquam quoddam nobilitatis insigne, radere barbam consueverant."⁶ Even some Greeks in the East are reported by Dio Chrysostomus to have followed that Roman custom: "Quinetiam inter Græcos nonnullos in suis ipsorum regionibus, quo se Romanorum studiosos esse signo aliquo præ se ferrent, testatur Dio⁷ consuevisse contra Græcorum omnium suorumque gentilium consuetudinem, barba rasos incedere *more Romanorum*."⁸ This custom of shaving was still in vogue at the time of the invasion of the Goths; we have a proof of it in the sarcastic epigrams of Ennodius, who became Bishop of Pavia, against a certain Jovinian, who, wearing a beard like a Barbarian, wore a cloak, "lacerna," like a Roman.

"De Joviniano, qui cum haberet barbam Gothicam Lacerna vestitus processit. Ex tempore,

1. Barbaricam faciem Romanos sumere cultus
Miror, et in modico distinctas corpore gentes.

ALITER.

2. Romuleam tegetem nox oris nubila fuscet:
Oppressit vestes tenebroso tegmine vultus.

¹ Tert. De Spect., c. 23.

² Epigr. L. ix. 28.

³ Lib. iii. c. 4.

⁷ Orat. 36.

² Id. De Pallio., c. 4.

⁴ Baron. am, 58.

⁶ Apud Bar. l. c.

⁸ Bar. l. c.

ALITER.

3. Nobilibus tollis genium, male compte, lacernis,
Discordes miscens inimico fœdere proles,"¹

The influx of the Barbarians must have put an end to that custom, but it was kept up by the Roman emperors and by the clergy.

There are still extant numerous ancient medals and pieces of coin with the true effigy of the emperors that struck them; the latter are represented without beard. Adrian was the first Roman emperor who wore beard. "Notatus est a Dione² et aliis Hadrianus, qui primus omnium barbatus incessit, vel alii post eum, sed non sic tamen ut ceteri Romanorum ipsos imitarentur."³

The Roman emperors that withdrew from Rome and resided in Constantinople continued the Roman practice of shaving; a bust of Constantine I., preserved to our time, represents that emperor with a smooth-shaved countenance. Julian, the apostate, who affected the appearance of a philosopher, and wore a long beard after the philosophers' fashion, became the object of the sarcasm of the Christians of Antioch; they derided the novelty of a bearded emperor: "Insuetam Imperatori formam in ipso riserunt."⁴ Julian retorted by writing his "Misopogon," where he says: "Ne quisquam existimet me ex maledicto isto gravius commoveri. Ipse enim causam prætereo, qui hircorum simile mentum gero, cum possim hoc læve, glabrumque efficere."⁵ His successors did not imitate his example; Justinian shaved his beard: "Justinianus erat mento rasmus, ritu Romanorum."⁶ Notice the expression, "ritu Romanorum," which proves that the shaving of the beard was a Roman custom. Heraclius shaved when ascending the imperial throne: "Heraclius barba fuit lata atque prolixa, sed Imperator factus extemplo comam totondit ac mentum rasisit, qui est Imperatorum habitus."⁷ Observe the words, "qui est Imperatorum habitus," an evident proof of the custom of emperors to shave smooth. Constantine IV. changed that custom, and was hence called "Pogonatus," the bearded.

Beards were so scarce in Rome that the wandering philosophers, at the time of Horace, who displayed their love of wisdom by the length of their beards, were exposed to being plucked by their whiskers by the boys on the streets:

"Vellunt tibi barbam
Lascivi pueri."⁸

That custom of ancient philosophers is pleasantly referred to by Horace,⁹ when he says: "*Sapientem* pascere barbam," and when

¹ Ennod. Ticin. Epigr. 57, 58, 59.

² Dio in Hadr.

³ Bar. l. c.

⁴ Christ. Lupus. De S. Leonis Actis., c. xv.

⁵ Jul. apud eundem.

⁶ Fasti Alexandr. apud eundem.

⁷ Georg. Cedr. histor. comp. anno mundi 603.

⁸ Horat. L. i., sat. 3.

⁹ L. ii., sat. 3.

he begs all the gods and goddesses to send a barber to Damasippus :

" Di te, Damasippe, Dæque
Verum ob consilium donent tonsore !"

But we must refrain from quoting St. John Chrysostom and Theodoretus on "philosophic" beards, for fear of tiring the patience of our readers by excessive long-windedness, and we sum up what we have said of the historical origin of the practice of shaving of the Roman clergy. The Romans, at least since the time of Scipio the African were accustomed to shave ; the Roman emperors followed the same practice. Beards were an unusual thing among the Romans, with the exception of philosophers ; it is, therefore, more than likely that the early Roman Christians complied with that national custom, and it is a remarkable fact that while Christians, at the time of Tertullian, were derided for wearing the "pallium," and giving up the "toga," a charge against which he wrote his most sarcastic book, "De Pallio," they were never taken to task for wearing beards,—a proof that they made no exception to the general custom of shaving. All foreigners were called by the Romans "Barbari." This word comes from "Barba" et "rus," because barbarians wore beards and lived in villages.¹ We conclude with the words of Baronius:² "Sic igitur Clementem, sic Pudentem Senatorii ordinis homines, sic denique sive Romanos, sive ceteros Romæ agentes, exceptis Orientalibus, attonsos barba fuisse, nulla dubitatio esse debet." And yet, after saying so, the learned cardinal allows his editor to print an engraving representing St. Clement with a large beard. So true it is that

"Pictoribus atque Poetis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas !"

We may, however, add that it is not admitted by all that St. Clement was a Roman citizen ; the appellation of citizen, "politou," πολιτου, which is added to his name in the title of the "Constitutiones Apostolicæ," being surmised by some to be the name of St. Hippolyte, who is supposed to have published and enlarged those Apostolical Constitutions. But let us proceed with our subject and speak of the *religious* origin of the custom of shaving among the Latin clergy.

II. We must here premise a remark which throws a considerable amount of light on the subject we are treating, and which will be made evident by the quotations to be adduced : the shaving of the beard was considered as *part and parcel of the ecclesiastical tonsure*, so that the tonsure consisted in the shaving of the beard and the

¹ Cassiodor in Ps. In Exitu.

² l. c.

shaving of part of the head in the shape of a crown, hence the name "corona." To prove this briefly, we will call attention to the constant practice of joining together the shaving of the crown and the shaving of the beard when speaking of ecclesiastical tonsure; and a canon of the Council of Bourges, to be quoted below, says explicitly: "Tonsuram ecclesiasticam habeant, hoc est, barbam rasam et coronam in capite."

St. Peter, being a native of Palestine and originally an Israelite, wore a long beard; but the heathens shaved both his head and beard, and from that time the ecclesiastical tonsure came into existence: "Petrus a Paganis captus et ad ludibrium Christianorum barba rasmus et capite decalvatus et in gyrum attonsus; hoc deinceps ipse in mysterio in ecclesia fieri instituit," so says the anonymous author of a very ancient Chronology, quoted by Christianus Lupus.¹ Is this an historical fact or a legendary tradition which may be either piously believed or discarded without harm? We shall not decide; but we could adduce such weight of testimony as would force the scales down in favor of the former alternative.

The most ancient testimony is that of St. Gregory of Tours: "Petrus Apostolus ob humilitatem docendam caput desuper tonderi instituit."² This passage of St. Gregory does not, it is true, mention the shaving of the beard; it is none the less remarkable, as it derives the origin of the tonsure from St. Peter; the tonsure including, as we have said, the shaving of the beard. However, for briefness sake, and in order to steer clear of the controversy as to the time when the tonsure was first generally adopted,³ we will refrain from quotations that do not express explicitly the shaving of the beard. The venerable Bede mentions a vision and a miraculous cure with which a boy of great virtue and piety was favored; in his vision the latter saw the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, the former *was shaved like a cleric*, the latter had a flowing beard; this evidently points to the absence of beard as part of the clerical tonsure. "Præclari omnino habitus et vultus erant, lætissimi ac pulcherrimi, quales numquam ante videram. Unus quidem attonsus erat ut clericus, alius barbam habebat prolixam; dicebantque quod unus eorum Petrus, alius vocaretur Paulus."⁴

We will give afterwards the words of Ratramnus; a similar fact, related by St. Peter Damian, will close this chapter: "Quod mihi a senioribus intimatum est, refero: In Babylonie partibus possessionem sedes apostolica habebat, unde tantum balsami reditum per annos singulos capiebat, quod indeficienti fomite sufficeret

¹ De Oct. Syn. Gen., c. v.

² De Gloria Mart., Lib. i. c. 28.

³ Thomassin and Hallier assign the sixth century, but are refuted by Martene and Catalanus.

⁴ Hist. Eccles., L. iv. c. 14.

lampadi, quæ videlicet ante altare Beati Apostolorum Principis rutilabat appensa. Quam possessionem accepta pecunia papa distraxit, canonemque aromatis quem recipere solebat amisit. Aliquanto post, cum idem papa prædicto sacro-sancto altari, quasi devotus assisteret et oraret, ecce quidam terribilis et grandævus senex, *in cujus etiam facie barbirasium videbatur*, et ait. 'Tu extinxisti lucernam meam ante me et ego extinguam lucernam tuam ante Deum.' moxque disparuit. Ille vero protinus corruit, et paulo post diem clausit extremum."¹ Behold, it is by his smooth-shaved face that St. Peter is known.

Below, in a letter of Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, will be found additional proof of this tradition.

2. ANTIQUITY AND UNIVERSALITY.

By pointing out both the historical and the ecclesiastical origin of the Latin clergy's custom of shaving off their beard, we have given indirect proof of the antiquity of that custom; we desire now to give additional and more conclusive proof to demonstrate that that custom is as ancient as the Church of Christ; and this we will do by showing, at the same time, that the same custom was universal and perpetual in the Latin or Western portion of the Church. But, in order not to be misunderstood, we beg to state that we speak of a "rule" of discipline, to which, we admit, there were occasional and rare exceptions. Those exceptions are: 1st. When, during the invasion of the Barbarians, the Roman element disappeared in some countries which were then filled and settled by foreign nations all wearing beards, "Barbari," the clergy, for a time, followed their example, but came back, after a while, to the time-honored practice of shaving. Such is, we believe, the true explanation of a celebrated canon of Carthage and of another of Barcelona. 2d. It happened, now and then, that bishops and priests, mixed up with worldly people, abandoned the clerical mode of life and wore their beards long, as it was the fashion at the royal court and in the world generally; such was to a certain extent the motive of that archbishop to whom St. Gregory VII. administered a severe rebuke. 3d. There were in Europe, in Rome even among the Popes, Oriental or Eastern Christians, as Baronius intimates in the passage above quoted; yes, many Popes in the beginning of the Church belonged to that class of Christians that had been converted from Judaism. It is probable that many, nearly all of these wore their beards after the Oriental fashion. 4th. Julius II. was the first Pope who wore beard; the medals, struck at the beginning of his pontificate, representing him as being yet without beard; he let his beard grow to inspire greater respect, says

¹ Lib. i., Epist. 20.

Sponde.¹ His successors, Leo XI. and Adrian VI., did not follow his example, but continued the ancient custom of the Popes of shaving. The following Popes, until Clement XI., had some beard. Clement XI. shaved, and so did all his successors to this very day. The example of Julius II., and of twenty-four among his successors, were the cause that a great number of the clergy of the 16th and 17th centuries wore large beards, or only whiskers, or only mustaches. So much so, that Gavantus, in the form he gives for the "Scrutinium" during diocesan synods, places the following question: "An calceos, birretum, annulos, capillos, *barbam* habeant, quæ clericum decent?"² This gives us the reason why St. Francis de Sales and Mons. Olier did not shave. St. Charles Borromeo, in the beginning of his episcopate, wore beard; afterwards he gave the example of shaving to his clergy, and gave them strict orders, to which we shall have to refer again.

I. Such being the exceptions, let us prove the rule. We will begin with the words of St. Gregory VII., because they clearly establish the antiquity of the practice of shaving, and enjoin that practice as an ecclesiastical law: "Nolumus autem prudentiam tuam moleste accipere quod archiepiscopum vestrum Jacobum consuetudini Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, matris omnium Ecclesiarum, vestræque specialiter, obedire coegimus, scilicet ut, quemadmodum *totius occidentalis Ecclesiæ clerus, ab ipsis fidei Christianæ primordiis*, barbam radendi morem tenuit, ita et ipse frater noster, vester archiepiscopus raderet. Unde eminentiæ quoque tuæ præcipimus ut ipsum, ceu pastorem et spiritualementem patrem, suscipiens et auscultans, cum consilio ejus omnem tuæ potestatis clerum barbas radere facias atque compellas; res quoque omnino renuentium, nisi demum consenscrint, publices, id est, juri Calaritanæ Ecclesiæ tradas."³

After language so clear, so explicit and strong, will there be room for any doubt as to the prevalence of the custom of shaving in the Latin church? And yet, as the author of "Acta S. Gregorii VII." informs us (Migne Patrol Lat., Tom. 148, col. 22), there is a carved statue of that Holy Pontiff in Salerne, representing him with beard, and there are paintings in Rome from which one would infer that, during the age of St. Gregory, it was not the custom of the Latin clergy to shave. So much so, that this author expresses the belief that the wearing of beards was a general practice during that epoch. We do not know whether, when he expressed himself thus, he had present to his mind the words of St. Gregory VII. quoted just now: "Quemadmodum totius occi-

¹ Apud Catal. De Barba tond.

² Praxis Dioec. Syn. Parte IV., cap. 4, Form 6.

³ L. viii., Epist. x. Ad. orzocum Judicem Calarit.

dentalis Ecclesiæ clerus ab ipsis fidei Christianæ primordiis, barbam radendi morem tenuit." There is certainly but one way to get at the truth in this matter, and it is by taking no notice of the work of painters, engravers, and sculptors, with the exception of contemporaneous medals and authentic portraits. Surely he was not a gifted genius, the man who is responsible for the ridiculous pictures of some editions of the Roman Pontifical, where the bishop, during the performance of the same ceremony, is represented now shaved smooth and then with a huge beard, and where the clergy are seen to stand with their backs to the altar, talking, laughing in a most unbecoming manner. There may, perhaps, not be much harm in tolerating the fiction and extravagant notions of artists; but what is intolerable is the credulity of those who believe them. To destroy the impression that might be made by the mention of a statue representing St. Gregory VII. with beard, we will add that the above-quoted author of the "*Acta S. Gregorii VII.*" mentions another image of the same Roman Pontiff on which his countenance is without beard.

We shall lay no stress on the 44th canon of the 4th Council of Carthage, because there are two contrary readings of that canon, which has given rise to much discussion. As we have it now in the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, it reads thus: "*Clericus neque comam nutriat neque barbam.*" The other reading is: "*Clericus neque comam nutriat neque barbam radat;*" which is quite different. The leaving out of the word *radat* gave occasion to the following pleasant pun of A Lapide: "*Perperam ergo aliquis misopogon, ut barbam sacerdotibus eraderet, to radat erasit, uti erasum est in decreto Burchardi.*" Neither shall we insist on the letter of Alexander III. to the Archbishop of Canterbury, where he says: "*Clerici qui comam nutriunt et barbam, etiam inviti a suis archidiaconis tondeantur.*" The words "*et barbam*" are not in the manuscript. However, both these canons are laws of the Church, binding on the clergy in the shape in which they were incorporated into the "*Corpus Juris.*"

This may be the place to quote the text of the third canon of the 1st Council of Barcelona, of which we have given an explanation above in the third among the exceptions to the general rule. "*Ut nullus clericorum comam nutriat aut barbam radat.*" This canon was made for Spain at the time that Spain was overrun by Visigoths and other Barbarians wearing long beards, whom it was the clergy's primary duty to convert and to christianize; no wonder that bishops ordered their clergy to adopt, as far as possible, their way of living. But, before that time, the Spanish clergy did not shave, as we learn from a concise expression of St. Paulinus,

¹ Can. clericus 5. De vita et honest cler.

² Can. Clerici 7, ubi supra.

Bishop of Nola: "Casta informitate capillum ad cutem cæsi, et inaequaliter semitonsi, et destituta fronte prærasi,"¹ says he of his clergy. Let us bear in mind that St. Paulinus belongs to the 5th century and was contemporaneous with St. Augustine.

St. Jerome, who belongs to the same century, hurls the following sarcastic prophecy at the head of Jovinian, who had left his monastery, and is supposed by Christianus Lupus to have continued to belong to the clergy: "Velis, nolis, quamquam, *barbam raseris* inter (barbatos), hircos (in die judicii) numeraberis." He shaved before making his appearance among the clergy.

Giving to Vectius a most minute description of Germanicus, a holy priest of the church of Cantilla, in Aquitania, Sidonius Apollinaris, among other details, has the following: "Vestis astricta, tensus cothurnus, crinis in rotæ specimen accisus, *barba intra rugarum latebras mersis ad cutem secta forcipibus*,"²—a close cutting tantamount to a close shaving. We are aware that Sidonius Apollinaris, speaking of a saintly bishop, describes him with "coma brevi, barba prolixa." But he adds that the people had just then, by a holy violence, forced him to be ordained: "dixerunt, nuper impacto sacerdotio fungi."³ A Lapidè, therefore, does not act judiciously when quoting Sidonius Apollinaris in favor of beards;⁴ and Sirmondus (be it said with all respect to his learning) is rather hasty in inferring from that passage that such was the custom of the clergy of Gaul and of the whole Western Church,⁵ in Sidonius's time. There is too much proof to the contrary to warrant such a broad conclusion. We will find that very proof in Sidonius Apollinaris himself. In his letter to Petreius he gives a most elaborate encomium of the latter's uncle, the priest of Vienna, Claudianus, and sends his epitaph in elegant Latin verses. Although, says he of Claudianus, he had neither *the beard* nor the cloak of philosophers, he did not differ from Plato's school but by faith and holy life: "Licet crinem barbamque non pasceret."⁶ We must add that Sidonius Apollinaris also belongs to the fifth century.

The invectives of St. Jerome and St. Augustine against monks with long beards⁷ we will pass by as foreign to this part of our subject. But we find in St. Gregory of Tours, who lived one century later than those holy men, a proof that the Bishops of Gaul shaved in his time; a part of the penance enjoined on Ursicinus, Bishop of Cahors, was to abstain from cutting both his hair and his beard: "Ursicinus Cadurcensis episcopus excommunicatur pro eo

¹ Epist. 22 ad Severum, alias 7.

² Ibid., Ep. 24.

³ Not. ad h. l. Sid. Apoll.

⁷ Hircorum barba. S. Hier. ad Eustoch.

⁵ Lib. iv., Ep. 13.

⁴ L. cit.

⁶ L. iv., Ep. 11.

quod Gundovaldum excepiisse publice est confessus; accepto hujusmodi placito, ut poenitentiam tribus annis agens, neque capillum *neque barbam tonderet*, vino et carnibus abstineret, etc."¹

St. Lupus, Archbishop of Sens, was called back from exile by Clotaire; when the king saw him with long hair and long beard, "caput intonsum, barbamque minime rasam, ob cumulandum abstinentiæ rigorem," he was moved with compassion and gave orders to have him shaved: "jubet eum honorifice tractari, comamque et *barbam tonderi*."²

Thomassin quotes a passage from the life of St. Corbinian, Bishop of Freisingen, where it is said that, *according to his custom*, he had his face washed and shaved on the day of his death: "*Ex more abluens corpus, capillos sibi tonderi fecit et barbam radi*."³

Christianus Lupus mentions the remark of the Bertinian Annals of the Franks about a deacon, Dodo, that "as soon as he had joined the synagogue of the Jews he let his beard grow."⁴ And St. Columbanus, the well-known Irish abbot, among the punishments he inflicts on his monks, orders six lashes to be administered to the deacon whose beard is not shaved: "Sacerdos offerens qui ungulas non dempserit, et diaconus cui barba tonsa non fuerit, sex percussionibus (emendari statuitur)."⁵

We think we have furnished evidence enough to prove the universality of shaving among the Latin clergy in those centuries of transition between the Roman Empire and the Middle Ages, and we will, before commencing another order of arguments, add a few words of explanation of which the portrait of St. Gregory I. appears to be in need.

II. We owe to John the Deacon, a monk of Monte Cassino, a pen-drawing of the personal appearance of that great Pontiff. This "Joannes Diaconus" lived more than 250 years after St. Gregory I.; his description, therefore, was not made from the person of that Pope, but from a mosaic preserved in a certain monastery, which is supposed to have existed in Rome. He first describes a painting on which are represented St. Peter and Gordian, St. Gregory's father. The latter is depicted as follows: "Cujus Gordiani habitus castanei coloris planeta est, sub planeta dalmatica, in pedibus caligas habens: statura longa, facies deducta, *barba modica*, capilli condensi, etc." Then, after describing a second painting representing the likeness of Silvia, St. Gregory's mother, Joannes Diaconus begins his description of the great Pope in the following manner:

¹ Hist. Franc., L. viii. c. 20.

² Bar. ad ann., 631.

³ Discipl. Eccles., P. I., Lib. ii. c. 39.

⁴ Annal. Bert. Franc. ad ann. 539, apud Christ. Lup. De Oct. Syn. l. c.

⁵ Reg. S. Columb., c. 10.

"Statura justa et bene formata, facie de paterna faciei longitudine et maternæ rotunditate ita medie temperata, ut cum rotunditate quadam decentissime videatur esse deducta, *barba paterno more subfulva et modica*."¹ We first observe that St. Gregory I., in wearing his beard, seems to have intended to follow his father's example "*paterno more*." For what reason? This, we confess, is a hard question to solve. We observe in the second place that his beard was cut short, "*modica*." But, when we turn to the pictures, of St. Gregory that purpose to give his true likeness, we find that his lips and chin are shaved smooth, and that he wears short whiskers and a short beard under his chin, perhaps (as he is known, to have been of very delicate health) as a protection of his throat against a malady to which public speakers are not seldom subject. This portrait, therefore, of St. Gregory I. is of no weight against the thesis we have undertaken to demonstrate; and the same manner of shaving the lower part of the face and of allowing some beard to grow under the chin may be noticed on the portraits of other Popes before Julius II.

III. We call attention to the following arguments, which we consider to be proof against any attempt at refutation, viz.: the charge of shaving, brought time and again by the Greeks against the Latin clergy, a charge admitted by the latter, never denied and always accounted for.

Photius, as we have seen, was the first who was silly enough to make of this slight matter of discipline an apple of discord between the East and the West. "*Inter calumnias Photii in Romanam ac omnem Latinam Ecclesiam est illa profecto, quod nos Latini barbas radamus*."²

The same charge was made by Michael Cœrularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in the eleventh century, in his famous "*Edictum Synodale*," where he says of the Latins: "*Neque Scripturæ animum advertere volentes, quæ 'ne deglabretis,' ait, 'menta vestra;'* neque omnino animo volvere volentes, decorum id mulieribus creatorem Deum statuuisse, quod indecorum esset viris."³ It is, as we see, always the silly repetition of one of those ceremonial precepts that ceased to oblige long ago. That edict comprises the decree published against the Greek Schismatics by Humbertus, Cardinal Legate of St. Leo IX., in which the latter are accused of excommunicating clerics who shave their beards according to the custom of the Church of Rome: "*Comam capitis et barbam, veluti Nazareni nutrientes, eos qui comas tondent, et secundum institutionem Romanæ Ecclesiæ barbas radunt, in communionem non re-*

¹ Joan. Dial. Vita S. Greg., L. iv., c. 83, 84.

² Catalan in Pontif. Rom., Part. iii., tit. 29.

³ Migne. Patr. Gr., T. 120, col. 738.

cipiunt."¹ In his letter to Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, the same Michael Cœrularius not only reiterates that foolish charge, but, what is astonishing, gives it as one of the practices in which we imitate the Jews. How soon did that Patriarch forget that he had quoted, in defence of his beard, a Jewish practice and a precept of the Mosaic law. "Et quidem," says he, "quæ apud Judæos imitari peragunt (Latini) ista sunt: suffocata manducare, *radi*, Sabata servare, etc."² For this he received from Peter, the Patriarch to whom he had written, the following rebuke: "Porro quæ cumque a te enumeratæ sunt Latinorum vitia ac errata percurrimus. Et alia quidem eorum visa sunt detestanda atque fugienda, alia vero sanabilia, quædam denique digna quæ dissimulentur. Quid enim ad nos, si pontifices barbam radant? Nos quoque supra caput Gararam (tonsuram) facimus, in honorem omnino summi inter apostolos Petri, super quem magna Dei Ecclesia ædificata est (a splendid tribute to the Primacy of Peter). Quod enim in sancti contumeliam impii adinvenerunt, id nos pietate ducti in ejus gloriam honoremque vertimus: *Latini quidem barbam radentes*, nos vero in capitis vertice conficientes coronam."³ These words are remarkable, not only because they afford conspicuous proof of the general custom of shaving among the Latins, but also because they trace the origin of that custom to St. Peter himself.

When the Crusaders had seized Constantinople and proclaimed Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, Emperor of the East, a Latin Patriarch was appointed by the Pope to attend to the Latin Christians; as that Patriarch shaved smooth, a holy horror seized upon the Greek historian, Nicetas Choniates, who exclaimed that "that was the abomination of desolation predicted by Daniel the Prophet."⁴

Georgius Phrantze, in his "*Chronicon Majus*,"⁵ is another witness, whose words are brief but convincing: "Illo tempore imperatoris filius, Theodorus marchio, animo, religione, cultu *et tonsu barbæ planè Latinus*."

Chalcondilas, another Greek or Byzantine writer, puts the matter in a nutshell, and his language is clearer than broad daylight: "Itali et Occidentales pene omnes barbam radunt."⁶

Finally, Manuel Calecas, a Greek himself who joined the order of St. Francis, wrote a work of four books against the calumnies of the Greek Schismatics. In his chapter "*De Tonsura Crinium*," does he deny the charge that the Latin Priests shave their beards? No, he admits it, explains and accounts for it: "Ne scilicet ad

¹ Ibid., col. 743.

² Ibid., col. 790.

³ Ibid., col. 799.

⁴ Apud Catal. ubi supra.

⁵ L. I., c. vi. Migne. Patr. Gr., T. 156, col. 664.

⁶ De Rebus Turc. apud Thomass, l. c.

sanctorum mysteriorum communionem accedentibus Salvatoris sanguine capilli intingantur sive inficiantur.”¹

We have, in the authorities above quoted, a charge made by the Greeks against the Latin clergy from the very days of Photius, who lived in the ninth century; we find that charge insisted on by many Greek writers, laid stress on and magnified into one of the reasons of protracting the schism. It was easy, if the charge was false, to deny it, and to remove that bone of contention. If that charge was not true, charity made it imperative to the Latins to inform the Greeks that they labored under a false impression. The Latins did not do so; they admitted and had to admit that the fact of their shaving their beards was true; instead of denying it, they justified it by asserting that their custom originated with St. Peter, by showing how difficult it was for a bearded priest to drink, without danger of profanation, the precious blood during Mass. In the face of this abundant testimony, no sensible man, except he be hopelessly prejudiced, can deny that the Latin or Western Church generally kept up the custom of shaving off the beard.

And if any one is tempted to do so, we will beg him to ponder the following words of Ratramnus, Abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of Corbie in Picardy. We quote from the fifth chapter of the fourth book of his work against the Greeks; and let it be remembered that Ratramnus belongs to the ninth century, and was contemporaneous with Photius: “Jam videamus quod de barbæ tonsione clericos culpæ non tantum Romanorum, verum omnium Occidentalium Christi Ecclesiarum non verentur.” Then, speaking of the whole Church, comprising both Eastern and Western churches, he admits that, with regard to hair and beards, the practice is not uniform all over the world, and should not be made a matter of dispute and contention. He proceeds with reference to the Latin Church: “Ne longe positos vel Romanos vel Latinos leviter reprehendant: qui *si radant barbam*, comam tamen non nutriunt. . . . Hunc morem sequentes *clerici Romanorum, vel cunctarum fere per Occidentem Ecclesiarum barbas radunt*, et capita tondent, formam accipientes tam ab eis qui in Veteri Testamento Nazaræi dicebantur, quam ab eis qui in Novo Testamento talia fecisse leguntur. . . . Beatus quoque Petrus apostolus, necnon et alii tam de numero apostolorum quam etiam de Christi discipulorum, leguntur et barbas et capita rasisse. Siquidem hoc egisse Petrum, ipsius hodieque testantur imagines, quæ tali schemate pictorum arte formantur.” After words so clear and convincing, it is unnecessary to insist on the testimony of Æneas, Bishop of Paris, who lived at the time of Ratramnus; we will give only the begin-

¹ Migne Patrol. Gr., T. 152, col. 213.

ning of his chapter on this matter: "Cum ergo Græci Latinos et Romanos redarguant cur barbas radant, qui ob munditiam utique hoc agunt, quam expressius ecclesiasticum expedit et exposcit ministerium."¹

IV. After placing together the arguments connected with the Greek schism, we now continue our demonstration of the constant and universal practice of shaving in the Latin Church. Surius relates that St. Adalbertus, bishop and martyr in the tenth century, proposed to his clergy to disguise themselves in order to be better received by the Barbarians they intended to convert: "Vestimentum mutemus, clericam (comam?) æqualem pendentibus capillis crescere sinamus, *tonsæ barbæ comas* prodire non prohibeamus:"² An evident proof that he was in the habit of shaving. A deacon mentioned by Amulo, Bishop of Lyons, in his book against the Jews, falsely ascribed by Thomassinus to Raban Maurus, leaves the Church, becomes a Jew, takes a wife *and lets his beard grow*: "Ita ut et superstitione et habitu totus Judæus effectus, quotidie in Synagogis Satanæ *barbatus* et conjugatus, cum ceteris blasphemet Christum et Ecclesiam ejus."³ Amulo and Raban Maurus lived in the ninth century. A similar statement is made by St. Bernard, who inveighs against clerics and priests abandoning their calling and letting their beards grow: "Clerici ac sacerdotes, ecclesiis, populisque relictis, *intonsi et barbati* apud eas inter textores et texitrices plerumque inventi sunt."⁴ And yet painters and engravers *will* give St. Bernard a long mustache! We are aware that Gaufridus, in the third book of his *Life of St. Bernard*, says that the latter's beard was of reddish hue: "Barba subrufa, circa finem vita ejus respersa canis." But we venture to doubt whether those words imply that St. Bernard wore beard habitually. Indeed his statue, standing on the top of his tomb in Clairvaux, represents him without beard. The fourth volume of Migne's edition of St. Bernard contains a cut of that mausoleum.

We have, thus far, given a sufficient amount of testimony to prove that the custom of shaving among the Latin clergy is *anterior* to St. Gregory VII. and Leo XII., to whom a flippancy writer in the French *Dictionnaire de Conversation et Lecture* ascribes both the origin of that custom and the intention to establish a conspicuous difference between the Eastern and the Western clergy; an intention both impious and absurd. The same statements were copied, with much servility, into *Appleton's American Cyclopædia*, not even barring a mistake in

¹ Lib. adv. Græc., c. 186.

² Thomass. Part. 1., L. ii., c. 40.

³ Amulo. Lib. contra Jud., c. 42.

⁴ Serm. 67 in Cantic.

print. Let us now run rapidly over the epoch of St. Gregory VII. and the centuries following until the time of Julius II.

St. Peter Damian wrote a graphic description of the low state of morality in his days ; we presume it was not worse then than it is now ; but that is bad enough. When speaking of the "Ecclesiarum Rectores," he incidentally states that the shaving of their beards discriminated them from the laity : "Ecclesiarum quoque Rectores, quibus potissimum hujus rei cura debuisset incumbere, tanto mundanæ vertiginis quotidie rotantur impulsu, *ut eos a sæcularibus barbirasium quidem dividat, sed actis non discernat.*"¹ That letter was written to Alexander II., predecessor to St. Gregory VII.

The same fact that the "barbirasium" was a distinctive mark of the clergy is alluded to in another place by the same holy doctor : "Presbyterum vel Episcopum abire prospiciunt, barbirasos se videre fatentur,"² and by William of Malmesbury when he relates that the Anglo-Saxons thought William the Conqueror's army consisted of priests *because his soldiers were all shaved*. As his narrative is very interesting, we may be permitted to give it in full : "Præmisit tamen Haroldus qui numerum hostium et vires specularentur ; quos intra castra deprehensos Willelmus circum tentoria duci, moxque, largis eduliis pastos, domino incolumes remitti jubet. Redeuntes percunctatur Haroldus quid rerum apportent : illi, verbis amplissimis ductoris magnificam confidentiam prosecuti, serio addiderunt, *pene omnes in exercitu illo presbyteros videri*, quod totam faciem cum utroque labio rasam haberent ; Angli enim superius labrum pilis incessanter fructicantibus intonsum dimittunt, quod etiam gentilitium antiquis Britonibus fuisse Julius Cæsar asseverat³ in libro Belli Gallici. Subrisit rex fatuitatem referentium, lepidose insecutus cachinno, quia non essent presbyteri, sed milites armis validi, animis invicti."⁴ Matthew Paris puts the same words in the mouth of Harold's spies.⁵

Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, will lend us two passages where the same distinctive mark is mentioned to know the clergy from the laity. Speaking of the clergy of his time with the figure of speech called "anakoinosis," including himself, he says :⁶ "Relicto ritu, cultu, habitu quoque nostro, ipsius mundi consuetudine atque studiis, amictibus etiam in tantum utimur *ut solo*, ut ita loquar, *barbirasio et corona*, . . . in nullo alio a sæcularibus videamus

¹ Lib. i., Ep. 15.

² S. Pet. Dam. Opuse. 30, c. 3.

³ "Capilloque sunt promisso, atque omni parte corporis rasa, præter caput et labrum superius." Cæs. De Bello Gall., Lib. v., c. 14.

⁴ Willem. Malmesb., Gesta Regum Anglor., Lib. iii., § 239.

⁵ Apud Thomass. ubi supra, c. 41.

⁶ Ibid.

dissimiles."¹ Again: "Unde ad tantum consuetudo et majorum eos (clericos) exempla jam olim impulerunt impudentiam *ut solummodo barbirasio* et verticis cum aliquantula dissimilitudine vestium . . . a ritu distare eos videas laico."²

Gerson, on the contrary, bewailing the laxity of the clergy of his time, who had given up even that mark of distinction, asks: "Ubi clerici comam barvamve ne nutriant?" . . . "Where, now, do the clergy shave?"³

We borrow the following quotations from Thomassinus.⁴ The Council of Bourges, in 1031, speaking of all cleric from the highest rank to the lowest, says: "Tonsuram ecclesiasticam habent, hoc est, barbam rasam et coronam in capite:" a conspicuous proof, as we have seen, that a shaved beard is part and parcel of the ecclesiastical tonsure. In 1050 the Council of Coyac, in Spain, speaking of priests and deacons, enacts: "Semper coronas apertas habeant, barbas radant." In 1119 the Council of Toulouse ordains: "Si quis ecclesiastica militia titulo insignitus, monachus, vel canonicus aut quilibet clericus, primam fidem irritam faciens, retrorsum abierit, aut tamquam laicus *comam barbamque nutricrit*, Ecclesia communione præivetur, donec prævaricationem suam digna satisfactione correxerit." In 1337 the Council of Avignon, having mentioned the shaving of the beard and crown, continues: "Quam tonsuram singulis mensibus radi facere teneantur:" this was the last limit of time, for a fine was inflicted on those that neglected it. In 1342 the Council of London decrees severe punishment against the clerics that neglect the shaving of beard and crown: "Coronam, quæ regni cœlestis et perfectionis est indicium, deferre contemnunt; barbis prolixis incedunt." In 1528 the Council of Sens decrees: "Nec comam relaxent, nec barbam nutriant; sed tonsuram, coronam, seu rasuram habeant, secundum ordinem suum honeste rasam." In 1549 the Council of Mayence: "Barbam non nutriant, tonsuram et coronam deferentes." In 1551 the Council of Narbonne: "Barbam radant, saltem emel in mense, clerici sacros ordines consecuti, maxime canonici." The ordinances of Eustace of Bellay, Bishop of Paris, during the Council of Trent, direct his priests to attend the synod, "tonsura et barba rasi." And behold an American council: "Comam non nutriant, barbam novacula radant, vel ita recidant, ut nihil sæculare remaneat, quod populo ludibrio esse possit." (Conc. Mexic., L. iii., tit. v., § 2.) To this long list of authorities we will add what the Council of Lateran, under Leo X., in 1514, says on this subject: "Non comam, non barbam nutriant." (Sess. ix.)

¹ Epist. ad Widdon. et Sobbon., Lib. v., Prolog.

² De Cont. Can., Parte 2, n. 2.

³ Apud Thomass., ubi supra.

We have now arrived at the age illustrated by that great lover and defender of Ecclesiastical Discipline, St. Charles Borromeo. But, before quoting the words of that holy cardinal, we wish first to explain two facts which might be considered as objections to our thesis, and then to make special mention of the regular clergy with regard to the subject under consideration.

V. To the ambassadors of the Franks, who were on their way to Constantinople, the clergy of Italy wrote as follows: "Ipsum Sanctum Pontificem (Vigilius) milites alii a pedibus, alii a capillis et barda tentum crudeliter abstrahabant." Was Vigilius in the habit of wearing beard? We do not think so. His likeness among the portraits of the Popes in the Church of St. Paul "fuori-de-muri," at Rome, represents him with a smooth-shaved countenance. We can easily account for the fact of his having had beard at the time of his captivity at Constantinople, when he sought refuge from the cruelty of Emperor Justinian in the Basilica of St. Peter. It is possible, as Christianus Lupus says,¹ that mourning as he did for the evils to which the Church was subject, he intended by letting his beard grow to show on his person a public token of his sadness. Thus also acted Albero, Archbishop of Trier, of whom the *Magnum Belgii Chronicon* says: "Per coronam capitis sui juravit numquam barbam se rasurum." And why? Because of the loss of temporalities his Church had sustained at the hands of iniquitous oppressors. But it is much more probable that, as Catalanus says,² Vigilius, a captive as he was in the power of Justinian, was denied many of the comforts of life, and his beard was merely the result of his captivity.

The second fact, to which we referred above, is so much the more deserving to be examined, that, instead of being an objection, it serves rather to corroborate our thesis. Luitprand, or, as Migne has it, Luitprand, legate of Emperor Otho to the Greek Emperor Nicephorus Phocas, wore a long beard. But his beard was a matter of surprise to Christophorus, the Emperor's patrician and chamberlain. Christophorus saw in Luitprand's beard a mark of mourning; this he expressed to Luitprand, saying: "Ostendunt pallor in ore sedens, macies in corpore toto, crinitum caput, *prolixa contra morem barba*, immensum cordi tuo inesse dolorem, eo quod redeundi ad Dominum tuum terminus est dilatatus." The words *contra morem* are deserving of notice, as they demonstrate the *Latin* custom of shaving. It is undoubtedly of the *Latin* custom that Christophorus makes mention, and the word "Latin" is added by Christianus Lupus, who adduces this narrative. In his answer to Christophorus, Luitprand gave another explanation of his beard,—it was simply to meet with less displeasure on the part of the Greeks. A

¹ De Oct. Syn. Gen., c. 5.

² In Pont. Rom. ubi sup.

letter had been received from Pope John XII., in which Nicephorus Phocas was styled Emperor of the Greeks; Luitprand was summoned to explain, and said: "Quia linguam mores, vestesque mutastis, putavit sanctissimus Papa, ita vobis displicere Romanorum nomen, sicut et vestem." The "Romanorum nomen" is an allusion made to the name given to Nicephorus by the Pope, who had called him Emperor of the Greeks instead of Emperor of the Romans.¹ Thus his beard was merely a matter of policy.

VI. It is necessary to make a special mention of the regular clergy. A Lapidé, as we have seen,² makes a distinction between the secular and regular clergy, and asserts that the secular clergy were obliged, not to shave, but to cut their beards, whilst the monks, as dead to the world, were in the habit of shaving. What he said of the secular clergy is untenable, as the authorities quoted above prove to the utmost evidence. What he says of the regular clergy is true, and, as it is not unusual to hear the contrary opinion expressed by persons who have not given this matter sufficient attention, we beg to give a few proofs to demonstrate that the monks in the West shaved. We passed by before the words of St. Jerome against bearded monks, let us confine ourselves here to one of his invectives, and this not the most lenient one against them: "Videas nonnullos, accinctis renibus pulla tunica, *barba prolixa*, a mulieribus non posse discedere."³ We have already given the words of St. Columban, who obliged his deacons to shave under pain of six lashes. Rabanus Maurus, Ratramnus, St. Adalbert, Ratherius, mentioned above, were all members of the illustrious order of the Benedictines; St. Peter Damian was of the order of the Camaldoli. When St. Francis and his companions applied to Innocent III. for an approbation of their rule, they were denied that favor, and one of the causes was, according to Matthew Paris, their long beards: "Prolixa barba."⁴ Since that time the Franciscans shaved, so do the Dominicans, and when some of the children of St. Francis clung obstinately to their beards, that illustrious order was split, and the Capuchins separated from the main branch. So unusual was it to see monks with beards, that a monastic order called "Fratres Templi," and mentioned by Alberic, were called "Fratres Barbati," by reason of their beards.⁵ Let it not be said that the writers we have quoted were "misopogones," and were induced to speak by a natural aversion for beards. St. Peter Damian, to whose clear, unequivocal language we have listened, does not profess any horror for the wool of the human face. Explaining the verse "defluebant

¹ Luitpr. Cremon. Legatio Constantinop., n. 50, seqq.

² In cap. xix. Levitic.

³ Ep. ad Rusticum.

⁴ Christ. Lup. De S. Leonis. Actis, c. 15.

⁵ Alber. ann. 1113 apud Ducange V. Barbati.

salivæ ejus in barbam" (1 Reg. xxi.), he says: "Sane quia barba viri est proprium, quid est per mysticum intellectum, nisi virtutis indicium? Quid per barbam, nisi divinitatis innuitur fortitudo?"¹ And yet, speaking of a hermit, Martinus Storacus, and mentioning his long hair and beard, he adds the unqualified expression of his disapprobation: "Iam per tria ferme lustra non prodiit, sed neque capillos totondit, neque barbam rasit. Hoc siquidem et ipsi crines evidenter asserunt, qui jamjam forte prolixiores illo talotenus fluunt. *Quamquam nos hoc distractionis genus minime probemus.*"²

The most convincing proof that the regular clergy were in the habit of shaving is, that the absence of beard was the distinctive mark whereby regular monks were discriminated from lay-brothers; so much so that the latter were called "Barbati." A few arguments will suffice. Martene, quoted by Catalanus,³ after showing by conclusive evidence that the priests, and especially the monks of St. Benedictus, abstained from wearing beards, makes the remark: "Fratres laicos et illiteratos, quos vocant conversos, in eo a monachis clericis fuisse distinctos, quod ipsi oblongam, promissamque barbam nutritent;" and he quotes the *Life of St. Hermenoldus*, the work of an anonymous writer, where (lib. ii., c. 2) is narrated the punishment of a brother, one of those that are called "bearded:" "Ex ipsis quos *barbatos* dicimus," whilst the heading of the chapter is, "De quodam Fratre *Converso* graviter punito." Chrysostomus Henriquez, in his *Life of St. Alberic*,⁴ relates the deliberation and decision of the Cistercians to admit "bearded" lay-brothers into their order: "Tunc definierunt, conversos laicos *et barbatos* se suscepturos, et homines etiam mercenarios, quia sine adminiculo istorum non intelligebant se plenarie die sive nocte præcepta Regulæ posse servare." Cæsarius Heisterbach, quoted by Ducange,⁵ uses that expression frequently when speaking of lay-brothers: "Die quadam *Conversum* ad se vocans, ait, Nosti, *Barbatic*, quare venerim ad ordinem?" (lib. iv., c. 62), and "Tales sunt multi ex his *Barbatic*, qui in habitu et tonsura religionis, terras circumeunt, et plurimos decipiunt," (lib. vi., c. 20.) The "Chronicon Montis Sereni"⁶ says plainly: "Quidam Fratrum laicorum quos *Barbatos* vocari usus obtinuit." No wonder, therefore, that Ducange gives the following meaning to the expression "Fratres Barbati," in his learned Glossarium: "Fratres Barbati, sic appellati ut plurimum Fratres Conversi in monasteriis, quod, contra quam Monachi, voto astricti, barbas nutrent." Another argument we borrow from Stephen, Bishop of Tournay, who in one of his letters complains bitterly of the conduct of lay-brothers, and alludes to their

¹ Term. 67.

² In Pont. Rom., loc. cit.

³ V. Barbatus,

⁴ Opusc. 51., cap. 5.

⁵ Apud Catalan., loc. cit.

⁶ Apud Ducange v. Barbatus.

beards. Stephen of Orleans was Bishop of Tournay at the end of the twelfth century, and was one of the Pope's deputies who was directed to re-establish peace between the fathers and lay-brothers of the convent of Grandmont. We would wander from our subject if we described at length the troubles to which the Order of Grandmont, founded by St. Stephen de Muret, under St. Gregory VII., was subject at that time. We will only quote the beginning of St. Stephen's letter: "*Luctuosum in Ecclesia Dei spectaculum fidei ac flebili compassione dignum. Prosequuntur Grandimontenses conversi miserabilem cætum clericorum exultantium, barbas prolixas tamquam cornibus ventilantes.*"¹

Our last argument to establish the fact that beards were a distinctive mark to know lay-brothers from monks, will be a few old verses, where lay-brothers, with their long beards, immense shoes, and thousands of "*Pater noster*" are graphically and pleasantly described. We hope the lay-brothers did pray for the pardon of the writer's uncharitableness:

"Nunc quoque Barbati qui sint attentius audi.
Sunt ergo laici Miliensibus (Monachis) associati,
Quos risus populi dedit hoc agnomine fungi.
Sunt quia prolixis barbis ad pectora pexis
Deformes, hirti, revera moribus hirci,
Barbis hircorum similes, larvis tragicorum.
Quos quia vulgaris circumfert aura favoris
Austera facie sunt, et tonsi caput alte,
Cautius incisis certoque tenore capillis,
Et sunt immensis induti calceamentis,
Amphibalis longis utentes et spatiosis,
Quos quid habere putant, submissa fronte salutant,
Gratia, Pax Vobis, Benedicite, Credite Nobis,
Mille Pater Noster, mandat grex tibi noster.
Per venias centum verrunt barbis pavementum,
Ut domini servos plebs mobilis æstimet ipsos.
Verum fallaces fore se produnt et inanes," etc.²

This is more than enough to prove, beyond the pale of doubt, that the regular clergy did not wear beards any more than the secular clergy.

VII. Julius II., as we have seen, innovated in this point of discipline by letting his beard grow. Let us bear in mind that the Pope is not, strictly speaking, subject to a law purely human, merely ecclesiastical; Julius II., therefore, cannot be called a transgressor of ecclesiastical canons; but the same cannot be said of bishops and priests who, no matter whether the Pope observes an ecclesiastical law or not, remain subject to that law as long as it is in force. However, the example of Julius II. was imitated by many. In France a real "*furor*" in favor of beards was occa-

¹ Steph. Tornac., Epist., 135.

² Chron. Laurisham. apud Ducange, loc. cit.

sioned by Francis I. This monarch, having been wounded at the head, had to lose all his hair; by way of compensation he permitted his beard to grow without restriction; all his courtiers followed his example; from the court that practice spread in the city, from the city in the provinces, and the clergy themselves caught the *philopogonic* fever. So truly did the poet say:

"Regum ad exemplar totus componitur orbis."

It is even related of Jean-Pierre Camus, Bishop of Bellay, that, at the beginning of his sermons, he would twist his beard into as many tresses as he had points to treat of; and as he proceeded, the divisions of his beard would vanish with the divisions of his sermons. The French rushed into the other extreme under Louis XIV. when, after the example of that monarch, beards all but totally disappeared. It was owing to the prevalence of the fashion of wearing beards, in the reign of Julius II. and Francis I., that so many Provincial Councils enacted canons to keep up the time-honored custom of shaving. St. Charles Borromeo was first and foremost among the champions of that ecclesiastical custom. He issued a Pastoral Letter in which, referring to the words of St. Gregory VII., he ascribes the origin of that practice to the first Christians; and having stated that he had given the example of shaving, he exhorted his clergy to imitate his conduct. "A majoribus nostris manasse pro barba radenda usum in Ecclesia, antiquiores picturæ declarant, et licet paucis ab annis alicubi fuerit intermissus, a pluribus tamen optimis sacerdotibus, antiquæ disciplinæ studiosis, mediolani rite observatum est. . . . In quo si facem aliis non prætulî, hoc tamen ipsum sentio mihi esse solatii, quo patres solent etiam læantes affici dum in læbonis rebus quas avent a filiis, antevertuntur. Illud inquam exuperior quod vestra diligentia in re quam summopere in votis, ut observaretur, habebam, vos me tempore præcesseritis. . . . *Antiquum ergo*, fratres dilectissimi, *radendæ barbæ usum* ex animo restituamus, eundemque ita restauremus ut cum barbæ depositione omnem in posterum ostentationem et superbiam una deponamus." Prudent and wise as he was, St. Charles did not proceed with undue haste. In his first Provincial Council, in 1565, he confined himself to the following decree: "Comam vero et barbam ne studiose nutrant. Barba a superiore labro ita recidatur, ut pili in Sacrificio Missa Christi Domini corpus et sanguinem sumentem non impediunt." He was more exacting in his fifth Diocesan Synod, in 1578, the 4th decree of which is as follows: "Barbæ radendæ institutum, a Patribus in Concilio Carthaginensi sancitum, quodque ex Summi Pontificis Gregorii VII. litteris longe antiquissimum esse perspeximus, jam

¹ Acta Eccl. Mediolan., Parte vii.

olim in omni fere Ecclesia, et in nostra hac Ambrosiana ad hæc usque tempora (ut nos vidimus) a plerisque sacerdotibus antiquæ sanctoris disciplinæ studiosis conservatum, ita in perpetuum retineri præcipimus ac mandamus, ut unusquisque sacerdos et clericus, quocumque gradu dignitateve præditus, *barbam radat*."¹ St. Charles quotes the 4th Council of Carthage such as it is contained in the "Corpus juris."

These ordinances of St. Charles Borromeo and the canons of the Provincial Councils of Sens, Mayence, Narbonne, etc., above quoted, give us abundant proof of the strenuous efforts made by bishops of various countries against the innovation of wearing beards. Did that legislation check it? Not effectually; no sooner were beards prohibited than they donned all the attractive charms of the forbidden fruit; and, probably, more than one "philopogon" would never have dreamed of wearing his beard if there had been no law prohibitory of the same. An amusing anecdote is related of William Duprat; having been appointed Bishop of Clermont, he proceeded, as bishop-elect, to take possession of his diocese and to receive the episcopal consecration on the festival of Easter. His beard vied in length and venerableness with that of Aaron. The cathedral of Clermont was full of people, eagerly anxious to see their new pastor, and the latter arrived in due time, when the chime of the tower made the air re-echo with merry peals. Whom did he meet in the porch of the Cathedral? The Dean of the chapter of canons, accompanied by two acolytes and brandishing an immense pair of scissors. The long beard was in imminent danger, resistance was impossible. Before ever the Dean could carry out his barbicidal design, William Duprat fled, exclaiming: "I stick to my beard, I give up my bishopric!" This anecdote, though printed in several books, is of doubtful authenticity; for William Duprat did become Bishop of Clermont, founded a college for the Jesuits in Paris, and died after a laborious and successful administration.

There was, then, since the pontificate of Julius II., a great want of uniformity in the Church as to the wearing or shaving of the beard; but there was, if we are well informed, constant and universal uniformity before the sixteenth century. It may be objected that St. Gregory VII. saw himself compelled to forbid a Sardinian archbishop to wear beard, himself and his clergy, which seems to point out a want of the alleged uniformity. But that objection falls to the ground as soon as we remember, as Christianus Lupus observes,² that Sardinia at that time belonged to the Greek Emperor, and that the Latin clergy felt an inclination to

¹ Acta Eccl. Mediolan., Parte ii.

² Loc. cit.

follow the custom of the clergy of their sovereign. This inclination St. Gregory checked, by reminding them that it was the Roman Church, their spiritual mother, they were in duty bound to obey and imitate.

3. MYSTICAL SIGNIFICATION.

We do not purpose to inquire into the *natural* use or necessity of beards. Others have done so. With what success? We leave that to the judgment of others. If, as some maintain, the beard is a protection to the mouth, nostrils, and throat, it may be asked, why are women and youths denied that protection? Napoleon Bonaparte, who was a keen observer, wrote in his memoirs: "Orientals shave their heads and wear long beards; they are subject to sore eyes but keep their teeth. Europeans keep their hair and shave their beards; they lose their teeth but have good eyes." This, surely, is perplexing. What shall we do? Keep our teeth and sacrifice our eyes, or *vice versa*? But let us leave that speculation to others and explain the mystical signification the Church has affixed to the shaving of the beard. We beg to premise a remark of paramount importance; in assigning a mystical signification to a liturgical rite or an ecclesiastical practice we ought to be guided by the liturgy of the Church and by the words of authoritative ecclesiastical writers, and not by our individual judgment. If we follow the latter, we will find sometimes two contradictory explanations of the same thing, the one denying and destroying the other. Take as an instance woman's long hair. One may say,—inasmuch as woman has, naturally, long and plentiful hair, the author of nature has designed that woman shall be bareheaded and not cover her head, her hair being a natural headcover. But, in the mind of St. Paul, the design of the Creator is just the contrary: "Judge you yourselves; doth it become a woman to pray to God uncovered?"¹ The Apostle of the Gentiles directs women to cover their heads, *because* the Creator, by giving them long hair "for a covering"² has signified his intention that they should cover their heads. As in that matter we must take the Apostle as our guide, so we will also, in the subject we are treating, take the Church and holy fathers as guides.

I. The first signification of the shaving of the beard is a close imitation of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and a willingness to have a share in the mockery to which the Pagans subjected him, for Christ's sake, by shaving his head and beard. We find this spiritual signification clearly expressed in two Pontificals of the Benedictine monastery of Le Bec, in Normandy. The prayer to be said by the bishop when cutting the first wool of a juvenile

¹ 1. Cor. xi. 13.

² Ibid., v. 15.

cleric, is as follows : " Oremus, dilectissimi, Deum Patrem Omnipotentem, ut huic famulo suo N., quem ad juvenilem perducere dignatus est ætatem, benedictionis suæ dona concedat; ut *sicut exemplo Beati Petri Principis Apostolorum, ei exteriora pro Christi amore sunt attendenda juventutis auspicia*, ita præcordiorum divellantur interiorum superflua, ac felicitatis æternæ percipiat incrementa, per eum qui unus in Trinitate perfecta vivit et gloriatur Deus, per immortalia sæcula sæculorum. Amen." We need not speak any longer of the very respectable tradition that informs us that St. Peter was shaved by the Pagans; we have already proved it by the testimony of Peter, Patriarch of Antioch, St. Peter Damian, Ratramnus, the Venerable Bede, St. Gregory of Tours, and a very ancient chronology.

II. The expression, in the above prayer, "ita præcordiorum divellantur interiorum superflua," furnishes a second mystical signification attached by the Church to the shaving of the beard. Being a non-essential part of the body, one without which the body exists and lives, beards are a figure of the superfluous things of this world. When choosing God as the part of his inheritance, a young Levite is prepared to abdicate both licit and illicit attachment to worldly things, a sacrifice signified and indicated by the shaving off of a superfluous ornament of the body. Æneas, bishop of Paris, expresses the same thought: "Munditia ministrorum Christi pro radendis barbis, *illicita resecando*, debet præstantius splendere in operibus bonis, et omnimodis carere sordibus mentis simul et corporis."² Moreover, beards being a sign of virile strength, the shaving of the beard implies that we do not put our confidence in our own strength, which, before God, is but weakness. "Barbam quippe radunt, qui sibi de propriis viribus fiduciam subtrahunt."³

III. A third signification of the shaving of the beard is the similarity it establishes between Priests of the New Law and the Nazarites of the Ancient Testament. This spiritual meaning is expressed, among others, by Ratramnus: "Hunc morem sequentes clerici . . . *barbas radunt* et capita tondent, accipientes formam tam ab eis qui in Veteri Testamento Nazaræi dicebantur."⁴ . . . As the Nazarites were persons peculiarly consecrated to God, so also the clergy are God's own. At the end of their vow the Nazarites were shaved, so also clerics are shaved. This comparison between the clergy and Nazarites, as to shaving, is so familiar to ecclesiastical writers that there is no need of dwelling on it a long time. And let no one object that, during the time of their vow, Naza-

¹ Apud Catalan, loc. cit.

² S. Greg. Lib., Mor., c. 19.

³ Lib. adv. Græc., c. 186.

⁴ Contra Græc., opp. L. iv., c. 5.

rites were forbidden to cut their hair. In this comparison we must follow the fathers; and the point of comparison the latter insist on is, not the wearing of long hair, but the shaving of it, after the time of the vow had elapsed. "Tonsuræ ecclesiasticæ usus a Nazaræis exortus esse putatur, qui, *prius* crine servato, *denique* ob vitæ continentiam caput radebant."¹

IV. According to Ratramnus the shaving of the face is an exterior indication of the interior purity of conscience requisite in the clergy: "*In faciei vero denudatione, cordis ostendunt puritatem, illud innuentes apostolicum, ubi ait: 'Nos autem revelata facie gloriam Domini speculantes, in eandem imaginem transformamur'* (II. Cor. iii. 18). *Facies enim capitis faciem cordis insinuat: sicut enim caput arx est cordis, sic mens, hoc locus, quæ cor appellatur, animæ culmen existit: debet enim facies cordis cogitationibus terrenis jugiter spoliari, qualiter puro sinceroque conspectu gloriam Domini possit speculari, et in eam per contemplationis gratiam transformari.*"²

V. To these spiritual reasons, or mystical significations of shaving the face, we may add, in conclusion, a very good practical account of the propriety of that practice, connected with the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass; the face is shaved smooth lest the precious blood, at the holy communion, be absorbed by and run down the hair of the beard. Such is the answer given to the charges of the Greeks by Manual Calecas, whose words are partially written above: "Ne scilicet ad sanctorum mysteriorum communionem accedentibus Salvatoris sanguine capilli intingantur, sive inficiantur, atque iidem rursus in sumendo cibo necessario quodlibet imbibant liquamen, sive alias quomodolibet defluant, atque ita non parvus error sit."³

We content ourselves, for briefness' sake, with this concise indication of the spiritual reasons and mystical signification of the practice of shaving the beard among the Latin clergy, and we end our dry, lengthy, inelegant dissertation with a synopsis of what we have written.

Our object was not to demonstrate whether priests in the United States are obliged to shave, or allowed to wear beard; the modern practice, the present discipline we have to follow is clearly contained in the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore: "Barbam clericorum promissam nuper damnavit Pontifex Pius P. P. IX. Ecclesiasticis omnibus hac in re morem Romanæ Ecclesiæ, tamquam normam sequendam, *mandamus.*" (n. 151.) What we had in view was to give an outline of the ancient, constant, and uni-

¹ Hugo de S. Vict., De Sacram., Lib. ii., Part. iii., c. 1.

² Lib. iv., Contra Græc., opp. c. 5.

³ Loco cit.

versal custom of shaving in the Latin Church, contrary to false opinions and untenable theories held by some in this matter. At the outstart we met some texts of the Ancient Testament and some statements of holy fathers which we endeavored to explain, so that they might be correctly understood. After that introduction we divided our subject into three parts, to inquire into,—1. The Origin; 2. The Antiquity and Universality; and 3. The Mystical Signification of the Custom of Shaving followed by the Latin Clergy. The historical origin is derived from the custom of the Roman citizens, who wore no beards; its ecclesiastical origin is to be ascribed to the ill-treatment inflicted on St. Peter by Pagans, by whom he was shaved in derision. The origin of the custom of shaving implies its great antiquity; after indicating a few exceptions to the general rule, we adduced the words of St. Gregory VII. as a witness that its antiquity is equal to that of Christianity itself; and then, coming down the different ages of the Church we have gleaned here and there words of prominent writers whose testimony leaves no doubt that, in every period of the Church, the Latin clergy either shaved or cut their beards very short. We have laid particular stress on the accusations of the Greeks against the Latins, and on the answers of the latter to the former, showing, by the testimony of Photius and others, that the practice of shaving was a conspicuous fact in the Western Church. Refuting now and then an objection, we have made special mention of the regular clergy, showing that Western monks made no exception to the general custom of shaving; and the clear, explicit ordinances of St. Charles Borromeo have allowed us to dismiss that part of our subject after thus bringing it down to modern times. Finally, after quoting numerous councils by which the raising of the beard is prohibited and the shaving of the face ordered, as part and parcel of the Clerical Tonsure, we have added a short chapter containing the reason or mystical signification of the practice of which we had been treating.

Such is a brief account of our labor. And if, by the want of elegance in style, the prolixity of our argumentation, or the dryness of the manner in which we have handled our subject, we have exposed the patience of our readers to a sore trial, we humbly apologize and sue for pardon, concluding with the words of St. Augustine, which we make our own: "*Quisquis hæc legit, ubi pariter certus est, pergat mecum; ubi pariter hæsitat, quærat mecum; ubi errorem suum cognoscit, redeat ad me; ubi meum, revocet me. Ita ingrediamur simul charitatis viam tendentes ad eum de quo dictum est: quærite faciem ejus semper.*" (De Trinit., i. 3).

THE PAPACY AND THE EUROPEAN POWERS.

1870-1882.

Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. to the Archbishops and Bishops of Italy, February 15th, 1882.

Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. to the Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops, and Bishops of the Catholic World, December 28th, 1878.

OUR Holy Father, Leo XIII, has occupied the chair of Peter only four years, but in those years some significant changes have taken place in the attitude and bearing of several of the great European powers towards the Holy See. Still more remarkable are those changes when viewed in connection with the great political events that have marked the last decade in Europe, since, in fact, the occupation of Rome by the troops of Victor Emanuel, September 20th, 1870. Under that occupation the Papal States, which had been restored to the Pope and guaranteed to the papacy by the Congress of Vienna, disappeared as a principality, and were absorbed into the newly-formed kingdom of Italy. The Powers that, at Vienna, had solemnly sanctioned the restoration of the Papal States, now stood by and quietly permitted, where they did not covertly assist at, their spoliation. On May 13th, 1871, the "bill of the papal guarantees" was passed by the Italian Chambers. This measure guaranteed to the Pope the title of Sovereign; a most gracious concession to a sovereign without a state. But no; he had a state, for the same bill guaranteed him, out of all the papal territories, the palace and basilica of the Vatican, with a yearly revenue from the "Italian" treasury of \$645,000. By way of compensation for this yearly revenue the omnipotent Italian Chambers, in 1873, declared all the church property in Rome and its immediate territory to be the property of the nation, and since that date there has been a steady, or rather rapid, sale of that property to defray the royal expenditure and the ever-increasing public debt. Since that date, also, the Pope has been immured within the Vatican, for his capital has been filled with his enemies. The appearance of the late Pope Pius IX. even at a window of his palace before the crowd of people that filled St. Peter's Square on a great public festival, was the signal for a popular tumult, with danger of a revolt, attended by volleys of insults and blasphemy in the public press and in the streets. The removal of the remains of the same Holy Pontiff at dead of night within the past year was the signal for a repetition of such scenes, and an attempt on the part of a crowd of miscreants, undeterred by the police and military,

to seize upon and outrage the venerated remains. The few people who were arrested for such an insult to humanity received the slightest possible punishment from their lenient judges, and were set up as heroes and martyrs by the dominant faction in Rome. Subscriptions were opened to defray the expenses of their trial, and medals were struck in their honor; while the press known in Rome as democratic,—an insult to a noble name,—regretted that “the remains of the old fool (Pius IX.) had not been cast once for all into the Tiber.” So much for the law of the papal guarantees, for the Pope’s honorary title of Sovereign, and for his freedom of action and of movement in the city and the capital of the papacy, which the omnipotent Chambers had converted into the capital of Italy. If such a position be not one of actual imprisonment, attended by grave danger of personal violence, as well as by daily insult, it is hard to say what actual imprisonment means,—save that the Pope is not chained in a dungeon and fed on bread and water.

This last outrage, perhaps more than anything that had occurred since the seizure of Rome in 1870, opened the eyes of the Powers and of all honest men to the actual position of the papacy. Pius IX. to the last raised up his voice against the spoliation of the estates of the Holy See, as well as against the personal dishonor put upon the supreme head of the Roman Catholic Church and the Vicar of our Lord Jesus Christ. He spurned the insult of the pittance offered him from the Italian treasury as he would have spurned any such offer coming from that quarter, in return for the revenue of which the papacy had been robbed, and which was more than made over by the sale of ecclesiastical property. In both positions he has been followed by his successor, Leo XIII.

Meanwhile other things had happened abroad, during the interval of the seizure of the city of the Pontiff and the present time, to open men’s eyes to the position of the Pope and to the place the papacy held in the affairs of this world. It must be remembered that although the Powers tacitly permitted or covertly aided the seizure of Rome and the absorption of the States of the Church by the House of Savoy, they never gave formal sanction to an act that repudiated the action of the Congress of Vienna. It was altogether the act of an individual and ambitious power, the culmination of a series of invasions and spoliations of the Italian states. The pretence of justifying the act by the popular suffrage of a packed city and state after the event, was eminently worthy of the statesmen who compiled the bill of the papal guarantees. The question as to whether or not it is better to have a united Italy, be it kingdom, republic, or whatever form of lawful government, is not the question now. Pius IX. was an ardent and intelligent

advocate of a united Italy. The present fiction of union is before the world. It was a union effected from first to last by force of arms, bribery, intrigue, and revolution. There was never a free popular consent to it, as in the more recent case of the North German Confederation amalgamating into the empire of Germany with the kingdom of Prussia as the leading power.

This is an important point to be considered, especially in the light of more recent events. The European Powers have never formally sanctioned the absorption of the States of the Church and the confinement of the temporal principality of the Holy See to the palace of the Vatican. Nor have they sanctioned the dependence of the Pope for support and freedom of action on the good-will of the King and Parliament of Italy. All that has been done in the so-called unification of Italy has been done in direct violation of the Congress of the Powers at Vienna, especially in regard to the Holy See. That great congress did not act unadvisedly in restoring to the Pope his temporalities and his sovereignty, which had been absorbed by the rapacity and tyranny of the first Napoleon.

Another important fact to consider is this: The very framing of the law of the papal guarantees shows that the Piedmontese King and Parliament felt and knew that they were dealing with a very different power from the other states of Italy which they had invaded and absorbed. We hear of no bill of guarantees for the King of Naples, or for any of the other invaded principalities. Then why draw up one for the Pope, who was perhaps personally the weakest sovereign of all in the matter of armaments? The reason is obvious. These men felt that they were here dealing with a different power and principality from all others; that the man whom they despoiled of his small estates in Italy was a ruler of the greatest empire in the world; that he had loyal and devoted subjects in every land, attached to every court, and the robbers could not count upon the issue. In touching the sacred ark they broke the covenant of all Christendom. Not bold enough to take the full consequences of their act, to formally dethrone the Holy Father and banish him from his stolen capital, they made the double mistake of keeping him there, in constant possession, on his own soil, a living witness and testimony of the wrong done, not to a mere personality, but to the whole Catholic world, and to all right and law, national and international. They kept him there, offering him a pitiful bribe out of the revenue of his despoiled estates, the constant object of the gibes and jeers and insults of his enemies, and of the devotion and affection of the Catholic world. Then occurred a repetition of the prophecy of Calvary, "When I shall be lifted up I will draw all eyes to me."

That was the mistake of the Italian government. The Pope

might be banished, but he could not be kept under lock or key with the fiction of freedom and sovereignty in the city that was his. The situation was an anomaly that could not last for any length of time. It creates a dual sovereignty and divided allegiance in Italy, and is a necessary source of internal disturbance and confusion to Italy itself. How the whole Catholic world felt in the matter was shown by its immediate rallying to the Pope. This imprisoned man showed himself, if possible, more powerful than ever over the vast millions in this world who recognize in him the authority of Jesus Christ, the succession of St. Peter, and the final power of decision in all that concerns the faith in which they believe, and the code of morals that they accept. With him they spurned the Italian offer of a pension, and eagerly took upon themselves the support necessary for himself and his court, and for carrying on the vast business of the Catholic Church at its centre.

Such a state of public feeling and action could only exist with regard to the papacy, which is essentially a spiritual power, and needs a certain stretch of soil where it may freely conduct the affairs of its spiritual kingdom, undeterred by menace and uninterrupted by insult. Such territory was given it in remote ages by free consent of the Christian Powers. With the disappearance of the Roman empire the See of Rome belonged to the successor of Peter. Again and again the Popes saved the city from the arms of the barbarians, and from the ambition of rapacious chieftains in and out of Italy. Its civil guidance fell naturally and by consent of the people into the hands of the Pope. Wars and invasions often drove him out, but he was invariably restored in the long run; the principality of Rome being recognized as his by right of possession and by international consent. International consent has not yet formally pronounced on the present situation; but in all former instances it has pronounced in favor of the Pope, not so much always out of personal regard for him as because when men come face to face with the question of the Pope's place in international affairs it is felt and recognized that he is the centre of the most conservative force in this world, and that to touch him is to touch the whole Catholic world in his person. The Pope at ease, the Catholic world is at rest; the Pope in trouble, the Catholic world is troubled with him, and more deeply than by war, or famine, or pestilence.

What has become of the other despoiled Italian princes? The world has forgotten their names. What has become of Napoleon III., before whose nod a world trembled just previous to the seizure of Rome? His very dynasty is wiped out, and his memory is detested in France. In 1872, two years after the seizure of Rome, the Prince and Princess of Wales, while on a visit to Victor Eman-

uel, paid a visit also to Pope Pius IX. In speaking to them of England he referred to his favorite hope of seeing that country restored to the Catholic faith. The Prince and Princess smilingly shook their heads at what they doubtless considered the visionary views of the venerable Pontiff. "Ah! my children," said the Pope, "the future is always full of surprises. Who would have imagined two years ago that we should see a Prussian army in France? Your wisest heads expected a thousand times sooner to see the Pope at Malta than Louis Napoleon in London. I am much happier than those who call themselves the masters of Rome, because I have no fears for my dynasty. God takes care of it. I may be driven away for awhile; but when your children and your grandchildren come to visit Rome, whatever may be the temporal possessions of the Pope at that time, they will see, as you do to-day, an old man dressed in white pointing out the road to heaven."

The Franco-German war of 1870-1871, created a new power in Europe, and shook France to its centre. To France came the republic, to Germany the empire. The French government, at first moderately anti-papal, finally showed itself as it does to-day, distinctly and aggressively anti-Christian. Nevertheless it has throughout maintained official diplomatic relations with the Holy See. Count von Bismarck had, for reasons best known to himself, early sought a rupture with the Vatican, and Baron von Arnim, the Prussian ambassador at the Papal court, rode proudly in with the Italian troops through the breach of Porta Pia. Later on the Prussian legation was withdrawn, and diplomatic relations between the Holy See and Prussia ceased. The history of the quarrel between Prince Bismarck and the Holy See and the Catholic subjects of Prussia is too well known to call for more than mention here by way of illustration.

Here then, after the seizure of Rome, at the time of and subsequent to the Franco-German war, was the Pope cooped up in the palace of the Vatican, despoiled of the Papal territory and possessions, and without a single government in Europe that he could call friendly, or which was ready to manifest its friendship by stretching forth a kindly hand towards him. He fell back upon the world of his spiritual subjects. France had withdrawn its troops, and though Thiers, a statesman who always defended the temporalities of the Holy See, was in power, the country was in such a state of confusion and distress, that he could not even if he would have helped. Moreover, France had been reduced for the time being to the condition of a second-class power. England was, as usual, steadily anti-papal. Germany, under the lead of Prussia and the policy of Prince Bismarck, became ferociously so. Russia, under Alexander II., a bitter persecutor of the Catholics,

stood coldly aloof. Austria was silent. Spain had troubles of its own, and even if it desired, was not in a position to help the Pope. Mindful of the prerogative and character attached to his office the Pope, on the eve of the outbreak of the war between France and Germany, had ventured to intercede with the combatants to stay the dreadful conflict. His offer was received with cool politeness by the King of Prussia, and laughed at by the public press of Europe as a piece of audacity or senility. Yet, suppose for a moment his intercession had been well received on both sides, as the intercession of Popes under similar circumstances had often been received before, would Europe have been the sufferer or the gainer?

There was another thing that intensified the hostility of the Powers to the papacy at this time. This was the definition and immediate acceptance by the Catholic Church throughout the world of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, which set down in indelible words, forever, beyond doubt or cavil, that "when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra* . . . he possesses, through the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer wished his Church to be endowed in defining a doctrine of faith or morals; and, therefore, that such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church." This decree, following not long after the publication of the Syllabus, in which the evil tendencies and teachings of the age were so admirably summarized, set forth, and condemned, set the whole non-Catholic world ajar, and filled it with a clamor of rage and resentment against the Holy See, the papacy, the person and the supremacy of the successor of Peter. The whole edifice of the papacy was condemned in turn to be swept away and destroyed by those whom it so boldly and in such unmistakable terms had condemned. The secret sects saw the moment they had so long waited for at last at hand. Now was their hour and that of the powers of darkness. The pseudo-protection of Austria had been swept away by France and Sardinia. France in turn had to withdraw her feeble protection. Over broken France and shattered Austria rose triumphant, Protestant Prussia, yoking all Germany to her chariot-wheels. All the world was against this old man of the Vatican, who presumed to rebuke and teach a world. So these sects, with their tool, Victor Emanuel, marched in and shut up the Sovereign Pontiff and supreme teacher, as he called himself, of a universal Church, in a little corner of his own city, which they left him as house-covering with the gilded bauble of a sovereign title to amuse him in his dotage.

Such was the view the wise men of the world took of the situation immediately after the occupation of Rome, the issue of the Franco-German war, and the inauguration of the new and power-

ful German Empire, with a distinctly anti-Catholic and anti-papal policy, not only in its own dominions but actively throughout the world. Whatever power dared allow its subjects to criticise adversely Prince Bismarck's measures against the Catholic Church was warned and threatened. The Catholic press in France, Austria, Italy, and Belgium was compelled to use very diplomatic language in its treatment of Prussian, and especially Catholic, affairs. The English government even was remonstrated with, but, much as it detested the Pope at the time, it had regard enough for its own freedom of speech to tell the Prussian government, diplomatically, to mind its own business. It is understood that similar remonstrances were sent to the government at Washington regarding the attitude of Catholics in this country, with what effect may be easily imagined. Thus, while all the non-Catholic world was prepared to be adverse to the papacy, the most powerful of European governments set on foot an extensive anti-Catholic propaganda at home and abroad.

Things looked badly for the Pope and the papacy. They could not look much worse. The Pope's hands were tied and his tongue was tied. He was not allowed to communicate freely with his spiritual subjects. The dispossessed bishops and priests of Italy flocked around him begging for actual subsistence. The Church in Prussia was broken up. One by one the bishops were compelled to leave or were imprisoned. When priests died, there were none to take their places. There was no means of ordaining them. The ecclesiastical seminaries were invaded and closed. The religious orders of men and women had already been driven out. A complete stop was put to Catholic education. In many places the faithful gathered around desolate altars to pray to God. The anti-Catholic propaganda spread to Switzerland and similar scenes were witnessed there. Spain had already felt its influence. The Belgian liberals were busy at work, and, later on, France took the lead of all, while Italy continued desolate. Truly said Pius IX. to a party of American visitors: "I am more Pope in the American Republic than in any other country;" for here he was free to do and speak as he pleased. Even Mr. Gladstone took up the anti-papal cry, and exerted his great powers to the utmost to convince Englishmen, and all persons who could come within reach of his eloquence, that because of the Pope, and because of papal infallibility, it was impossible for a true Catholic to be a true Englishman and loyal subject of the sovereign. This was just what Prince Bismarck strove by act as well as word to impress upon the world. While Mr. Disraeli, who never spoke of the Pope without respect, and who entertained much the same views as M. Thiers regarding the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See, in the

debates on the Irish university question, warned the House of Commons that in Ireland there was a greater power than that of the Queen,—the power of an irresponsible sovereign, the Pope.

Thus did the Gentiles rage and the people utter a vain thing. Thus were the princes of this world arrayed against the Lord and against his Christ. Through all those trying years and scenes Pius IX. bore himself with invincible fortitude, patience, and hope. To his enemies, who were the enemies of the Church and of Christianity, he never yielded a jot. He never ceased, when occasion called for it, to maintain the claims, the dignity, and the inalienable rights of the Holy See. He never used fine words to oil over the acts of violence, outrage, and robbery that had deprived the papacy of its territory and the Pope of his personal liberty and freedom of action, and that had put him and the vast affairs he necessarily controlled on the charity of the faithful in all lands for support. He drew the attention of rulers to what these acts of robbery and open violation of every right, sacred and profane, meant. He warned them repeatedly and in burning words of the consequences of their own acts, not only with reference to the Holy See but still more with reference to their own subjects. They were stopping up religion and the channels of divine grace. They were teaching the people that there was no God. They were turning them away from religion to irreligion. In Prussia, according to the Falk laws, there was no further need of religion at birth, marriage, and death. Man's life could pass very well without it. He could come into life, marry, and go out of life without the blessing of God. The sacraments of baptism, of marriage, and of extreme unction were thus tossed aside as useless, and so with the rest of the sacraments. And what substitute had the people for the hand of God? The hand of the state. A civil magistrate signed a piece of paper and all was over. For "in the dominion of this world," as Prince Bismarck proclaimed in one of his speeches at this time, "the state has dominion and precedence." If recollection serves, it was in the same speech that he gave utterance to the much-applauded phrase: "We will not go to Canossa."

Those were brave days for Prince Bismarck. He had, in the phrase of Napoleon III., "crowned the edifice." He had taken the German supremacy from Austria and the European supremacy from France, and made Prussia the head and centre of the greatest German Empire that had ever existed. The people of Prussia and of Germany, in the first flush of their brilliant conquests, were ready to follow their leader anywhere and to any extent. With him they raged and scoffed at the feeble old man of the Vatican. They gave Prince Bismarck full rein to suppress the freedom of Catholic worship in Prussia, and to turn, if possible, good Catholics into bad or

into no Catholics, with a view of making them better servants of the state. They allowed and welcomed the same measures for the Lutheran believers as did the Lutheran believers themselves, for the reason that the measures were so distinctly aimed at the Catholics. The warnings and protests of the Pope were unheeded, or only called out fierce rejoinder, and the work of consolidation of the German Empire went bravely on.

But there are greater and more lasting forces in the world than bullets and bayonets. There are the forces of truth and conviction, and the central truth is an omnipotent and just God, from whom all truth and power proceed. This doctrine was steadfastly denied by Prince Bismarck when he declared that in the dominion of this world the state has precedence and power. It has, but only as it accords with the revealed teachings of the King of kings and Lord of lords. Among Christian peoples those teachings are sufficiently well known, and the common Christian conscience is convinced of their truth, and recognize them as the only safe and lasting guidance and bond of human society in its way through this world up to heaven. That conviction lasts over all things, over the power of kings and tyrants, the changes of dynasties, of circumstances, of time, the absolute disappearance of great empires and nations. Over all the honest reader of history sees that an omnipotent power, to which the schemes and the passions of the mightiest men are often opposed, lives and reigns and governs, while allowing men to recognize or reject His power and His reality. Those who rebel against His divine law invariably disappear under the load of their sins.

Pius IX. spoke with the voice of a prophet and inspired teacher. He warned rulers that in depriving the Church of Christ of its free ministration among men, and in robbing the people of their faith in the central authority of Almighty God as expounded and inculcated by his divinely-appointed teacher, the Church, they were unconsciously sapping the roots of all authority and digging their own graves. In proportion as they drove out God they made room for the Devil and his angels. Very active among these latter were what are known as the secret societies, who had shown their hand in the French Revolution, and who subsequently, in 1848, had for a time succeeded in overturning nearly every throne in Europe. The avowed object of these societies was the overthrow of all existing order, "the strangling of the last king with the gut of the last priest." The warning, as usual, was unheeded, though so sagacious a statesman as Mr. Disraeli took it up and repeated it on the very eve of the outbreak of the Commune in Paris. Later on he distinctly charged that the revolt in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which led to the Turco-Russian war, that came

so near involving all Europe, was precipitated by the machinations of the secret societies.

These secret societies were not an unknown force in European politics. They were as old as the Albigenses, and older. They were the formidable assassins of the "Old Man of the Mountain." Possibly some of the knightly orders, whose vow was to defend honor, maiden purity, and Christendom, degenerated into secret sects. Frederick the Great of Prussia availed himself of the Illuminati, and from that time down they increased and multiplied in European society. They joined hands with the Encyclopædists of the school of Voltaire, and counted among their members the chiefs of the French Revolution. Louis Napoleon was a Mason, and after he became Emperor his life was attempted by Orsini for his supposed desertion of the sect. It is more than probable that his subsequent Italian policy was dictated by his old associates. He was used as their instrument to effect the "unification" of Italy and the presumed downfall of the Pope. The Popes had constantly pointed out the dangers of these societies from the time that they first became prominent as a force in European politics. Leo XII. denounced the principles that, calling themselves liberal, were undermining Church and state. Pius VIII., in 1829, repeated the warning of his predecessor, condemned the false philosophy of the day, indifference in religious matters, and the secret societies whom Clement XIII., Benedict XIV., Pius VII., and Leo XII. had condemned before him. The societies, therefore, saw in the person of the head of the Catholic Church, whether that head were Leo, or Clement, or Benedict, or Pius, their worst enemy.

Prince Bismarck, an associate—if not a friend—of Lassalle, the chief expounder and propagator of Socialism in Germany, used the Socialists and their press—as he is always ready to use any instrument at hand—in his conflict with the Catholics. They served him with zeal. The Catholic Church in Prussia was broken up so far as the order of its every-day life went. It was gagged and put under the ban of the Empire. The state was made supreme over it and all churches, and Prussians were emancipated, made free to go to the Devil without hindrance or warning from what before was recognized as the voice of God speaking through his Church, whether of the Catholic or Lutheran faith.

And what came of Prince Bismarck's triumph? Precisely what Pius IX. had predicted. A motto of Prince Bismarck's, which he applied to the Reichstag, is that "any stick will do to beat a dog." This is his policy. He uses whatever instrument he may have at hand to accomplish his purpose, and drops it when he finds no further use for it. Thus he, a sworn foe by tradition and disposition to everything that is called liberal or representative in govern-

ment, coquetted early with Lassalle, and later on, when the German Empire was formed, made use of the National Liberals, the Lutherans, and the Socialists in his war on the Catholic Church. These agencies enabled him to carry out his purpose and so alter the laws of Prussia that it was made penal to be a faithful Catholic. It took some time to effect this, for a number of able Catholics appeared in the Reichstag and disputed the ground inch by inch. Meanwhile the milliards wrung from France were working havoc in Berlin. Prussia is a poor country, and the sudden accession of so much wealth drove some people mad. As in Birmingham in the days of the Crimean War, so in Berlin after the entry of the milliards, workmen drank champagne out of pewter pots and rode to work in carriages. The riot was soon over, for the money was soon spent. Business grew dull, and pockets were empty. This is the first step towards revolution. In rags and hunger most revolutions are born. People existing under a rigid paternal rule like that of Prussia naturally turn to the government when they are in difficulties, saying: "We are poor; give us money. We are hungry; give us bread. We are naked; give us clothes." It is useless to prate to them of having wasted their means and opportunities. Prince Bismarck's legislation, his Falk laws, his "reptile" press had combined to eliminate Christianity from the minds and hearts of the German people. Respect for Divine authority had disappeared in great measure. There was little room left for respect for any authority.

So came up the Socialist party in Germany, in Prussia more particularly. This, which is the party of the secret societies, had its strongholds in the chief towns and leading cities, where men were employed in masses, and where strikes would paralyze industry and commerce. They were not of accidental growth. Their leaders were in league with all the secret societies of Europe, who saw with misgiving the uprising of so strong a power as that of Germany over the ruins of the empire of the Napoleons. Women joined with men in their advocacy of the people's cause, and sat and debated side by side with them in taverns over the wrongs of the people in the newly-erected empire. In a breath they cursed God and cursed kings, denounced priests and denounced the government.

Prince Bismarck and the Emperor saw with dismay the rise of this new party, whose advent they had invited and paved the way for by their war on the Christian religion. The Socialists sent their representatives into Parliament to obstruct Prince Bismarck's measures. They were bold and clever men, and they had a good ground for grievance in the constant increase of the army, of military armaments, and taxation for such purposes. On the other

hand, the Catholics showed a surprising strength. They rallied to the polls, they rallied to the faith, and in a short time mustered quite a strong party in the Reichstag, under leaders more able, in a parliamentary sense, than Prince Bismarck himself. The chancellor found himself obstructed on all sides. He is an ill-tempered man, faithless, when it suits him, to his promises. He broke with the National Liberals who had helped him to carry his anti-Catholic measures; he strove to quench the Socialists; he found the glamour of his conquests disappearing before the rags and hunger at home. The Catholics worked loyally together against him under the letter of the law. The Socialists worked disloyally, after their fashion, and broke out into open sedition. Within a short time two attempts were made on the life of the Emperor of this new and great empire, the second attempt nearly succeeding.

What might be called an epidemic of royal assassination ran around Europe about this time, nor has it yet ceased. Not an assassin, whether German, Spanish, Italian, or Russian, but was a member of a secret society, and the avowals of all on trial were much after the same pattern and showed a uniformity of doctrine. Meanwhile, prominent members of secret societies, such as Garibaldi, were pensioned off by the governments they conspired against, as they had been welcomed with honor by the government, people, and heir-apparent of such a power as England. Lord Palmerston would doff his hat to Garibaldi, while Mr. Gladstone would flout at Pius IX. Bismarck would take wine with Lassalle, and order Count Harry Von Arnim, whom his persecutions afterwards killed, to close the Prussian legation at the Vatican unless the Pope broke through the papal etiquette and allowed the Prussian ambassador to drive through the inner court of the Vatican in a one-horse conveyance. This last seems a ridiculous *canard*, but is a veritable fact, so much so that the Pope, who was as witty as he was holy, bade Cardinal Antonelli write to Prince Bismarck that His Holiness, taking compassion on the embarrassments of the diplomatic body, would in future allow the representatives of the great powers to approach his presence with one quadruped of whatever sort pleased them, an answer that must have delighted Prince Bismarck, who can appreciate a joke when he makes it himself.

Between the growth of the Catholic opposition, of the Socialistic body, and the gradual defection of the National Liberals, Prince Bismarck began to feel embarrassed. The German Empire enjoys, at least in form, a representative government, and under such a government the Parliament rules through the ministry under the crown. Prince Bismarck constitutionally chafes under any restraint, and to have these members from here, there, and every-

where, whose very names he did not know, opposing his measures and policy, was positive torture to him. In his impatience he pursued his practice of finding a majority anywhere he could to pass his measures, until he finally woke up to the hard fact that his home policy, at least, was opposed by the great body of the German people. Thus the question of the government of Germany, which Prince Bismarck thought lay wholly in his own hands, under the shadow of the Emperor, became more and more, day by day, a direct issue between the people and the crown.

But the people, where were they? Under the new laws they had gone socially and morally to wreck. Mr. Baring-Gould, in his *Germany Past and Present*, has been at pains to gather statistics as to church attendance. In all Germany only fourteen per cent. of the population attend religious service of any kind, while the Catholics, under the Falk laws, were in great measure actually prevented from hearing Mass and attending the sacraments. In Berlin, the capital of Prussia and of the new empire, only two per cent. out of 630,000 Protestants attend church on Sundays. In Hamburg 147,000, out of a population of 150,000, do not go to church at all. According to Mr. Gould, between thirty and sixty per cent. of marriages and deaths in Germany to-day, speaking more especially of the central power, Prussia, are without any religious ceremony whatever. While in Geneva, the capital of the republic that so readily took up the Falk legislation, out of a Protestant population of 25,000, Mr. Gould found 200 females and 23 males attending the solitary Sunday service in the city of Calvin.

There is no need to dilate further on this subject. The rulers of Germany woke up to find themselves confronted by a people, the great mass of whom were practical infidels. The rulers had helped to make them so in order to destroy, if possible, the one true conservative, social, and religious force that the Empire could count on,—the Catholic Church. Those who read history will always find that sooner or later the Lord makes his enemies his footstool. The noise of the conflict of the German giant with the Catholic Church had gone through all lands, and men looked with eager eyes to see the issue. What had been read of all the heresies and all the persecutions was being here enacted under the eyes of an age drifting to unbelief. The proud cry, the foolish and unnecessary cry, "We will not go to Canossa," was caught up and applauded through the world, at a time when the world was especially resentful against the papacy that had dared tell it it was going wrong. Step by step it watched the issue of the conflict between this German giant and the old man pent up in the Vatican, who, like Tennyson's infant, "crying in the night, had no language but a cry." And the world saw that things fell out just as

the old man had predicted. Prince Bismarck himself, and the Emperor, though sore reluctant, saw the same thing; that of all the elements of German society, the Roman Catholic, and those most nearly approaching to it in belief and practice, was the only conservative force in the best sense. Thus, as of old, the stone that the builders rejected was made the head of the corner.

In a social sense, but more immediately in a political sense, Prince Bismarck found the aid of the Catholics absolutely necessary in order to enable him to carry on the government of the country. In 1880 he was so disheartened at the condition of affairs that he offered his resignation, and advised the Reichstag to form a coalition government out of the Catholic and Conservative parties, as the only government that could keep the empire together and save the state. The Emperor refused his resignation, and he still retains power. Meanwhile Pope Pius IX. had died, following Victor Emanuel after a short interval; and a new Pope, Leo XIII., had been peacefully elected, succeeding his predecessor in the prison of the Vatican. But even before the death of Pius IX., there were attempts at negotiation between the Court of Berlin and the Vatican, with a view of establishing a *modus vivendi* in Prussia between the Catholic Church and the state. There was only one effectual *modus vivendi*, which was to undo Prince Bismarck's vicious anti-Catholic legislation.

Leo XIII. succeeded to all the onus of Pius IX. But the world at large was less hostile than it had been. The lesson of the Prussian persecution, of the visible social disorder in Europe, of the Paris Commune, of the attempts on the lives of sovereigns, was before it. It was seen in a broad way that there were grave dangers ahead to rulers and peoples; to morals, to law, and to property; and that unless heaven sent some safeguard, bullets and bayonets would not suffice. Curing was wanted, not killing; and the great healing force of the Catholic Church came largely into view. Its power had been exemplified in Germany. Its men had fought like honorable men for their rights through and by means of the very laws that proscribed them; while the Socialists, who recognized no higher law than their own will, flew to the dagger and the pistol for redress. The one force was constructive and conservative; the other destructive and hellish. Berlin, and several of the chief cities of Prussia, are in a state of semi-siege to-day, not by reason of the Catholics, but because of the Socialists.

Then came also the war between Russia and Turkey (1876-1877), and its results. It brought the great powers together at Berlin to rearrange the map of Europe and restore or create anew some Eastern principalities out of the territory that the Protestant Reformation and the jealousy of Christian princes, Catholic as well

as Protestant, had allowed the Turks to seize. A primary article in the constitution of the new principalities was religious freedom. The war, like all wars, let into Russia some new ideas, or gave a new impulse to hidden forces that had been working beneath the surface of Russian society.

The Freemasonry of Italy, the communism of France, the socialism of Germany, suddenly appeared in Russia in the wake of a disastrous war, in its naked form of Nihilism; a social Ishmael, its hand against every man's. The Czar, Alexander II, after many escapes, finally fell a victim to it, while his son and successor dare not shew himself abroad for fear of it. It is seen on all sides that the great Russian empire, so full of capabilities for good to itself and the world, full of heroism, devotion, and faith among the masses, full of corruption, venality, and rottenness in the church and in the state, is rocking in the throes of a new birth, which may be one of destruction.

There is not a nation in Europe to-day that stands without presage of change, and speedy change. England, the most conservative of all, is engaged not only with the everlasting Irish question in a form that appeals to all the world, but with an absolute revision and alteration of its own constitution. France, still calling itself a republic, advancing materially, has, under the inspiration of those whom it allowed to attain the power, arrayed itself directly against the Christian Church. Austria is full of troubles at home and troubles on its border. Turkey is waiting for dismemberment. Italy is between its own Scylla and Charybdis. And under all are the people. Kingdoms and kings disappear; but the people remain. What is to become of the people? is the question of the future.

And here the head of the divinely inspired and assisted Church of Christ comes in, in the beautiful words already quoted of Pius IX., to "point out the road to heaven." All history shows in the appearance and disappearance of races and powers that there is only one lasting code of morals: that of Christ, that stretches from the Redeemer to us and back to Adam. Following their own way, worshipping the gods of the Gentiles, great powers and peoples have gone down. The keeper, the guardian of this code, and the personage who, in this sense, is the centre of all history from Peter down, is the Pope. The Pope, like the Church, is everlasting. There is not an era, an epoch, a reign, in which he does not appear as a most important agent in human affairs, more important and more potent than all the bills that were ever passed by all the parliaments. Popes have been buried in the catacombs, have been banished from their see, have been imprisoned, have been martyred, and what comes of it all? The Church of God

elects a new head, and whether from the catacombs, the prison, or the throne, the voice of the Vicar of Christ is all-powerful, all appealing to the Catholic world.

This is the personage and power that yesterday's king and parliament of Italy undertake to coop up in a corner of the city that they stole from him; the man, no matter by what name he may be called, whose authoritative word is felt at once, as no living monarch's is, through all the Christian world. What is Rome, what is Italy to the Pope? A place to abide in, nothing more, save by the associations of history, of suffering, and of glory. Wherever he may go, wherever he may be, he is equally Pope and equally powerful. He cannot remain as he is much longer, politically a prisoner in his own territory, and dependent on a king who is an accident, a man of yesterday and not of to-morrow, who is and may not be in a day.

And this the whole world in its soberer sense is beginning to see. The taking of Rome and the seizure of the papal territory has effected what? The unification of Italy? Hardly. The pacification of Italy? Hardly. There is no throne in Europe so insecure as that of Humbert. Has the seizure and the robbery destroyed the papacy? Not a jot. It has only served to stain history with a new crime, and send abroad among the peoples a new example of sacrilege and violence. Is the Pope to remain forever a dependent on the bounty and the good-will of the Italian king and parliament? The Catholic world has already said no, and the man who would not go to Canossa says no.

In permitting the occupation of Rome and the seizure of the States of the Church, the European powers have saddled themselves with a lasting difficulty. Some were foolish enough to imagine that with this seizure ended what they considered the fiction of the papacy and its pretensions. Other monarchs disappeared with dispossession of their thrones. Not so the Pope. All the Popes may say with Pius IX., "I have no fears for my dynasty. God takes care of it." The Pope is of necessity a personage of unequalled international power and influence, who even in the affairs of this world cannot be counted out of statesmen's calculations. His decisions, his words, his actions, his very being intimately affect the affairs of states. The Pope may be Italian; the papacy is universal. The papacy has no nationality. Its power is the same in Germany as in Italy, in England as in Austria, in the United States as in Belgium. It can never descend into a pensionate of the kingdom of Italy; and if the king of Italy and his parliament make the position of the Pope untenable, as it is at present, and as it has been ever since the occupation of Rome in 1870, there is nothing left for the Pope but to seek freedom and

asylum elsewhere than on the soil of Italy. The law of guarantees secures nothing that it professed to secure. There is only one possible solution of the difficulty on Italian soil, and that is by undoing the wrong that has been done, restoring Rome to the papacy from which it was stolen, and thus realizing Cavour's maxim of a free Church in a free state. Does any one imagine, if the question were put to a fair Italian vote, that the will of the vast majority of the people of Italy would not be in favor of restoring Rome to the papacy, and thus securing the freedom of the Pope on Italian soil?

The question is beset with difficulties on every side. One thing is certain: the Pope cannot continue as he is. He must either leave Rome or be wholly free there. Rome cannot endure a dual or rival sovereignty. No city and no power could. The Pope could not walk the streets of Rome to-day without raising a riot and being insulted or slain by his enemies.

The Catholic world cannot permit this state of things to continue. It cannot permit its head to remain longer in dependence and danger. As said before, while he is restless all Catholics are restless with him. The question may be asked, "Who and what is the Catholic world, and what can it do?" Well, it is a part, and a powerful part, of every great nationality. In these days of loosening morals and growing social disorders, statesmen who look beyond the movements of the hour see in it the real and only safeguard of society. Prince Bismarck and the Emperor William have learned a bitter lesson from the anti-Catholic persecution that they either set going or sanctioned. Banish Catholicity from their empire, and how much faith would be left in a decade? The statistics already quoted show. On celebrating his eighty-fifth birthday recently, the Emperor, addressing a deputation, said that every new period of his life reminded him that it was the Almighty who at certain times chose his instruments. And going back to a text that has been frequent with him of late, he asked who among the monarchs could in these days consider himself safe? "The times are serious," said the aged Emperor. "Considering that the Czar a year ago had fallen a victim to party anarchy, who could now deem himself safe?" And he went on to lay stress on the importance of the spread of fervid religious feeling among the peoples, which is really the only safeguard of states; the very thing that the Falk legislation strove to banish from the heart of Catholic Germany.

It is quite possible that apart from the exigencies of politics and the strength displayed by German Catholics in parliament, that a man of Prince Bismarck's mind and understanding sees plainly the necessity of Catholic life as a national bulwark and sure social

defence. So he has actually gone to Canossa; that is to say he has gone back to common sense in his dealings with a great question. The question is this: Whether or not it were better for the state to have its Catholics good or bad. The object of the Falk legislation was to make them bad. It happily failed, but left a spiritual dearth and desert behind it, which Prince Bismarck, by a reversal of the legislation, is now attempting to make bloom again with the flowers and the fruit of divine faith and worship.

It was to the very Pope against whom he launched all his thunders that this great statesman turned in his hour of need. "The times," as the Emperor William said the other day, "are serious, and have been so for a long time past, and are growing more so every day." There is not a throne or government in Europe to-day that is not challenged by the people. In the minds of the masses the divine right of kings is an imposition and a superstition, for kings and statesmen have striven strenuously during two centuries to teach them that there is no divinity at all beyond the imperial I. Monarchs have assumed the awful title of "I am who am," and have been punished for their blasphemy. They have been shot and turned out and hustled through the world, and the people have discovered of what very common clay they are made. The tamed tiger has tasted blood, and is ready to make havoc. But the "old man, dressed in white, pointing out the road to heaven" remains.

To Pius IX., the prisoner of Victor Emanuel, the all-powerful German chancellor turned to help him govern the German people. Pius IX. died before the negotiations came to any head, and another old man dressed in white succeeded him. The negotiations were resumed with new eagerness. The German Chancellor, the embodiment of the strongest material power in the world, said to the prisoner of King Humbert: "Only tell your Catholics to vote my measures and I will undo all that I have done against them and against the papacy." The Pope did nothing of the sort. He confined himself strictly to his office of teacher and guide and guardian, not of German Catholics alone, but of the universal Church. He let German Catholics, saving religion and morals, go their own way home about home questions and policy. Then came the English government, a more persistent and subtle and ancient foe than the new German empire to the old man of the Vatican, to say to him: "Your Irish are turbulent. We can do nothing with them. Help us. Tell them to be quiet, and perhaps we may send you a representative."

And so, whenever a great social or political danger or difficulty arises, statesmen and all men of thought look at once to the head of the Roman Catholic Church to see what action he may take,

what advice he may give. Who looks in such emergencies to the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Patriarch of Constantinople? Men's eyes go at once to the centre of Catholic and Christian unity, who is to-day a prisoner in his own house and city. Prince Bismarck now discovers that the position of the Pope is an international rather than an Italian question. The Emperor of Germany has just as much interest in the person and office of the Holy Father as has the King of Italy. So has the government of the United States. So has any government that counts among its citizens a Catholic people; and what great government is without them? Here is how Prince Bismarck replied to Herr Virchow when asked about the new relations between Prussia and the Holy See:

"The King of Prussia," said Prince Bismarck, "as well as the sovereigns of other confederate states, had a vital interest in, as well as a responsibility which they could not neglect, of not neglecting the interests of their Catholic subjects at Rome. And the government had, therefore, the intention of introducing into the Prussian Budget on the next occasion, a vote of credit to enable it to carry on direct negotiations on questions which concerned persons, on local questions which were awaiting decision, and other more important questions in which principles were involved. The suppression of the embassy which formerly represented Prussia, and subsequently the Empire, at the Vatican had not been inspired by those principles which had dictated what was called in Prussia the *Culturkampf*. Some of his audience would remember how he had once declared that the government had been wounded by the tone adopted by Rome towards the Prussian government and the Emperor himself. It was for this reason that the embassy had been suppressed. But now," continued Prince Bismarck, "the subject of our displeasure has disappeared. We are on the most courteous and friendly terms with the present Sovereign Pontiff, and there is no reason why we should not occupy ourselves with Catholic interests of each confederate state. If, according to my view, this task concerns Prussia rather than the Empire, I am not influenced by a consideration of principles so much as by the actual facts of the situation. Still, if Saxony, Baden, Wurtemberg, and other States agreed that they had the same interest in the matter as Prussia, there would be no reason why the Empire should not be represented at the Court of the Holy See, 'which we consider not in the light of a foreign power, but as the Head of a Church.'"

There is the whole question stated with characteristic brevity. The question of the Papacy enters into every Power. Wherever a Catholic is, there is the Pope. The Powers, in their hour of dan-

ger, are getting over the mania of regarding the Pope as an enemy forever infringing on their prerogatives and power. They see him now, more especially in his hour of darkness and of desolation, as the heart and centre of the greatest moral force that this world knows. So Germany, England, Russia, Austria, throwing aside the fatal doctrines of the eighteenth century, hold out their hands to the Pope, and say: "Help us! our people are going astray! Help us to guide them to good!" And what answer can the Pope make? "I am chained. I am robbed. I am a beggar. I cannot move. I cannot act or speak with freedom. My city and my patrimony are taken from me, and I am as a stranger in my own land. The charity of the faithful supports me and enables me to carry on my work in a measure. But the work is obstructed on every side, and as I am, I am not only in danger myself, but a constant danger to this usurping Power."

The Pope cannot longer remain a prisoner in Italy in the city that belongs to the Papacy. He must be either made wholly free or given free asylum elsewhere. It is for Italians to say whether or not they are to lose the Pope. -The loss would be Italy's rather than his. It is for the European Powers to say whether or not the head of the Church whose members form so important an element of the nations shall be in a position becoming the dignity and great demands of his office. It is for them to say whether or not the greatest sacrilege and wrong of the age shall be atoned for, and rest restored to the Catholic world.

THE MONKS OF OLD.

The Monks of the West. Montalembert.

Lives of the Saints. Butler.

Francis of Assisi. Olyphant.

Legends of the Monastic Orders. Jameson.

Catholic Flowers from Protestant Gardens. Treacy.

THE word monk comes from the Greek *monos*, single, because the beginners of this manner of life lived as solitaries, without wife, children, or companions, away from human society. They were also called ascetics, from *askesis*, exercise, for that, like athletes desirous of bringing their bodily powers to perfection, these gave up all other concerns and devoted themselves in "spiritual exercises," to the strengthening and perfecting of their souls. When they formed communities under common government they were known as cenobites. Speaking generally they formed, and still form, what are called religious orders.

The institution, in one form or another, dates back to the earliest times. Thus we have the prophets, and those called sons of the prophets, the Rechabites, Nazarenes, etc., in the Old Law. Our Saviour and his disciples led a more or less monkish life. They observed celibacy, they lived on alms, and had all their money in one purse, the Apostles obeyed Christ, and he was obedient to his Father, and was led by the Spirit. The life of the first Christians was a similar communism, as it is described in the Acts. How long it lasted we know not, but all along the first centuries of Christianity we trace examples of the monastic profession. Illustrious among these are the names of Paul, the first prominent in history and called the first hermit, Anthony, who became the ruler and lawgiver of a multitude of solitaries in the deserts of Egypt, Hilarion, Macarius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, in the East, Martin of Tours, Vincent of Lesuis, and many others in the West. At the time of St. Jerome, the religious life, so called as it were *par excellence*, was practiced by many of the most illustrious and high-born men and women of the city of Rome even, and that great doctor was himself the spiritual adviser and leader of most of these. It was not until the year 325 that the Church being at last granted autonomy, her bishops were enabled to meet in General Council and regulate doctrinal and disciplinary matters. This being the case we need not wonder at finding a great variety in monastic organizations, a lack of order and permanency, and even much that was disorderly and even scandalous in the conduct of those who, in the disturbed condition of affairs and the absence of ecclesias-

tical sanction, had from one motive or another joined the communities. This was especially noted in the East, where diversity of language, race, practical independence of the bishops, and difficulty of communication with Rome, made possible and inevitable much that needed reformation. St. Augustine, in his work *De Opere Monachorum*, gives us a sad picture of the state of things, which was found in some parts of the West as well, for similar reasons. Mrs. Jameson, to whose books I am much indebted, presents a true though exaggerated account of the subject. "There were monks in the West from the days of St. Jerome. The example and the rules of the Oriental anchorites and cénobites had spread over Greece, Italy, and even into Gaul, in the fourth and fifth centuries; but the cause of Christianity, instead of being served, was injured by the gradual depravation of men, whose objects were, at the best, if I may use the word, spiritually selfish, leading them in those miserable times to work out their own safety and salvation only; men who for the most part were ignorant, abject, often immoral, darkening the already dark superstitions of the people by their gross inventions and fanatic absurdities. Sometimes they wandered from place to place levying contributions on the villagers by displaying pretended relics; sometimes they were perched in a hollow tree, or on the top of a column, or housed, half naked, in the recesses of a rock, where they were fed and tended by the multitude, with whom their laziness, their contempt for decency, and all the vagaries of a crazed and heated fancy, passed for proof of superior sanctity. Those who were gathered into communities lived on the lands which had been granted to them, and belonging neither to the people nor to the regular clergy, responsible to no external law, and checked by no internal discipline, they led a useless and idle, often a miserable and perverted existence. Such is the picture we have of the worst side of monachism up to the end of the fifth century." There is, however, a cloud of exceptions to this presentment, especially in the history of the Gaulish monks, as portrayed in the chronicles consulted by the illustrious Count de Montalembert.

About this period the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarians, about twenty distinct nations in all, began to burst all the barriers the decaying Roman Empire could oppose, and to overflow into Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa proper, Egypt, and the East. The state, corrupted and weakened by five centuries of licentiousness, venality, luxury, and despotism, could resist neither morally nor physically. Everything went down before the flood. "If the mighty waves of the Atlantic had rolled over Gaul," says a writer of that day, "I do not think that the ruin would have been greater." Fire and sword were carried everywhere, the officials of the government, soldiers and all, were demoralized; society was chaos.

Yet, even in this extremity, the base descendants of the conquerors of the world did not profit by the visitation of Providence, but indulged in sensuality, drunkenness, and shows, while their country's life was at stake. They seemed to say to themselves, "Let us eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we shall die." Even the fresh, vigorous, and comparatively pure Northmen, when sated with blood and spoil, began to be infected with the vices of their victims, and the element of wildness was added to the conflagration that burned up the social edifice.

It was in this desperate state of affairs that many individuals, members of the old patrician families who still retained a love of virtue and nobility, felt inspired to retire from the mass of sin, to seek in solitude and nature that freedom to worship God and save their souls which was not granted them in their native towns. They were not priests, but were lay gentlemen. The clergy, of course, remained with their flocks, as in duty bound, and constantly labored, often with partial success, for their temporal as well as spiritual safety. Distinguished amongst those who retired from social life was Benedict of the Anicii, a family very famous in the history of the latter empire. This is the great patriarch whom God raised up to regulate and perfect monastic discipline, to give a great and lasting impetus to monachism and its works, to be the chief regenerator of European society, and the preserver of its civilization. Benedict (in Latin *Benedictus*, the blessed one, and surely he was well named) was born in the little town of Norcia, in the Duchy of Spoleto, Italy, about the year 480. He was sent to Rome to study literature and science, and made so much progress as to give great hopes that he was destined to rise to distinction as a pleader; but, while yet a boy, he appears to have been deeply disgusted by the profligate manners of the youths who were his fellow-students, and the evil example around him instead of acting as an allurement threw him into the opposite extreme. The example of Anthony, Paul, Augustine, Jerome, and other great men, was doubtless known to him, and desirous of living for God alone he formed for himself a hermitage even in the palace where he dwelt, and which we had the happiness of visiting and venerating last year in Rome. Having made up his mind, at the age of fifteen, to leave the luxurious capital, he was followed by his nurse, who had brought him up from his infancy and loved him with extreme tenderness. This good woman, doubtful, perhaps, if her young master were out of his wits or inspired, waited on his steps, tended him with a mother's care, begged for him, and prepared the small portion of food which she could prevail on him to take. But while thus comforted and sustained, Benedict did not believe his penance entire or effective; he secretly fled from his nurse and concealed

himself among the rocks of Subiaco, a wilderness about forty miles from Rome. He met there a hermit, named Romano, to whom he confided his pious aspirations, and then took refuge in a cavern, where he lived for three years unknown to his family and to the world, and supplied with food by the hermit; this food consisted merely of bread and water, which Romano abstracted from his own scanty fare. In this solitary life Benedict underwent many temptations, and he relates that on one occasion his imagination almost overpowered him, so that he was on the point of abandoning his retreat. Persuaded that the devil could be overcome only by extreme measures, the holy youth rushed from his cave and flung himself into a thicket of briars and nettles, in which he rolled himself until the blood flowed. Then the devil left him, and he was never again assailed by the sting of the flesh. They show in the gardens of the monastery of Subiaco the rose-bushes which have been propagated from the very briars consecrated by the blood of the hero.

The fame of the young saint now extended through all the country round; the shepherds and the poor villagers brought their sick to his cavern to be healed; others begged his prayers; they contended with each other who should supply the humble portion of food which he required; and a neighboring society of hermits sent to request that he would place himself at their head. He, knowing something of the morals and manners of this community, refused at first, and only yielded upon great persuasion, and in the hope that he might be able to reform the abuses which had been introduced into this monastery. But when there the strictness of his life filled these perverted men with envy and alarm, and one of them attempted to poison him in a cup of wine. Benedict, on the cup being presented to him, blessed it as usual, making the sign of the cross; the cup instantly fell from the hands of the traitor, was broken and its contents spilt on the ground. He thereupon rose up, and, telling the monks that they must provide themselves with another superior, left them and returned to his solitary cave at Subiaco, where, to use the strong expression of St. Gregory, he dwelt with himself; meaning thereby that he did not allow his spirit to go beyond the bounds that he had assigned to it, keeping it always in presence of his conscience and his God. But now Subiaco could no longer be styled a desert, for it was crowded with the huts and cells of those whom the fame of his sanctity, his virtues, and his miracles had gathered around him. At length, in order to introduce some kind of discipline and order into the community, he directed them to construct twelve monasteries, in each of which he placed twelve disciples with a superior over them. Many had come from Rome and from other cities, chiefly nobles, for it is gen-

erally amongst the rich or well-to-do that these sacrifices take place even to-day, and amongst others came two Roman Senators, Anicius and Tertullus, men of high rank, bringing to him their sons, Maurus and Placidus, with an earnest request that he would educate them in the way of salvation. Maurus was at this time a boy of about eleven or twelve years old, and Placidus a child of not more than five. Benedict took them under his peculiar care, and his community continued for several years to increase in number and celebrity, in brotherly charity and in holiness of life. But of course the enemy of mankind could not long endure a state of things so inimical to his power; he instigated a certain monk named Florentius, who was enraged by seeing his own disciples attracted by the superior virtue of St. Benedict, to endeavor to blacken his reputation, and even to attempt his life by means of a poisoned loaf; and this not availing, Florentius introduced into one of the monasteries certain bad women, in order to corrupt the chastity of the monks. Benedict, whom we have always seen much more inclined to fly from evil than to resist it, departed from Subiaco, but scarcely had he left the place, when his disciple Maurus sent a messenger to tell him that his enemy Florentius had been crushed by the fall of a gallery of his house. Benedict, far from rejoicing, wept for the fate of his adversary, and imposed a severe penance on Maurus for an expression of triumph at the judgment that had overtaken their enemy.

Paganism was not yet so completely banished from Italy but that there existed in some of the solitary places, temples and priests and worshippers of the false gods. Indeed, the name Paganism is derived from the word *pagus*, a village, the country people being always more tenacious of national beliefs and customs than the inhabitants of cities. Such a nest of idolaters existed not far from Rome in a consecrated grove; near the summit of Monte Casino stood a temple of Apollo, where the god was still paid unholy rites. Benedict had heard of this abomination; he repaired therefore to the neighborhood of the mountain; he preached the kingdom of Christ to those deluded people, converted them by his eloquence and his miracles, and at last persuaded them to break the idols, throw down the altar, and burn up their consecrated grove. And on the spot he built two chapels, in honor of two saints, whom he regarded as models, the one of the contemplative, the other of the active religious life,—St. John the Baptist, and St. Martin of Tours. Then, higher up the summit of the mountain, he laid the foundations of that celebrated monastery which has since been regarded as the parent institute of his order. Hence was promulgated that famous rule, which became from that

time forth the general law of the monks of Western Europe, and which gave to monachism its definite form.

The rule given to the cenobites of the East comprised the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. To these Benedict added two other obligations: the first was manual labor, which was indeed enjoined in the former institution, but less systematically: those who entered his community were obliged to work with their hands seven hours in the day; secondly, the vows were perpetual, but he ordained that these perpetual vows should be preceded by a novitiate of a year: during which the entire code was read repeatedly from beginning to end, and at the conclusion the reader said, in an emphatic voice, "This is the law under which thou art to live and to strive for salvation; if thou canst observe it, enter; if thou canst not, go in peace, thou art free." The vows once taken were irrevocable, and punishment for breaking them was most severe; but the rule is recognized as humane, moderate, wise, and eminently Christian in spirit.

Toward the close of his long life, Benedict was consoled for many troubles by the arrival of his sister Scholastica, who had already devoted herself to a religious life, and now took up her residence in a retired cell about a league and a half from the convent. Very little is known of Scholastica, except that she emulated her brother's piety and self-denial, and although it is not said that she took any vows, she is generally considered as the first Benedictine nun. When she followed her brother to Monte Casino, she drew around her there a small community of pious women, but nothing more is recorded of her except that he used to visit her once a year. On one occasion, when they had been conversing together on spiritual matters till rather late in the evening, Benedict rose to depart; his sister entreated him to remain a little longer, but he refused; she then, bending her head over her clasped hands, prayed that Heaven would interfere and render it impossible for her brother to leave her. Immediately there came on such a furious tempest of thunder, rain, and lightning, that Benedict was obliged to delay his departure for some hours. "God forgive you, sister," said he, "what have you done?" "I asked you to stay, and you would not grant my prayer," she replied. "I asked my God, and He has heard me." As soon as the storm was over he took leave of his sister and returned to the monastery. It was a last meeting. Saint Scholastica died two days afterwards, and Benedict, as he was praying in his cell, beheld the soul of his sister ascending to heaven in the form of a dove.

In the year 540 Benedict was visited by Totila, King of the Goths, who cast himself prostrate at his feet and entreated his blessing. The Saint reproved him for the ravages he had committed in Italy,

and it was remarked that thereafter the ferocious barbarian showed more humanity. Shortly after this visit, Benedict died of a fever, with which he had been seized in attending the poor of the neighborhood. On the sixth day of his illness he ordered his grave to be dug, stood for a while on the edge of it, supported by his disciples, contemplating in silence his narrow bed; then desiring them to carry him to the foot of the altar in the church, he received the last sacraments, and died on the 21st March, 543. Even before his death, institutions of his order were found in every part of Christian Europe. Of his two most beloved disciples, St. Maur carried the foundation into France, and established many monasteries, St. Placidus into Sicily; the first died in his bed; the second is said to have been martyred by certain pirates, in company with his young sister Flavia and thirty companions.

Such is a brief sketch of the life and death of Benedict, condensed from the beautiful "Dialogues" of St. Gregory the Great. When visiting Monte Casino last summer, it was our privilege to witness members of his order renewing the beautiful paintings which depict the striking events in his life, and the most striking of all, his precious and wonderful death, in the very spot where it came to pass; and Young's lines revived in our memory:

"The chamber where the good man meets his fate,
Is privileged beyond the common walk
Of virtuous life, quite in the verge of heaven."

Before presenting the claims of Benedict and of the monks on the remembrance and gratitude of Christendom, we may be allowed to inquire into the principles that underlie their manner of life, and attempt a brief apology, in the native sense of the word, of the religious profession.

Every man of intelligence at times tires of the perpetual domination of the flesh over the soul, becomes disgusted with material pursuits and enjoyment, and longs for spiritual good and beauty. It is a reminiscence, perhaps it may be an unconscious one, of the original justice in which God created man. This taste working its legitimate results produces the monk. He falls in love with his soul and with Him whose image the soul is, and turning from perverted humanity contemplates the reflection of the uncreated beauty in nature and attempts to idealize it in art. It is well that Providence always raises up such men to make the rest remember their origin, and the high standard which God had in view when he made us. Were it not for their example we might sink further and further into things of mere sense, and become "like the horse and mule, that have no understanding." Hence, men have always recognized and honored the priesthood, and especially the monks, who

were monks indeed, have offered to support them, even that they might continue to set an example of holiness undisturbed by worldly cares, and might make intercession for the community. Some have tried to call this superstition ; why, then, superstition is but another name for truth ! What all men, even the most uncultivated, naturally hold, can only proceed from eternal truth evidencing itself to the soul. The monks especially set about perfection, that is, the re-establishment of the dominion of reason and grace over passion and temptation. Our Saviour counselled his followers to strive after perfection, at the same time implying that all do not take the suggestion. It stands to reason, however, that there must always be those who shall be able with His grace to follow those counsels, which certainly were not given in vain. Monks are men who make it the business of their lives to reach that ideal which our Saviour proclaimed. The rule of life laid down by Benedict, arranged all their relations and employments to attain this end. Bos-suet says : "It is an epitome of Christianity, a learned and mysterious abridgment of all the doctrines of the Gospel, all the institutions of the Holy Fathers, and all the counsels of perfection. Here prudence and simplicity, humility and courage, severity and gentleness, freedom and dependence, eminently appear. Here correction has all its firmness, condescension all its charm, command all its vigor, and subjection all its repose ; silence its gravity, and words their grace ; strength its exercise, and weakness its support." Hence the number of saints and eminent men, not reaching that degree, whom it produced ; hence its attraction for the noblest minds and most elevated souls ; hence its conquests of barbarism and establishment of religion, liberty, and learning wherever it took root.

Wordsworth was a great admirer of the monks, and recalls their qualities in his beautiful poems. We cite a line or two :

"Record we too, with just and faithful pen,
That many hooded cenobites there are
Who in their private cells have yet a care
Of public quiet ; unambitious men,
Counsellors for the world, of piercing ken ;
Whose fervent exhortations from afar
Move princes to their duty, peace, or war ;
And oftentimes in the most forbidding den
Of solitude, with love of science strong,
How patiently the yoke of thought they bear ;
By such examples moved to unbought pains,
The people work like congregated bees ;
Eager to build the quiet fortresses
Where piety, as they believe, obtains
From heaven a general blessing ; timely rains
And sunshine ; prosperous enterprise, peace, and equity."

The three counsels, as distinct from commandments, recognized in the Gospel and illustrated by the lives of our Lord and His

Apostles, are poverty, chastity, and obedience. These three are essential to monachism. Let us speak first of chastity, that is, pure chastity or virginity. This has always been recognized by the Church as a higher state than the married one, and the constant teaching was expressed in dogmatic form by the Council of Trent.

"Marriage is good," says St. Chrysostom, "but virginity as far excels it as angels men, but all the excellency of this is derived from the consecration of a soul to God and her attention to please Him, without which this state avails nothing." "Silver is good," says St. Jerome, "but gold is better. I do not disparage silver because I say that gold is better; neither do I deny the excellence of marriage when I maintain that virginity is a higher state."

Lord Bacon, in one of his essays, thus expresses his opinion as regards those in society whose life should be devoted to the common service in spirituals :

"A single life," he says, "doth well with churchmen, for charity will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool." Thorn-dyke, an eminent Protestant divine, in his book on *Just Weights and Measures*, p. 239, says: "The reason for single life for the clergy is firmly grounded, by the fathers and canons of the Church, upon the precept of St. Paul, forbidding man and wife to depart unless for a time to attend unto prayer (1 Cor. vii. 5). For priests and deacons, being continually to attend upon occasions of celebrating the Eucharist, which ought continually to be frequented; if others be to abstain for a time, then they always."

If one might be allowed to theorize a little on this subject, a professional man must be married to his books if he will attain excellence in his mental calling. Indeed, his habits of meditation and study incapacitate him, as physiologists give us to understand, for the offices of paternity. Besides this, he is divided if he marry, and his children, if he have them, will scarcely be equal to the average, while his single-minded and single-hearted devotion to his calling is interfered with. Great intellectual men and others of singular ability in other ways, are very often the last representatives of their families. There is a popular saying about preachers' sons, to which it boots not more particularly to allude, but which is akin to that one about the foot-covering of the shoemaker's wife. As for having wives in a monastery, it would simply mean suicide for the institution.

The nerve, as the Italians call it, the strength, physical at least, of a nation, resides in its middle class, and in what may be called without offence a lower one, the mechanical and agricultural. They who rise out of this by more highly developed intellect and will, exalt the mind and soul at the expense of the body. Bodily labor as a normal occupation interferes with the highest mental develop-

ment, and this with perfection of the material part. Hence the rich and educated resemble the flower of the fields, which dies and disappears forever; the populace may be compared to the trunk and roots, which show less, but remain through the seasons. The most ancient families in England are not found in what is called the peerage, which constantly requires fresh accessions from below, and out of several hundred families in it, not seventy were found there at the beginning of the last century. Illustrious men, too, seem generally to have reached the climax of their race, and leave no issue or a weak decayed shoot. For this reason there would be slight hope of benefit from the marriage of priests. Man's race as a race will not stand high education. The individual must receive it to keep the lamp of science, religion, and civilization burning, but he feeds this with his own blood, and the race must either forego his services, or be content to accept his death as the price paid for them, and look to others for the office of perpetuating the species.

Whatever may be said about this theory, it is certain that the physicians of the University of Paris, even after the Middle Ages, still professed celibacy; the clerks of the counting-houses of the Hanse-towns were also bound to it; it is universal in the vast standing armies of Europe, and recognized as desirable even in our own limited force. Besides which a great number of men and women of every religious faith are as Paul was, except the bonds, and fill worthily public and private positions, claiming for themselves that freedom which they willingly allow to others. If they are so from a good motive, not indolence or misanthropy, much more if they are so that they may cultivate their own souls in single-life, believing this to be God's will in their regard, and that they may more fearlessly and wholly serve their neighbor in hospitals, schools, asylums, and armies, they are deserving of great honor and praise. Such are the monks by their profession. It is the glory of the Church that, while recommending her chosen ones to "leave all things" and "seek the kingdom of God and his justice" only, she has provided fathers and mothers for the orphans, the helpless, and the poor, who are "always with us," preservers of the truth, devotees of science, munificent patrons of art, masters in agriculture, heralds of the Gospel, founders of great nations, pioneers and guardians of civilization, and all this without saddling society with the most odious of all castes, a sacerdotal one. The more one considers this doctrine of sacred celibacy and its results, the stronger will grow the conviction that it is a divine provision for remedying the evils incidental to that freedom of the marriage relation and the generation of children by those who, from what cause soever

are incapable of caring for and educating them, which human legislation has found it impossible to regulate.

That he may devote himself to the general good it is necessary that the preacher, the hospitaller, the teacher, the soldier, should be free from the cares of self-maintenance. This is attained by those who form communities. As to individual poverty, we have the example of our Saviour, who, with his disciples, lived on what was donated them; and the proverb has it, "No one acts the soldier at his own expense." When the young man told Christ that he had always kept the commandments, the reply was: "If thou wouldst be perfect (he left him free), go sell all thou hast and give to the poor, and come, follow me." The youth was sad at this, because he had large possessions. It is a sign of great nobility of character to be detached from the goods of this world. In a community of monks, as in an army or any other institution, poverty, that is absence of private ownership, or at least of administration of one's property, is essential to brotherliness, equality, and unity. Nothing divides men so rapidly and completely as money and its use. They who would dwell and work together as brethren in one house must have the same food, dress, and lodging. Simplicity in all these things is also necessary, for intemperance is the parent of lust, and the cause of nearly all diseases and disorders which do not spring from lust. Hence the domestic discipline of the monks was more or less severe in all that regards personal needs. They rose early, slept just enough, lay on hard couches, and practiced continual abstinence from unnecessary viands. Meanwhile, by their regularity, peace of mind, and the manual labor in which every one from the abbot, who, as a writer has it, "returned home like Cincinnatus with his scythe upon his shoulder," down to him who took care of the lamps, even the professors were obliged to take part, they gained that healthy appetite which is the best sauce for plain natural food. Health, therefore, and good spirits were dominant amongst them, the term "jolly monks" became a proverb, and they attained by mortification what we all desire,—a healthy mind in a sound body, and their days were long in the land. All the while that they thus curtailed their own wants, their system and constant labor was accumulating means, wherewith they helped the poor victims of the vices contrary to their own practice.

Obedience is the third chief characteristic of the monk. Its necessity in every house, city, and state, need not be dwelt upon. The freest political institutions depend for their permanence on the obedience of the members to the law and its executive. The only liberty we have in our republic is to choose whom we must obey. The monks bound themselves to obey the abbot in all that was not evidently contrary to God's law. He had to govern accord-

ing to the rule, which they knew well before binding themselves, being on probation for a year before admission, and which was approved by the Church authorities. Besides, in any important matter the abbot had to consult a general council of all the members, and he was chosen by the monks themselves, and thus, like the president of a pure democracy, was the servant, not the lord of his subjects.

Obedience is the highest merit and praise of the soldier, and of the citizen, whose most noble epithet is law-abiding. There is nothing so popular as military glory, because it involves the sacrifice of self. "To subdue self is the secret of strength," says De Tocqueville. The monks were often styled soldiers, for that their whole life was a heroic warfare against corrupt human passion and its results. Some of them formed companies for fleshly battle as well as spiritual, and after contending against the heathen as Knights Templars or of St. John, doffed the cuirass and sang their office in choir, or tended the wounded in hospital. One of the vows of these monkish warriors forbade them to turn their backs on less than five opponents, and how well they kept it history can tell. Schiller's beautiful lines, rendered in our tongue by Bulwer Lytton, express their praise :

"Oh nobly shone the fearful Cross upon your mail afar,
When Rhodes and Acre hailed your might, O lions of the war!
When leading many a pilgrim horde through wastes of Syrian gloom,
Or standing with the Cherub's sword before the Holy Tomb.
Yet on your forms the apron seemed a nobler armor far,
When by the sick man's bed ye stood, O lions of the war!
When ye, the highborn, bowed your pride to tend the lowly weakness—
The duty, though it brought no fame, fulfilled by Christian meekness—
Religion of the Cross—thou blend'st, as in a single flower,
The twofold branches of the palm,—HUMILITY AND POWER."

Truly is here the Scripture verified: "The obedient man shall have victories to talk of."

The practice of these virtues gave the monks a singular and powerful position in society. They became the trusted almoners of the rich, for they spent nothing on themselves. Their education and the noble birth of many of them made them equal to the aristocracy, while they levelled society up by admitting alike serf, peasant, and noble, under equal conditions, into their ranks. Their simple lives and the sacred character which many of them bore as priests made them accessible to the poor, who could hardly complain of their lot when they received alms and hospitality from those who were admittedly their superiors, yet led a harder life than they did themselves. Here lies the secret, possessed by the Church alone, of making the poor content, and bridging over the chasms of society.

Let us glance once more at the internal side of monasticism, and hear St. Bernard, translated by Wordsworth, in its praise :

“ Here man more purely lives, less oft doth fall ;
More promptly rises ; walks with nicer tread ;
More safely rests ; dies happier ; is freed
Earlier from cleansing fires, and gains withal
A brighter crown.”

“ There is,” says Jameson, “ a view of the sanctity of solitude, placed before us in the earlier monastic pictures, which is soothing and attractive far beyond the power of words. How beautiful that soft, settled calm, which seems to have descended on the features, as on the souls of those who have kept themselves unspotted from the world ! How dear to the fatigued or wounded spirit that blessed portraiture of stillness with communion, of seclusion with sympathy, which breathes from such picture ! Who at some moments has not felt their unspeakable charm ? Felt, when the weight of existence pressed on the fevered nerves and weary heart, the need of some refuge for life on this side of death, and all the real or at least the possible sanctity of solitude.”

Sir James Stephen thus alludes to the perfection of the individual as attained in the monasteries :

“ The greatness of the Benedictines did not, however, consist either in their agricultural skill, their prodigies of architecture, or their priceless libraries, but in their parentage of countless men and women illustrious for active piety, for wisdom in the government of mankind, for profound learning, and for that contemplative spirit which discovers, within the soul itself, things beyond the limits of the perceptible creation.”

These encomiums are very commonly met with in historical writers. The same author thus speaks of the mendicant orders of monks :

“ In an age of oligarchal tyranny the mendicant friars were the protectors of the weak, in an age of ignorance the instructors of mankind, and in an age of profligacy the stern vindicators of the holiness of the sacerdotal character and the virtues of domestic life.”

Their whole existence was a protest against lawlessness, violence, and sin. Their continual endeavor was for peace, order, law, and gentleness of manners. Even in their treatment of the brute creation this was illustrated, and their legends are full of the most touching and exquisite incidents of the manner in which the monks made use of these, which the admirable St. Francis of Assisi did not scruple to call his “ brothers the wolves ” and his “ sisters the little birds.” All the gentle virtues flourished within and around the monastery.

"We are outliving," says Mrs. Jameson, "the gross prejudices which once represented the life of the cloister as being from first to last a life of laziness and imposture; we know that, but for the monks, the light of liberty, and literature, and science had been forever extinguished; and that, for six centuries, there existed for the thoughtful, the gentle, the inquiring, the devout spirit, no peace, no security, no home but the cloister. There learning trimmed her lamp; there contemplation pruned her wings; there the traditions of art, preserved from age to age by lonely, studious men, kept alive, in form and color, the ideal of a beauty beyond that of earth, of a might beyond that of the spear and the shield, of a divine sympathy with suffering humanity. To this we may add another and a stronger claim on our respect and moral sympathies. The protection and the better education given to women in these early communities; the venerable and distinguished rank assigned them when as governesses of their order they became in a manner dignitaries of the Church; the introduction of their beautiful and saintly effigies, clothed with all the insignia of sanctity and authority, into the decoration of places of worship and books of devotion, did more perhaps for the general cause of womanhood than all the boasted institutions of chivalry."

Indeed, it was from the recognition of woman's proper sphere and dignity by the Church and her clergy, by their regard for her who was of Mary's sex, and which they preached and inculcated, that those warlike knights learned their somewhat excessive reverence for the weaker but yet noble complement of man, and if one would seek the highest examples of virtue, learning, executive ability, and usefulness among the sex, he must fain turn to the chronicles of monasticism, as well in the remote as in the more recent history of the Church. Let us but name Mary of Egypt, Thais, Pelagia the Pearl of Antioch, Paula, Melita, Walburga of England, Colette of France, Odilia, and coming down to later times Clare of Assisi, Angela and Teresa, not to mention the illustrious women who founded those modern orders of charity which the whole undivided world praises. Their number is so great, their lives and works so edifying and useful, that they reflect lustre on the religious institution which they chose to embrace. The same argument may be applied to monasticism which holds for religion in general. It is in its essence good and beautiful, and therefore true, because it attracts those who seek for the good, the beautiful, and the true, or because it produces in those who submit to its influence a character in which all men may recognize those three essential characteristics of perfection.

A very natural connection leads us now to speak in detail of the external influence of the monks, that is, apart from the living

force of their example, which caused their numbers to swell incredibly, and their institution to spread into every Christian land. Great deeds arise from quiet, regular, mortified lives. He who has long meditated feels an irresistible impulse to impart to others the light he has received. He who has been long under obedience is likely to develop and show forth the most brilliant qualities as a commander. We may illustrate our meaning by an argument *ad hominem*. There are those who consider the protest of the sixteenth century a great benefit to society and to civilization. They owe it to a monk, one who abandoned his profession it is true, but yet were he not a monk it is very probable he would not have become the enthusiastic leader of revolution. Human nature is restive under discipline, and the longer the waters are restrained the higher they mount, and the more desperate is their flow. Man is essentially prone to action, and the fuller he becomes of knowledge the more zealous he is to impart it. Hence the army is drilled and practiced every day in order that it may become more desirous of putting its skill to practical use, and the more severe is the garrison duty the more the soldiers long to try their lances in real combat. Hence the monks have been, as a rule, the most prolific writers, the greatest preachers and energetic missionaries, for that they were allowed to speak but rarely, were compelled to study constantly, and to keep the narrow limits of their cells. Another feature in their discipline accounts for the completeness and perfection of their works. This was the setting every individual to that work for which he had most talent and inclination. Progress may be said in a sense to lie in the line of least resistance. "This one thing I do," said a successful man. Now each monk did what his ability inclined to, did this only, and therefore became a specialist, a perfect workman. Herein, apart from the high motive of duty and the protection given by a rule, lies the secret of the shining qualities and brilliant deeds of monks as compared with the secular clergy, who, to use a homely expression, are obliged in their less fortunate but honorable and necessary calling to turn their hands to everything, to be jacks at all trades, rarely masters of any.

ENGLAND'S RETURN TO THE FAITH.

WHEN, in February, 1846, John Henry Newman and a few attached followers quitted their ascetic home at Littlemore, near Oxford, and went forth not knowing whither they went, it may be said that England's return to the faith fairly began. Others, it is true, had gone before them, and among them Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, Ignatius Spencer, and Kenelm Digby, but they were not many, and none had a tithe of the influence—the mighty meekness of wisdom—that belonged to the ex-Vicar of St. Mary the Virgin. Many clergymen and laymen throughout the country immediately flung down their arms of rebellion against the Church, and submitted to be taught by her at whose feet their master and teacher was then sitting. To some this exit was the loss of all things, but they were able to say, "Let us also go and die with him." They believed it to be following Christ, whether it were for life or death. They had in their hands Newman's *Essay on the Theory of Development*, and it contained the reasons which had influenced their beloved leader, drawn out elaborately with a force and persuasiveness which no other writer on such subjects could rival or imitate. Anglican clergymen in the remote parishes were startled and amazed at the self-sacrifice of a man who might have led the Church of England, or a large portion of it, whither he would, and so have made himself an everlasting name. Some, though they still retained their benefices, from that moment felt their position insecure. If he who has raised rampart after rampart in defence of Anglicanism now abandoned his fortifications as untenable, what could be effected by feebler and less skilful resistance? If Troy, they whispered, could have been saved, it was by his right hand. Dr. Pusey, though in the language of tender and affectionate friendship, strove to attenuate the force and significance of the extraordinary event, and critics less amiable pretended, with righteous horror, to find labels of "*Poison*" in the heading of one chapter in the *Theory of Development* which spoke of the deification of the saints.¹

Bishops, deans, and archdeacons, having hounded Newman with all their might out of the Church of England, now bitterly reviled him for having taken them at their word, and while they professed hypocritically to be rejoiced at being rid of a traitor in the camp, felt keenly that the brightest star which had ever shone in their horizon could no longer be seen in dazzling splendor in their midst.

¹ The word has been altered in later editions.

The Professor of Poetry, at Oxford, has lately given it as his opinion—one of no mean weight—that no prose-poetry that Newman has produced equals that of his eight volumes of *Parochial Sermons*, delivered at St. Mary's in Oxford.¹ The simplicity of these familiar but most thoughtful addresses places them, he thinks, above the higher toned and more elaborate oratory of the "Discourses Addressed to Mixed Congregations." Such sermons were to be heard no more by his parishioners, and never more was he to thrill with the enchantment of his musical voice the Dons, and Masters, and Bachelors of Arts assembled in the University church. "The secession of Dr. Newman," Lord Beaconsfield has written, "dealt a blow to the Church of England under which it still reels."²

Multitudes of conversions followed that of the chief Tractarian. His writings, also, "Loss and Gain," and others, told with marvellous effect on the public mind. There was scarcely a well-known family but saw one or more of its members enlist in the army of Rome. Clergymen, barristers, nobles, officers, publishers, architects, literati of every description, reviewers, naturalists, the owners of broad lands and the heirs of great fortunes. First-class men and wranglers, physicians, poets, Protestant sisterhoods, sculptors, painters, professors, members of Parliament, justices of the peace, musicians, royal academicians, merchants, editors, fellows of colleges, dramatists, government officials, and, in short, representatives of every branch of society were drawn in a continuous stream, which has not yet ceased to flow, by different but converging channels to the great centre,—Rome.

Of these converts most of them published something, a book, a pamphlet, or at least a tract, explaining the reasons which induced them to do, what men in general do with the utmost reluctance,—change their religion. The change, moreover, in this case, was the more remarkable because it ran directly counter to the national prejudices and traditions during three hundred years. To a vast number of persons it appeared simple insanity, equally at variance with Scripture, reason, and common sense. It was regarded, too, as an outrage on social duties and proprieties, and it led, in a great many cases, to husbands and wives separating, children being disinherited, the dearest, the most cheerful and winning inmates of happy and united homes being thrust out at the gates, friendless, homeless, penniless, and sometimes, but for the consolations of their religion, broken-hearted. Many, deprived of their profession and means of subsistence, were compelled to begin life anew under terrible disadvantages. Many had to go down in the scale of society, and submit to find themselves in surroundings alien to their

¹ Shairp's Lectures on the Aspects of Poetry. Cardinal Newman. 1881.

² Preface to *Lothair*, p. xv.

habits and distasteful to their feelings. Others experienced bitter reproaches, mocks and taunts, insults and injuries, at the hands of those who had once been their kindest friends. But all these trials of faith, not the less severe because they were borne for the most part in silence and secret, were in themselves sermons,—they spoke, in language more forcible than any words could have spoken, of a strength of inward conviction and a joy-inspiring sense of inward realities, which it would be difficult for anything but divine truth to impart. The conversions were often effected without any personal influence having been used, a Catholic priest ever having been spoken to, a Catholic Church ever having been entered. The conviction seemed to come straight from above: "There must be a church in which the living gospel of Christ is preserved intact from age to age, and that one of which St. Peter's successor is the head must be the Church in question. England has forsaken the fountain of living waters, and hewn out for herself broken cisterns that hold no water. She must return." The most ardent patriotism burned in the hearts of the converts, and their feelings resembled those of the Pagans in the first ages, who at the preaching of Apostles and missionaries cast away their idols and took up the cross to follow the Crucified. To none was the change more trying than to Protestant clergymen who, with the purest intentions, had accepted a pastoral office and conscientiously endeavored to discharge its duties. It rent their very heart-strings asunder to sever themselves from their parsonages and flocks, divest themselves of a sacerdotal and even of a ministerial character, appear, to the horror and disgust of their friends and bewilderment of their parishioners, as laymen, and begin an untried and totally different course of life. The teachers had to become learners; the first had to be last; the humiliation was complete. But this was their abundant solace,—the tide of England's return to the faith had fairly set in.

Many things, of course, had conspired to ameliorate the condition of Catholics since the time of the Elizabethan persecution. James the First somewhat relaxed the penal laws or held them in abeyance. Charles the First married a Catholic princess; Charles the Second embraced the Catholic religion on his death-bed. James the Second openly professed the faith, and not a few of his subjects, including Dryden, gave in their adhesion to Catholicity, and educated their children in Catholic principles. William the Third was not disposed to persecute. In Queen Anne's time Catholics, unless they were turbulent, might lead a tolerably quiet life, and even mix in general society, as did Alexander Pope. Under the first three Georges they were more neglected than molested; under the Fourth of that name, the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed in 1828, and in the following year the Roman Catholic Re-

lief Bill entirely altered their political, and greatly modified their social, position. Charles Butler, Plowden and Lingard, the author of *England's Reformation*; Bishops Milner, Challoner, and Hay; Drs. Wiseman and Rock, did them honor as men of letters; but though on many accounts they lifted up their heads, they could scarcely feel as yet that their redemption was drawing nigh. They continued for years to be in England a part of the population little known and less cared for. Their books were unread out of their own limited circle; their manor-houses and castles were looked upon as dark and mysterious abodes of antiquated and superstitious people; their poor were squalid and un-English; their chapels were far apart, obscure, and mean. Their usual lot was to be set aside, feared, maligned, misinterpreted; they rarely made a convert, and few of them ever dared to indulge a hope of "England's Return." It was a common practice to keep the Blessed Sacrament itself in a *cupboard* in the vestry, without even a light, and never having an act of adoration paid to it, except at Mass.¹

Among the few English converts of mark who had preceded Newman, one, who has already been mentioned, passed into the Church in the year following the admission of Catholics to seats in Parliament. This was the Honorable and Reverend George Spencer, afterwards Father Ignatius of St. Paul, Passionist. From an early period of his career as a Catholic priest his mind became deeply impressed by one idea,—the efficacy and necessity of prayer for the conversion of England. He was penetrated more than most men by the conviction of the value and power of personal and individual prayer, but he felt still more deeply persuaded of the wonderful and ever-blessed results of united intercessions. No object appeared to him more worthy of prayer than the conversion of his native land from heresy and schism to the true faith, and towards this very desirable end he directed the most ardent and persistent efforts of his life. He was sure that prayer would succeed, that difficulties which appeared insuperable would vanish before it, that the rough places would be made smooth, the mountains cast into the sea, and the way of the Lord prepared. He met with abundant encouragement. The circle of his co-petitioners constantly widened. In France, Rome, Ireland, Belgium, and Holland, prayerful wrestlers stepped daily into the sacred arena. Of all countries on earth England would be the most difficult to recover. She had in every generation during three centuries renewed and persisted in formal acts of apostasy. Every sovereign, and every official, had for a long period been constrained to denounce Catholicity as superstitious and idolatrous. Could any adequate reparation be offered for such persistent blasphemy,

¹ Dr. Wiseman to F. Spencer. Ash Wednesday, 1839.

wrought into the very texture of the laws, and built into the framework of society? It affected the entire national literature, corrupted the habits of the people, vitiated the course of education, and the statutes of universities. How were the coils of this gigantic serpent to be loosened? How were the chains of which the slaves of prejudice boasted to be struck off? To these questions Father Spencer and Dr. Wiseman had an unhesitating answer: "By sacrifice and prayer." "I am going, in a day or two," wrote the latter from Rome in 1839, "to concert with Pallotta the best means of propagating the devotion, both in communities and among the people."

The answers and the prayers of faith were not slow in arriving. In 1842 and 1843 conversions multiplied daily, and during the three years following the public papers were constantly recording new defections from the Church of Cranmer and Queen Elizabeth. In the beginning of 1846 Father Ignatius wrote that one day in Oscott twelve ex-clergymen of the Establishment assisted at his Mass, and "there were three more who might have been there, but were unable to come." Of such clerical converts the writer has known personally more than a hundred, and the names of three times as many have been written in the Lamb's Book of Life. Father Ignatius Spencer did an incalculable service to his country by making a new departure in the Catholic movement in England spring from prayer, and it will be well if the zeal which he excited in this direction, and in this exercise, know no abatement until the whole number of the elect be gathered in, and all England, so far as this be possible, shall be saved. The multitude of emigrant priests who took refuge in England during the storms of the first French revolution, though scattered about in the hospitable houses of the rich and great, left little or no mark upon the religion of the country. Their influence had not been supported and aided by prayers such as Ignatius Spencer had caused to batter loudly against the gates of heaven. But now that heaven had been besieged by thousands of importunate supplicants, eager for the conversion of their friends and neighbors, the Crimean War brought France and England into friendly alliance, and our people learned to travel in that and other Catholic countries of Europe with their eyes open to the splendors and charms of foreign ritual, and their ears unsealed to the persuasive voices of Catholic explanations. Religious sisterhoods, such as our officers and soldiers had admired in active operation in the tents and trenches of the blood-stained battle-plain, became speedily multiplied nearer home, and the tender hands of many a high-born girl, in the simple garb of a sister of St. Vincent of Paul, ministered to the wants of poor,

¹ Life of Father Ignatius of St. Paul, p. 343.

sick, and dying in the crowded courts and unwholesome alleys of densely populated cities and towns. Forces of which a former generation had never dreamed were called into play, and proved as efficacious in the spiritual world as steam and electricity were in the material. Multitudes of preachers went everywhere in the name of the Lord; babes and sucklings seemed to be charged with messages from on high; athletes innumerable were ready to do battle for the Christ, and prove that England had driven Him, her Saviour and her God, from altar and hearth. The process, destined to be long and difficult, of disillusioning the public mind of the falsehoods of ages was begun and extending widely with manifest success. The lies, too long current though gross, of popular historians, the misrepresentations of Protestant preachers and divines, and the inventions and calumnies of unscrupulous travellers, were exposed, and it was demonstrated in a thousand ways that Rome had never denied the vital truths she was said to contradict, and never affirmed the diabolical falsehoods she was said to hold. Protestantism, even that of the Church of England, appealed to some principles only of our nature; it was discovered by degrees that Catholicity appealed to them all. The nimbus of glory which, in the eyes of the masses, had surrounded the brows of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, vanished into thick darkness, and Anglican clergymen were heard to apply to them epithets as severe as had ever issued from the lips of Catholic victims of reforming oppressors. One of these, the Reverend Dr. Littledale, writing in 1868, said: "I gravely assert it to be absolutely impossible for any just, educated, and religious men, who have read the history of the time in genuine sources, to hold two opinions about the reformers. They were such utterly unredeemed villains, for the most part, that the only parallel I know of for the way in which half-educated people speak of them amongst us, is the appearance of Pontius Pilate among the saints in the Abyssinian Kalendar."¹

Father Ignatius Spencer was indefatigable in provoking not Catholics only, but Anglicans and dissenters also, to prayers for unity in the truth "wherever God sees it to be;" and he would probably have regarded it as an answer to such prayer that Catholic doctrines and ritual have penetrated the mass of Anglicans in so many directions, that the Low Church or Evangelical party, once dominant, has long been in a minority, and the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, as taught by the Catholic religion, finds more and more acceptance among High Church clergymen, and is openly taught and represented at their altars by the nearest approaches they can effect to the solemn and sometimes gorgeous

¹ Letter in the *Guardian*, 16th May, 1868.

ritual of the Mass. Where the zealous Passionist effected nothing more, he, at all events, succeeded in diminishing the spirit of acrimony and the disposition in people of opposite principles to misrepresent one another's views. One day, in February, 1850, he called on the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell, by whom he was received with much politeness, and told: "I consider the body to which you belong as the one which suffers the most from misrepresentations."¹ In calling upon Lord Clarendon, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, at Dublin Castle, in February, 1852, Father Spencer explained to him how earnestly he was endeavoring to induce the Irish to pray for England. If they had persevered in such prayer, to which he had over and over again exhorted them, "they would not," in his opinion, "have thought of making pikes against England in 1848." Lord Clarendon was pleased with his visit, and though his lordship's Protestantism probably continued as stout in texture as before, he highly approved of the good father's mode of procedure, from his point of view, and said: "If every one acted as you do, we should have nothing to complain of." Father Spencer, who may fairly be called the apostle of prayer for England's return to the faith, had an interview with Lord Palmerston, then secretary for foreign affairs, and a communication with Lord Derby in 1851, both of which tended to promote kindly feelings, if they failed of any higher result.

To one who considers the present position of the Church in England, and compares it with that which obtained when Newman cast in his lot with it, and when Father Spencer recommended it so earnestly to the prayers of the faithful, there are two things which force themselves strongly on the mind,—first, the great increase in the number and influence of Catholics during the last forty years, and, secondly, the inconsiderable proportion which that number and influence still bear when contrasted with that of the non-Catholics who make up the rest of the population. The Catholic Directory published in London every year shows, during the forty-five years that it has appeared, a steady increase in the number of its priests, prelates, churches and chapels, colleges, schools, convents, institutions, societies, English confessors abroad, peers, baronets, members of the Privy Council. The Dioceses are becoming gradually enriched by asylums for aged poor, homes for servants, hospitals, refuges, industrial schools, reformatory schools, orphanages, shoe-black brigades, homes for cripples, sisters of charity, and other institutions equally benevolent in their object and pious in the way they are conducted. Religious houses are constantly becoming more numerous, and extending their bounds

¹ Life of Father Ignatius of St. Paul, p. 404.

and spheres of action. The colleges are remarkable for the increase in the learning and ability of the professors, and in the proficiency of the pupils. These are prepared in the colleges, such as Stonyhurst, Ushaw, and Oscott, for examinations which they may have to undergo in London or elsewhere, for the civil service, or the University of London, and the necessity of attaining a high mark of excellence for this purpose, has led to a much more strict scientific, mathematical, classical, and literary training than was formerly required. The space that separates church from church, and chapel from chapel, decreases fast; and country-seats with resident chaplains, and altars, and Masses of their own, become nearer to one another. The sweet and exquisitely plaintive notes of Catholic choirs and organs rise from more numerous buildings, and the houses of prayer are more impressive in their architecture, richer in their decoration, and more orderly and, it may be even magnificent, in their appointments. Catholics, again, fill more important offices in the state, the army, navy, and government departments; they fall under less suspicion in consequence of their faith; they are trusted, like their neighbors, as men of honor and intelligence; they mix in general society; they are not dreaded as they used to be; they are largely employed on the public press; and, as a rule, they are found incapable of taking dishonorable advantage of any intimacy that may be allowed them. In fact the national prejudices are modified though far from extinct. There is no knowing how soon some members of the royal family may, in spite of the prohibitions of law, make their submission to the Catholic Church; and if they were to do so, there is very little reason to think that it would cause any popular commotion, or prove anything more than a nine days' wonder.

But though these and a thousand other signs of the extension of Catholicity among the people exist, it must not be forgotten that the population also has greatly augmented, and that we are surrounded on every side by unreconciled, powerful, watchful foes. Nor do they fight under one flag. The anti-Catholic army of England is composed of many allies, united only in hostility to the ancient faith. The Anglican Church is the established religion of the land, and Mr. Bright himself has said that there is little chance at present of the majority of the people wishing it to be otherwise. Its clergy are for the most part men of education, respectability, and zeal, and the better portion of their parishioners are attached to them as pastors. The Dissenters, principally Independents, Methodists, and Baptists, are further removed from Catholic doctrine than the Anglicans, and more hostile to it because more ignorant of all that concerns it. Yet their ministers are said to be trained in their seminaries with greater care than

formerly, and many of them turn out scholars, authors, and effective preachers. Besides these there is in the anti-Catholic army a strong contingent of freethinkers under different names and often no names at all. There are atheists, theists, deists, agnostics, positivists, materialists, who, though unmeasured in their enmity to Catholicity, have, nevertheless, the candor generally to say that the Church of which the Pope is the head is the only formidable enemy they have to encounter, that her children alone can manfully face a well-instructed infidel, and that her forces alone will long keep the field on the battle-plain of human thought. It is a part of the tactics of these gentlemen to represent Catholics as the particular enemies of progress, civilization, and science, in spite of all that one of their chief leaders, Auguste Comte, has written to the contrary. Yet Professor Huxley tells us how, when he was paying a visit to one of the most important of the institutions in which the clergy of the Catholic Church are trained, he found the professors of the college were permitted to speak frankly with him "as with a friendly foe, and how they instructed their pupils in what they considered the errors of the times, philosophic and scientific, and the attitude which they should assume towards them." But of this we may be perfectly certain that in no Catholic college or university in the land did a single professor seek to inspire a spirit of animosity towards scientific research or clearly ascertained scientific facts. The Church has never been the enemy, but always the friend, of science, art, and literature, and she never can be otherwise than a patroness of all that really favors civilization and progress. To assert the contrary is to betray the grossest ignorance and to overthrow the great facts of her history by some quibbling quotation from some ill-understood passage in the Syllabus. Bishop Clifford has recently given the lie to such preposterous calumnies by his remarks on science in the *Dublin Review*: "The discussion," his lordship says, "of such questions (as that of the Days of Creation) in a scientific Catholic review can give no just cause for alarm. There would be far more reason for alarm if Catholic students and Catholic writers showed apathy or contempt of what are in truth among the burning religious questions of the day. Many of the questions which have agitated the Church in former times, and which still remain of deep interest to theologians, attract but little notice from the present generation of mankind. The wonderful discoveries of modern science, on the other hand, possess an immense fascination for all thoughtful minds, both old and young. The conclusions at which scientific men have arrived, concerning the early stages of our globe and of our race, have un-

¹ Huxley's Lay Sermons, 1870, p. 63.

doubtedly the appearance, in more instances than one, of being irreconcilable with what we find recorded in Holy Scripture on these same subjects. These apparent contradictions are a real stumbling-block in the path of many believers, as well as of sincere inquirers after religious truth. It is the office of the apologist to strengthen the faith of the former, *and to aid the researches of the latter.* Difficulties are not removed and faith is not strengthened by a few flippant sneers directed against scientific men, or by a few platitudes about the liability of all men to err. Instead of strengthening the faith of waverers, such treatment disgusts and repels men who have made themselves acquainted in any degree with the conscientious and patient researches on which scientific men ground their facts and theories. The only way in which the apologists of revelation can expect successfully to meet those theories is either by pointing out the fallacies, where fallacies exist, in the arguments of scientific men, or by explaining how it is that the statements of science and of Holy Scripture are not really at variance with each other."¹

These enlightened sentiments of the Bishop of Clifton are illustrated and confirmed by the writings of Catholic physicists of the present day, such as Professors Mivart, Barff, and Perry, who has followed in the steps of the Roman Jesuit of European reputation, and, as an astronomer, has the confidence of the English government, and was commissioned by them some years ago to observe the transit of Venus from the island of Kerguelen. Professor Barff has approved himself as a chemist of the highest distinction, not only by his admirable work on the subject of chemistry, now commonly in the hands of students, but by his valuable discovery of the method of preserving iron from rust.² Dr. Mivart is distinguished as a Christian evolutionist, who, amid all his speculations concerning social, political, scientific, and philosophic evolution, has never committed himself to such an adherence to the views of Darwin on the origin of species as would compromise his character as a Christian teacher, and cause his orthodoxy as a Catholic to be called in question. There is, therefore, not the slightest reason to fear that England's return to the faith will in any degree be hindered by Catholic opposition to science properly so called, and it remains to be seen whether Catholics here will not ultimately do more than keep abreast of non-Catholic and anti-Catholic students of natural history and science. It will never, of course, be their mission, as Catholics, to teach secular knowledge of any kind, but the philosophy of Christianity of which they are possessed may gift them with an insight into nature and the laws of life more

¹ Dublin Review, January, 1882. Bishop Clifford on the Days of Creation, p. 506-7.

² Year-Book of Facts in Science and the Arts, 1878, pp. 183-85.

penetrating than that of men who have made the universe itself a God-denying apostate, and changed the language of stars and flowers and strata and all chemical substances from "The Hand that made us is Divine" into "No Hand that made us is Divine; we are our own protoplasm, our own protozoa; we breathed into ourselves the breath of life; there is no God but matter organic and inorganic, and thought itself is one of its functions!"

If, in the presence of powerful and multitudinous adversaries, the hope of England's return sometimes dies down in the heart, how can we revive it better than by contrasting the past with the present and seeing how much ground we have gained, how many fine intellects we have convinced, how many immortal souls we have won? The Catholic Church in England "was for at least two generations without churches or bishops—a handful of priests ministered to a remnant of Catholics, the number of whom at the end of the last century was supposed to amount to thirty thousand." Well, leaving the last century behind, step forward into the present century sixty-two years. Dr. Manning is preaching at the opening of the Church of St. Boniface, in London. He refers to a convert, eighty years of age, who was present, seventy years before, when that very building was first opened as a place of worship for a dissenting sect. Let us listen to the preacher's words, for they are much to the purpose in the present place. "Within the term of one such life," he says, "what events are compressed. One extreme of it rests upon the year when London was tormented and degraded by the No Popery riots, when the infuriated populace streamed through the streets to sack and burn the Catholic churches, when the Catholic bishop was sought for, as St. Boniface by the heathen, to take his life; the other extreme rests upon this day, when the Church comes in all its power and freedom. In the interval what events are to be found? The emancipation and the resurrection of the whole Catholic people of this empire as from the grave, the abolition of penal laws, and their restoration to the social and political life of this English race. Next, the organization of the Catholic hierarchy, with all the exuberant life which goes out of it on every side. Who could then have foreseen such manifestations of the power from on high? And if one life has seen such things, what may not some of you yet live to see? There may be some here to-day who shall be witnesses of a change, which if I were to attempt to describe, you would think me beside myself. There are agencies and powers in full operation, the effects of which as yet are not perceived. But two things are already manifest; the one, that all fragmentary

¹ Christianity in Great Britain, "The Church of Rome," 1874, p. 34.

forms of Christianity are falling piecemeal, and resolving themselves into dust. The touch of death has been laid upon them, and they are obeying the law of their own nature. They spring from man, and, as all human things, they contain the principles of their own dissolution. The other, that the Church of God is expanding with a steadfast and majestic advance, multiplying itself on every side, and prevailing over the reason and the hearts of men. The word of God and the Spirit from the ends of the world have entered into England with all the weight and power of an irresistible tide. It is like the encroachments of the sea. And as all antagonists dissolve and pass away, leaving the earth strewn with fragments of their lifeless forms, the Church of God stands alone, the living and life-giving among the dead. When and how these things shall be, we know not, but I also may say, in the words of our Divine Redeemer: 'There be some standing here who shall not taste death till they see the kingdom of God coming in power' "1

Twenty years have rolled by since these words were uttered, this sermon preached. The preacher has become, first, primate of the Church in England, and in the next place a cardinal and prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Great changes have occurred, and many of them altogether unforeseen. Fragmentary forms of Christianity have gone on falling piecemeal and resolving themselves into dust. The touch of death has been laid upon them, and they are obeying the law of their own nature. But now hostile forces have unfurled their banners and brought their artillery into the field. Infidelity in various shapes, agnostic, pantheistic, atheistic, has penetrated into every department of literature, reviews, daily papers, books, lectures, music-halls, temples, and its language everywhere is distrustful and defiant towards religion in general and in a special manner towards that of Rome. Yet we have no reason to suppose that the opinion of his Eminence is in any degree altered, or that he would use to-day language in any way at variance with that which he used in the introduction to his sermons of 1863. Nor can it be inappropriate here to quote the opinion of one whose position was and is so important, and who is, in fact, the leader and general under whose *labarum* we are bound to fight for the conversion of England and the overthrow of Satanic legions sworn to oppose the march and victory of the armies of Christ.

"There was a time," he then wrote, "when the conversion of Rome was humanly as hopeless as the conversion of England. Yet it was done; and it was done, not by the slow accretion of in-

¹ Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects, 1863, p. 438-40.

dividuals, as men build palaces or pyramids, but by an instantaneous act of power, as God laid the foundations of the earth, and rears the height of mountains. What more unlooked for than the decree which, all in one day, hung upon the columns of the Forum, — *Christianam religionem profiteri liberum*. And how wonderful and almost instantaneous, like a beautiful vision, was the rise and world-wide expansion of the peace and glory of pontifical Rome, the mother and mistress of all churches. So, in its proportion, there may also be a grace in store for England. For the blood of martyrs is not shed in vain, nor all the tears and prayers of widows and orphans, virgins and confessors, forgotten before the throne. A great and mighty intercession has been for centuries ascending for England. The times of its desolation will not last forever, nor has God forgotten to show mercy. The loss of its worldly splendor, by which it is now inflated and intoxicated, may, perhaps, be required as the price of its restoration. For, as it lost its true Christian glories by the growth of its worldly greatness, so, perhaps, a worldly humiliation may be the just divine condition to its rising again to the grace of the kingdom of God. But this may come as in one day when we least look for it, and in one day it may turn to the Lord 'when the vail shall be taken away' from its heart."

We shall be excused if, in the love of our country, we earnestly trust that the grace of conversion may, in its measure, be bestowed upon her without any national humiliation, which she has, no doubt, deserved. In the present century she has not been backward in endeavors to repair the severities of the past, and this merit at least will, we may hope and believe, be laid to her account. The Catholic Church has twice been established in England, and twice it has been swept away. The agency of kings and queens, chieftains and barons, was, doubtless, largely employed in bringing about both these happy events, but should it please God to visit this people a third time with His salvation, the influence of the crown and the nobles can no longer be looked to as all-important factors in the change. The examples of personages in high stations would undoubtedly have immense influence still, but their authority is on the wane, if not actually at an end. The power of the people grows more and more, and no national changes can be effected but as the result of their will or assent. This would, of course, make the return of England to the faith more difficult, but not by any means hopeless. The hearts of all are in the hands of the Lord, and He can sway masses and multitudes with as much ease as courts and cabinets. But for those whom He might honor as His agents and missionaries the labor would be greater and the resistance more formidable. Opponents will have to be convinced

one by one and catechumens multiplied, lest sudden enthusiasm should in many cases be mistaken for sound conversion. The great object will be to obtain not mere numbers, but steady recruits. "Your strength," Dr. Newman wrote, more than thirty years ago, "lies in your God and your conscience; therefore, it lies not in your number. It lies not in your number any more than in intrigue, or combination, or worldly wisdom. God saves, whether by many or by few."¹ What we need above all things is organization, edification, mental culture, and heroes of the cross—men of power, untiring zeal, and faith that removes mountains. We may, within thoroughly Christian limits, become hero worshippers. We may long and pray that great men may be raised up with a spirit and force of language which their adversaries cannot gainsay or resist; men equal to a rare occasion; men of keen vision, strong convictions, invincible resolve, and free from every kind of narrowness; men of prayer, and self-sacrifice, and, like Apollos, "mighty in the Scriptures."² Without such apostles, our work will be slow and unsatisfactory; with them, the walls of Jericho will fall as at the blast of trumpets. Such men cannot fight alone. Followers, both lay and cleric, will gather round them and love the very ground on which they tread. They will find a welcome in the palaces of princes, the seats of learning, the libraries of scholars, the halls of disputation, and the cottages of the poor. They will teach and preach not only from pulpits and altar-steps. It may be that the time will have come when ecclesiastical superiors will send them forth into the lanes and hedges to compel outsiders to come in that His house may be filled. They may, perhaps, follow with advantage and success the example of their Master, and preach to the people from the mountain-side or from the ship's stern. "Salvation Armies" of a right description may march in their wake and call down the blessings of Heaven with the well-trained voice of Catholic psalmody and hymns. The garments of monks and nuns will no longer scare a timid and prejudiced people, but rather will be signs and tokens of a diviner presence, solid virtue, and prevalent prayer. Weak and captive women before now have been sharers in a nation's apostolate. Theodoret³ assures us that Iberia was taught the way of truth by a captive woman. "She devoted herself to prayer; she allowed herself no better bed than a sack spread upon the ground; and accounted fasting her highest enjoyment. This austerity was rewarded by gifts similar to those of the Apostles." She healed sick children by her prayers; she applied to the disease of the queen of the

¹ "Present Position of Catholics in England." Fourth edition, p. 390.

² Acts xviii. 24.

³ "History of the Church," Book i., ch. 24.

country the same efficacious remedy; she meekly explained the Divine doctrine and exhorted the queen to erect a church in honor of Christ, who had healed her; she led her consort to acknowledge the power of the God she adored. He, too, prayed, and was enlightened. The edifice was completed according to the captive's plan, roofed in, and everything but the priests supplied. The admirable woman persuaded the king to send to the Roman emperor for the teachers of religion; nor was Constantine deaf to the embassy. Iberia was converted to the faith of Christ. And are there none of England's daughters—rather, are there not many—who will, by God's grace, imitate the prayer and exercise the gift of healing of this captive woman, and rival the faith of their own Pomponia Græcina, Claudia, and Bertha?¹

It was the privilege of the writer, nearly two years ago, to be present at a crowded reception in the town mansion of the premier duke and duchess of the English peerage. The guests were invited neither to ball nor banquet, but to meet and offer their respectful homage to one who will, perhaps, hereafter be called the second apostle of England. What he really has been to us we shall not fully know while he lives—nor, indeed, till his voluminous and invaluable correspondence is published. On the occasion referred to, he was an old man, about eighty years of age, and had recently been invested with the purple of a Roman Cardinal. He had a kind word or some familiar talk for every one who was presented to him by one of his own chaplains or by the lord of the mansion, and his entire bearing was utterly devoid of the pomp of a newly-acquired dignity. Standing, as he did, in one of the thronged saloons, his presence there seemed highly suggestive, and a forecast of what might, perhaps, hereafter be seen in England on even a larger and a grander scale. It called to mind, by contrast even more than by likeness, the advent of Cardinal Pole when he entered his barge at Gravesend and proceeded slowly up the Thames, with his silver cross fixed in the prow;² and it led one to ask whether a day might not be in store for England when, not in a ducal mansion, but in a royal palace, or in some edifice occupied by the head and representative of the British government, a legate and Cardinal of the Holy See will, by some gracious document, some concordat, or other Pontifical act, reconcile Britannia to the centre of unity and attach her to the chair of St. Peter; not as a slave, for "Britons never will be slaves," but as a free, intelligent, faithful, and loving daughter. Diplomatic relations would then be restored as a matter of course, though there is really no reason upon earth why they should not be renewed at once, except that

¹ Lingard's "History of England," ch. ii.

² Lingard's "History of England," vol. vii., ch. ii.

the English legislature, at a period of considerable excitement, pledged itself not to receive an ecclesiastic as an ambassador from Rome—a distinction without a difference which is simply ludicrous.

And here it may be remarked, as not irrelevant to the present subject, that among the hopeful signs of England's return and of the mitigated feeling of hostility toward the Catholic Church throughout the land, must be reckoned the fact of the extraordinary respect with which Cardinal Newman is generally regarded. There is not another man in England who has secured to himself so large a number of friends and admirers as a Christian, a gentleman, a scholar, and a man of letters. The feeling of reverence towards him pervades all classes, sects, and schools of thought. Even those who have no religion beyond that of nature speak highly of Cardinal Newman; nor is it difficult to discover the reason why. He has been habitually honest and straightforward in dealing with his opponents; he has stated their arguments in the strongest way; he has replied, even when under provocation, without a touch of bitterness; and he has expressed dissent or disapprobation in polite or even friendly language. He has not distorted history to suit his own purpose, nor failed to corroborate his statements by exact references. He has given no encouragement to what is narrow-minded and persecutive, nor sought to infringe, in any way, the rights of conscience. His life has ever been in harmony with his writings, and he speaks as he writes. A singular testimony was given to his exalted character and his power of conciliating adversaries when, in that very University of Oxford which he had deserted, the President and Fellows of Trinity College paid him, to use his own words,¹ "the gracious compliment of making him once more a member of a college dear to him from undergraduate memories," invited him to pay them a visit, gave receptions in his honor, and hung his portrait, splendidly executed, in their common hall. Things are not now, thank God, exactly in the state in which they were after the "Papal Aggression." When lecturing, in 1851, on the position of Catholics in England, he said:² "At this very time, in consequence of the clamor which has been raised against us, children in the streets, of four and five years old, are learning and using against us terms of abuse, which will be *their* tradition all through their lives, till they are gray-headed, and have, in turn, to teach it to their grandchildren. They totter out, and lift their tiny hands, and raise their thin voices in protest against those whom they are just able to understand are

¹ Dedication of "Essay on Development." New edition, 1878.

² Lect. ii., p. 81.

very wicked and very dangerous, and they run away in terror when they catch our eye. Nor will the growth of reason set them right. The longer they live and the more they converse with men, the more will they hate us. The Maker of all, and only He, can shiver in pieces this vast enchanted palace in which our lot is cast. May He do it in His time!" More than twenty years have passed, yet the vast palace still stands; but it is in part disenchanted; much of its tawdry glasswork is broken, many of its wizards are silenced, and many of its colored lights put out.

We are told that germinal points, or bioplasts, are scattered pervadingly through all organic structures, and have the power of transmitting not-living into living matter; that they move, are self-multiplying, and constantly produce formed material,—nerve, bone, muscle, and artery. Thus our bodies are built up and renewed day by day. Nor is it otherwise in the body of the Church, and especially of a missionary Church like ours. It extends rapidly, in proportion to the number and vigor of its life-giving centres. It has been shown already, to a certain extent, how these centres have increased since the Oxford exodus under our modern Moses, and a few statistics must now be given as landmarks indicating, so far as external signs are concerned, the advance which has been made up to the present date. But before entering on these, one quotation bearing directly on the matter in hand may be made.

A few years ago "A Popular Defence of the Jesuits" gave the following account from information derived from the Provincial of the Order: "The English Jesuits are (1877) under a Provincial, and in his Province are included England, Scotland, Wales, Malta, Demerara, British Honduras, and, I believe, one or two other places abroad. The fathers under the English Provincial, engaged in mission work, number about 110, and some idea may be formed of their immense influence for good when I mention that I know I am well within bounds in saying that last year the mission priests of the society, in their churches and missions, had more than 380,000 persons approach the altar as communicants. . . . It is, as may be imagined, impossible to give the exact number of the conversions made in the course of the year, but last year over 500 were received into the Church. . . . In 1876 they had over 17,000 children in their (poor) schools, and this does not include those in British Honduras and other places which I mentioned as being under the English Provincial. With respect to the upper classes, there are five colleges for the education of the gentry, and in these five colleges there are, at this moment, over 1000 scholars."

Peers in England have a social influence which, in a republican country like the United States, would appear ridiculous. Their

political power has greatly diminished ever since the Reform Bill, and is even yet on the wane; but in society they are as potent as ever, and it is, therefore, no small advantage to the Catholic body here that they can point to one duke, two marquises, nine earls, four viscounts, and twenty-two barons as enrolled under their flag. Forty-seven Catholic baronets also occupy a middle position between peers and commoners. There are seventeen Catholic lords who are not peers, and six Catholic members of the Queen's Privy Council. There are fifty-five Catholics who are members of the House of Commons, including those who represent Irish constituencies, and a very large number of English Confessors abroad. The total number of Archiepiscopal and Episcopal Sees, Vicariates, and Prefectures in the British Empire is 135. In England and Wales the archbishops and bishops number 14; the priests, 2036; the churches, chapels, and stations, 1190. In Scotland there are 6 bishops and archbishops, 295 priests, and 286 churches, chapels, and stations. Westminster, Birmingham, and Shrewsbury have each an auxiliary bishop, and besides the archbishops and bishops holding office in Great Britain, there are four bishops and one archbishop retired or without office. The numbers given for churches, chapels, and stations in England, Scotland, and Wales, do not include such private or domestic chapels as are not open to the Catholics of the neighborhood. The colleges, schools, convents, institutions, societies, etc., would be too long to enumerate,—it would, indeed, be difficult to obtain a complete list of them,—but in their advertisements, published in the official directory, we find 41 colleges and boys' schools of the first order and 20 of the second; 98 convent-schools; 56 religious and charitable institutions and societies; 39 schools and institutions abroad.

Little, it is to be feared, can be gathered from reading these bare numbers; it is necessary to see and observe the zeal and kindness of the teachers and the diligence of the taught before any adequate idea can be gathered of the greatness of the work that is being done. The architectural beauty and the interior decorations of the buildings which recent Catholicity among us is raising to the glory of God have to be taken into account in any estimate we may form of the Church's advance or prospects. In comparison with the edifices which are now to be seen all over England, those which were built by our Catholic forefathers were mud hovels. They rival, and more than rival, those produced by the wealth of the Establishment and the numerical strength of dissent. They testify to both the zeal and influence of the faithful who built them, and they are pledges of evangelization and education stretching far into the distance of the future. As specimens of art they do honor to the men who learned first of the Camden Society and then of

the two Pugins, father and son. But do these hopeful signs in their entirety afford us any reasonable ground for expecting that England, as a nation, will return to the faith? There are many who think that they do not; that large as may be the remnant which will be gathered in, it will after all be but a remnant; that political forces hostile to the Church are gaining the ascendant; that the grounds of controversy are being entirely changed and are no longer concerned with the difference between Protestantism and the Catholic religion, but rather between revelation and total denial of God, providence, moral law, human responsibility, life after death, miracle, conscience, and prayer. "The conflict," they say, "which the Church will have to wage in this country, will be one altogether new in the world's history, and the common ground between her and her adversaries will be vastly diminished. When once the state shall cease, as the state is fast ceasing, to recognize any Christian principle, the nation will be further than ever removed from a return to Christianity in its highest and most complete form. To look for such a consummation is to indulge in dreams which facts are daily rendering more improbable. It is far more likely that she will herself be subjected to persecution, of which there have not been wanting signs in other countries of Europe. Principles are abroad moreover which tend to the dissolution of society itself, and the disintegration even of so great an empire as that of Great Britain is perfectly conceivable. As a nation she may have seen her best days, and before a very long period has elapsed she may cease to be a nation at all. A national return to the faith, therefore, is of all things least to be expected, but multitudes which no man can number, out of every nation and kindred and people and tribe owing allegiance at present to the British Crown, may, notwithstanding great and fundamental political changes, addict themselves to the Church of the Apostles and centre of ecclesiastical unity."

Thus it is that many who are by no means lacking in zeal for the interests of their religion, nor in confidence in the power of prayer, nor in efforts for the conversion of their non-Catholic brethren, express their opinions respecting England's return to the faith without the smallest wish to damp the hopes of those who take a less sombre view of the case. Nor would it be fair to dismiss this subject without alluding to a remarkable paper which was read by Bishop Patterson before the Academia of the Catholic religion in London, and afterwards published in the *Dublin Review*.¹ In this article his lordship gives his "reasons for not despairing of a national return to the faith." In the first place he adverts to the im-

¹ July, 1881.

proved condition of the Anglican Establishment, as compared with what it was under Queen Elizabeth, and as compared with that of other separatists of the sixteenth century. In the Caroline divines there was a marked improvement over those of the Socinian Reformation; and the Anglican church may be fairly said to have checked, if not eliminated, from herself, the so-called elements, by her own action in the century following. Erastianism received many deadly blows in the Oxford movement of the present century; and now High Church doctrine has prevailed over Low, and an extraordinary tendency is manifested towards the ideas and ritual implied by the words altar, sacrifice, and priesthood. There are hopeful signs even for us, for they will operate on the masses and prepare them for the reception of the Church's teaching on the holy sacrifice of the Mass. Secondly, Bishop Patterson dwells on the fact that there has been in the Establishment an extraordinary revival of church services and church frequentation, in addition to the remarkable tendency toward Eucharistic developments. The ancient churches of the land, now unfortunately in Protestant hands, have been marvellously renewed, enlarged, or rebuilt in imitations worthy of the grander faith; and the graves of the dead are now commonly surmounted by beautiful Christian symbols and inscriptions, breathing frequently the very hopes and faith of Catholics in reference to the departed. Thirdly, The religious movements of the last and present centuries represented by Wesley, Whitfield, Law, Venn, Wilberforce, Thornton, Simeon, and others, full as these defective movements were of zeal and earnestness, rendered the Oxford revival of primitive church doctrine possible by having stirred up in multitudes of minds a deep sense of spiritual need and faith in a personal and divine Redeemer. Wesley and Simeon, in some sense, frayed the way for Pusey and Newman, as they in turn, even when the latter was still an Anglican, led on towards conversion to the faith of Rome. Fourthly, Bishop Patterson lays much stress on the change which took place in the national literature as early as the beginning of the present century. The writings, he thinks, of Southey, Coleridge, Wordsworth, and Walter Scott, notwithstanding much that they contained of an opposite tendency, rallied their countless readers round "the great ideal of Christendom, its chivalry, its high enterprise, its picturesque beauty, its soul-stirring mixture of a splendid and mysterious religion, with all the shifting accidents by flood and field that form the favorite ground whereon young imaginations delight to expatiate." Fifthly, Bishop Patterson reckons among one of the causes of England's probable return to the faith, the French and Irish migrations into England. The French Revolution cast a large number of bishops and pastors on our neighboring shores.

Scarcely a family of note and position throughout the land but received some of these exiles into its intimacy. Either as guests and inmates, or as laborious and successful teachers, they found access to the interior of that boasted fortress,—the Englishman's home. Eight thousand French ecclesiastics were sheltered among us; and to know them was to esteem and love them. In the sixth place, the bishop relies on the blood of martyrs as the seed of the Church in England, as it has been elsewhere, and firmly believes that the land which was so copiously watered with that fertilizing dew will certainly one day reap a great harvest from it. But, besides this, he thinks that a circumstance connected with the larger number of these martyrdoms affords a special ground for hoping that the harvest of conversions will take a national or political form. The circumstance to which his lordship refers is that almost all the Elizabethan martyrs, and those of the succeeding reigns also, expressed in their last moments ardent feelings of loyal adherence to the civil power, which they felt to be so cruelly misused. Certain it is that the Catholic gentlemen of the land fought bravely, or were ready to fight bravely, on the side of Elizabeth, at the time of the invasion of the Spanish Armada, and the majority of English Catholics disavowed any connection with the Guy Fawkes conspiracy in the following reign. Under his seventh head, the same prelate observes that, though the numbers of conversions are not by any means such as to establish a great hope of national return merely on the score of numbers, yet they belong mainly to the upper classes—to classes representing property, education, law, religion, legislation, and administration, to which may be added literature, science, and art. These constitute the great moral bodies and members of the state. This is no unimportant consideration, since "there are no people so accessible to aristocratic influence as the English, and no society in which so perpetual and wide a process of natural selection from the lower strata goes on constantly and rapidly." Bishop Patterson finds in the instincts of the faithful in all countries his eighth ground for hopes of a national return. Why men and women, who have had no personal knowledge of our country, or connection with her, have yet been moved to pray all their life long for her return. Among these were, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Maria Escobar and the lady Teresa de Carvajal in Spain, and in the last century St. Paul of the cross in Italy. The bishop refers also to the instincts of the Holy See in such acts as creating the hierarchy in 1850, and again nominating three Englishmen to the cardinalate at one time, and no less than eight English-speaking cardinals within our own memory. It is true that at the present time the extreme High Church, or ritualist school of Anglicans,

presents an aspect of apparently increasing hostility to the Catholic Church, but it is not to be expected that our progress should undergo no interruption. The hope of a national return is wrapped up in a gradual and, indeed, almost insensible extension to the whole people of a knowledge of Catholic doctrine, and among the causes by which so vast and momentous an occurrence is to be brought about we must reckon largely on the instrumentality of such as have operated and operate still outside the visible body of the Church. Lastly, it is to be observed that, in the various preparatory movements that have been touched upon, the *direct* influence of the visible Church has been remarkably absent. The Holy Spirit appears, for the most part, to have operated immediately on minds and souls, and to have brought them into the visible fold of Christ without the agency of priest or laymen of the Catholic community.

It is evident that these reasons are not all of equal weight. But they have undoubtedly a collective force, and are well worthy of consideration, for each adds strength to the other. If it be possible to entertain hopes of England's return in her national capacity, it is far better to do so, for faith and prayer are strengthened by the liveliness of hope, and the full assurance that what we hope for is feasible and probable. The bishop regards it as hardly possible that we should be destined to a national return without national humiliation, and asks whether our humiliation may not lie in this,—that every trace and vestige of our old Catholic polity is doomed to destruction before the new structure is to rise again. There cannot be the slightest doubt that the British Constitution—once the pride and admiration of Englishmen of every party—is surrounded by deadly enemies, ready to assail it openly when their hour shall come; and that with it many ancient institutions, religious and secular, landed, proprietary, and hereditary rights, would be overthrown and levelled with the dust; but it is difficult to imagine how this could contribute towards the national return of the land so humiliated to the faith of its ancient forefathers. A revolution so radical could not be effected without the consent of a majority, or the agency, at least, of a powerful minority, among the people; and these, in all probability, would be inspired with bitter hatred of the Catholic Church, and be composed of atheists and agnostics of every kind and degree. Extremes, it is true, produce extremes; in other words they provoke reactions, and nations, like individuals, may be near conversion when their wickedness and folly have advanced to its utmost bounds. The national return may be promoted by such a catastrophe as is here contemplated, but it is difficult to conceive how this could be. If the basis even of natural religion is compromised by a state and swept away,

what more can be expected for Catholicity than that a remnant—it may be a very large remnant—will be saved according to the election of grace?

It will be remembered that when Cardinal Newman was staying in London in May, 1880, he delivered an address to the Catholic Union on the Conversion of England. The tenor of that memorable address, from the beginning to the end, was undoubtedly to show that the conversion of England to the Catholic Church cannot properly have any other meaning now than "the growth of the Catholic Church in England." "Catholics," his Eminence said, "do not now depend, for the success of their religion, on the patronage of sovereigns,—at least in England,—and it would not help them much if they gained it. Indeed, it is a question if it succeeded here in England, even in the sixteenth century. Queen Mary did not do much for us. In her short reign she permitted acts, as if for the benefit of Catholics, which were the cause, the excuse, for terrible reprisals in the next reign, and have stamped on the minds of our countrymen a fear and hatred of us, viewed as Catholics, which at the end of three centuries is as fresh and keen as it ever was. Nor did James II. do us any good in the next century by the exercise of his regal power. The event has taught us not to look for the conversion of England to political movements and changes, and in consequence not to turn our prayers for it in that direction."

These thoughtful observations, of so eminent a doctor of the Church, must not be taken as implying any tepid feeling in regard to the conversion of our countrymen. And with this idea in mind, it is interesting to turn to his sermon on the Second Spring, preached, not long after the "Papal Aggression," in St. Mary's, Oscott, in the first Provincial Synod of Westminster. "If it be God's blessed will," the preacher observed, "not saints alone, not doctors only, not preachers only, shall be ours, but martyrs, too, shall reconsecrate the soil to God. We know not what is before us ere we win our own; we are engaged in a great, a joyful work, but in proportion to God's grace is the fury of His enemies. They have welcomed us as the lion greets his prey. Perhaps they may be familiarized in time with our appearance, but perhaps they may be irritated the more. To set up the Church again in England is too great an act to be done in a corner. We have had reason to expect that such a boon would not be given to us without a cross. It is not God's way that great blessings should descend without the sacrifice first of great sufferings. If the truth is to be spread to any wide extent among this people, how can we dream, how can we hope, that trial and trouble shall not accompany its going forth? And we have already, if it may be said without presumption, to

commence our work withal, a large store of merits. We have no slight outfit for our opening warfare. Can we religiously suppose that the blood of our martyrs, three centuries ago and since, shall never receive its recompense? Those priests, secular and regular, did they suffer for no end? or rather for an end which is not yet accomplished? The long imprisonment, the fetid dungeon, the weary suspense, the tyrannous trial, the barbarous sentence, the savage execution, the rack, the gibbet, the knife, the caldron, the numberless tortures of those holy victims; O my God, are they to have no reward? Are Thy martyrs to cry from under Thine altar for the loving vengeance on this guilty people, and to cry in vain? Shall they lose life, and not gain a better life for the children of those who persecuted them? Is this Thy way, O my God; righteous and true? Is it according to Thy promise, O King of Saints, if I may dare talk to Thee of justice? Did not Thou, Thyself, pray for Thine enemies upon the cross, and convert them? Did not Thy first martyr win Thy great Apostle, then a persecutor, by his loving prayer? And is that day of trial and desolation for England, when hearts were pierced through and through with Mary's woe, at the crucifixion of Thy body mystical? Was not every tear that flowed, and every drop of blood that was shed, the seeds of a future harvest, when they who sowed were to reap in joy?" This extract is somewhat long, it is true, but who has a better right to speak and to be quoted, in other lands as well as his own, than the author, one might almost say, not only of the sermon, but of "*The Second Spring*" of which the sermon treats?

The prospect of England's return might be considered from a different point of view from any that has been taken in this article, namely, by adverting to the numerous admissions made by the enemies of the Church, or by persons who are, at any rate, outside her visible pale. These would form, in the aggregate, a most powerful testimony in her favor, would cover the whole ground of controversy, and vindicate her claims to reverence and obedience in each and all of her articles, and of her moral and disciplinary precepts. Not that it is anything new for the Church's adversaries to make admissions which glorify her, and often entirely stultify their own pretensions. But it is a new thing in England—for a long period the most anti-Catholic of nations—to light upon such admissions so frequently as we are now in the habit of doing. They meet us in every department of literature. Poets, dramatists, historians, orators, journalists, lecturers, preachers, novelists, essayists, astonish us by the light which has broken in upon their understandings, and frequently touched the deepest springs of feeling in the heart. This is more conspicuous in poetry than in any other branch of letters, for the simple reason that poetry is the

fruit of the imagination, and Catholic truth when developed as it is now being developed in England charms the imagination, and is in itself far more poetic than any spurious form of Christianity. Here is an extract which comes to hand at the moment of writing these lines, and is a good example of the admissions so frequently made in our favor. It is taken from a singularly attractive work entitled *Alps and Sanctuaries*, the author of which is not a member of the Church with which he has many sympathies: "When I say Catholics have logically the advantage over Protestants, I mean that, starting from premises which both sides admit, *a mere logical Protestant will find himself driven to the Church of Rome.* Most men as they grow older will, I think, feel this, and they will see in it the explanation of the comparatively narrow area over which the Reformation extended, and of the gain which Catholicity has made of late years in England." If "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," what shall be said of the effect of abundant leaven of this kind in our current literature?

Before bringing this article to a close it may be well to recapitulate what has been said. We have spoken of John Henry Newman's final adieu to the Church of England in 1846, and its immediate effects; of the character and trials of the converts; the previous condition of Catholics in England; the zeal of Father Ignatius Spencer in exciting prayer for his country; the answers to his prayers and the consequences which followed; his mode of proceeding and his interviews with distinguished Protestants; the altered condition of England at present and the great increase of the Catholic body; the strength of adversaries and the tactics of free-thinkers; the fact of English Catholics not being hostile to science; the Bishop of Clifton on the attitude to be assumed towards scientific research; the scientific Catholics in England; Dr. Manning's account of Catholicity in England twenty years ago; his view at that time of England's return to the faith; the independence of that return on royal favor or aristocratic influence; the need of truly apostolic men; the example of a captive woman from Theodoret; Cardinal Newman at Norfolk House; the extraordinary respect with which his Eminence is generally regarded; the growth of the Jesuit fathers, with statistics respecting the actual numbers of bishops, priests, churches, etc.; the increased beauty of the churches; the causes that operate unfavorably towards England's return; a recent article by Bishop Patterson; his lordship's nine grounds for not despairing of England; return to the faith; the collective force of his reasons estimated; an address by Cardinal Newman on the same subject; an extract from a sermon by his Eminence on the

¹ *Alps and Sanctuaries of Piedmont and the Canton Ticino*, p. 140.

Second Spring, delivered at Oscott; and remarkable admissions of adversaries among us in relation to the Catholic Church. It is pleasing to think that our brethren on the other side of the Atlantic feel deeply interested in our condition and prospects, and we trust they will accept kindly a simple and unpretending attempt to supply a few materials towards forming a correct estimate of the subject.

THE CINCINNATI PASTORAL AND ITS CRITICS.

THE discussion evoked by the Pastoral Letter of the Fathers of the Fourth Provincial Council of Cincinnati has wrought good, inasmuch as it has set men thinking upon the exact meaning of certain phrases, criticism of which has been deemed little short of high treason. Error largely springs from a misconception or misinterpretation of words; and it may be said of more things than liberty, that many crimes have been committed in their names. It is not the first time that the phrase "all men are created equal" has been challenged, and that, too, by Americans whose fealty to the Republic was above reproach; and we are at loss to understand why the Catholic Church should be assailed as disloyal, simply because the Fathers at Cincinnati said what must be evident to a little reflection.

But supposing for a moment that the prelates at Cincinnati condemned what has been grandiloquently but falsely termed "the fundamental principle of our government," does it follow that the whole Catholic Church stands committed to their declaration? By no means. The objectionable averments of the bishops occur in a pastoral letter, that is, a document which has not even the authority of the acts of the Council. The impression conveyed by the newspapers is that the Cincinnati Provincial Council is, in the language of one of them, "to Catholics of a defined region, what an ecumenical council is to the whole Church;" and "to reject this declaration is, for a Catholic, to reject his religion." Now, a provincial council is not an infallible body. It meets to discuss and regulate matters of local discipline. Its authority is limited to the province. Its acts are not authoritative until they have received the approbation of Rome.

But the pastoral letter forms no essential part of the conciliary

action. It is not legislative in form. It is simply an expostulation, or an instruction. It is what its name implies, the warning voice of the shepherds to their flocks. It is not a dogmatic document, and is not so regarded by the bishops. These would be the first to smile at the idea of confounding it with an article of faith.

It does not fall within the scope of this article, which deals only with an objection, to defend the Pastoral in detail. It suffices for a logician simply to overturn a position which has been unwarrantedly assumed. For Catholics, the Pastoral of the Prelates, placed "by the Holy Ghost to rule the Church of God," is worthy of all acceptance; and the document as it stands has, in fact, received the cordial approbation of thousands of well-meaning men who are not of the household of the faith. It is clear, however, that no room is given to the objections urged against it, when its true character, as an expository document, is presented.

So far, therefore, the attempt to impugn the loyalty of Catholics to this government, from certain passages in a pastoral letter, must fail. And, indeed, one would suppose that this devoted loyalty was at present placed far above question or controversy. Simple justice to the Catholic Church should make a man pause, even when he hears statements which appear to clash with a political maxim, before he wantonly accuses of treasonable doctrines, the members of a faith which has shown its loyalty in every epoch of American history. Why not calmly examine the reasoning of the Cincinnati prelates, and see in what sense they use words? It may be only a logomachy—a quarrel about words. Indeed, it will be found that the best Americans and the bishops are at one in meaning.

Following are the passages which have excited most comment:

"Nor are all men equal. Neither in mind nor body are men equal. In natural powers no two men are equal; nor with the same chances will any two men accomplish the same results. In the sense that God is no respecter of persons, and that Christ died for all, great and small alike, it is true all men are equal. It is also true that technically before the law it is assumed that all men are equal, yet in reality it is a well-known fact that men are not equal before the law. Wealth gives men a standing before the law that poverty has not; and, politically, the few control the many. This is in the nature of things, and must be, as it is ordained by God that some shall rule and some shall be ruled. Those who are appointed to rule have certain rights that subjects have not. Hence kings and magistrates, and bishops and priests, are appointed to rule; if to rule, then are they above those whom they rule. Before God their sins make them less than those they rule, but as rulers they are above those they rule. Besides this, talents and acquirements make men unequal, and thus one man succeeds where another fails. Without this there would be no motive for individual energy. It is hence untrue to say that men who have less physical or mental power are the equals of those who have more, or that all men's labor, whether mental or physical, is to be equally rewarded. Men should be paid according to the labor and skill they give; if more, they should receive more; if less, then they should receive less. Idleness and inability are not to be rewarded equally with labor and talent.

The cry of equality is the cry of the idle and the weak, but cannot, and will not, be admitted by the industrious and the strong."

* * * * *

"With the popular doctrine that all men are equal, there is also steadily growing the doctrine that 'all power is from the people, and that they who exercise authority in the state do not exercise it as their own, but as intrusted to them by the people, and upon this condition,—that it may be recalled by the will of that same people by whom it was confided to them.' This is not Catholic doctrine, nor is it the doctrine of the Scriptures, which teach: 'By Me kings reign, . . . by Me princes rule, and the mighty decree justice.' (Prov. viii. 15, 16.) 'Give ear, you that rule people, . . . for power is given to you by God, and strength by the Most High.' (Wis. vi. 3, 4.) 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but from God; and those that are, are ordained of God.' (Rom. viii. 1.)

"While, on the one hand, the Catholic doctrine thus distinctly teaches that all power comes from God, we must not be understood as teaching that the people are not permitted a voice in the form of government under which they shall live; on the contrary, we teach with the Sovereign Pontiff Leo XIII., now gloriously reigning: 'That they who are set over the Republic may, in certain cases, be chosen by the will and decision of the people, without any opposition or repugnance to Catholic doctrine. By this choice the ruler is designated, but the rights of government are not conferred, and power is not given, but it is determined by whom it is to be wielded. There is no question here of the forms of government, for there is no reason why the rule of one or several should not be approved by the Church if only it is just and tends towards the common good. Accordingly, justice being observed, people are not forbidden to provide themselves with that kind of government which is most suitable to their genius or the institutions and customs of their ancestors.'" (Leo. XIII., June 29th, 1881.)

If, as a certain journal says, such a doctrine, carried to its logical conclusion, would result in the overthrow of the existing civil order, that civil order must be a great disorder. The Council simply states the obvious fact that men are born with very unequal capacities. It does not impugn the principle that every person has, by birth, the right to the equal protection of the law; that all persons stand equal before the law, both in liability and in protection. Nor have our institutions ever allowed the equal right of every person to govern. There has always been a governing class, which has determined how far the rest shall be admitted into it. All agree to exclude immigrants, until they have been here five years, with intent to become citizens. All exclude males under twenty-one, and all females. In some of the States citizens are excluded by property qualifications. The affirmation of the Constitution that the suffrage shall not be denied to any because of race and color, implies that it may be denied upon other grounds. Thus the action of the government is the best interpretation of the maxim of the Declaration of Independence concerning the sense in which "all men are equal." Our government has never allowed the equal right of every person to govern.

History and experience verify the statement of the fathers that it is in the nature of things that some shall rule and some be ruled. Even a mob will develop leaders. The most elaborate political institutions, designed to equalize the governing powers of all, cannot prevent certain men of force and ability from taking leadership.

It is the law of nature. Nay, it is the Divine order, and the most democratic state yields to this law with perfect willingness and confidence. Man may say that all are equal, but God and nature say no, and prove the "no."

We are under the impression that the reason why the Council inserted these remarkable declarations was precisely to bring about the discussion and examination of certain plausible phrases, of which the one under fire is a specimen. We cannot measure the force of a pithy sentence whether it embodies a truth or a falsehood. This is not the time or place in which to enter upon an analysis of the idea of liberty; but it is patent that the populace confounds it with license. The wild theories regarding government which prevail amid the revolutionists of Europe, are all sanctioned by the words liberty, fraternity, equality. It is well that this Republic should know that modern revolution looks to her as the champion of "liberty," and we may be called upon to define clearly what we mean by it. It seems to us that the fathers of the Cincinnati Council have expressed the true meaning of equality, as the government understands it, and as it manifests its meaning by its action.

Far from unsettling in the slightest the basis of government by teaching that all power is from God, the Council deserves the thanks of all citizens for boldly proclaiming this great truth. Can there be any more solid ground for obedience to law, love of country, respect for rulers, than the belief that "the powers that be are ordained of God?" The Council here strikes at the infidel teaching that man is not a social being; that law is only the strong hand upon the throat of liberty; and that government is only a social contract dissolvable at the will of the people. They who criticise this part of the Pastoral as tending to strip the people of their right to govern themselves as they please, probably forget their strenuous defence of the Northern States in putting down, as most unjustifiable rebellion, the formal declaration and organized endeavor of a very large minority of the people to establish a government of their own.

The critics of the bishops may rest assured that the prelates are quite as good American citizens as they are, and that, perchance, they have a sincerer and more intelligent love of the country than those who proclaim it most loudly. The bishops are men of affairs, of learning, and of prudence, and their position gives them opportunities of seeing the operation of false theories and opinions which are springing up in the land. The Republic in danger has no better friends than those who dare proclaim unpalatable truths, and the fundamental principles of rule, in the face of those who look upon government simply as a personal perquisite or a temporary arrangement.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS XAVIER, Apostle of the Indies and Japan. From the Italian of *D. Bartoli* and *F. P. Maffei*. With a preface by the *Very Rev. Dr. Faber*. Ninth American from the last London edition. New York: P. O'Shea, Agent, 1882.

TRULY "God is wonderful in His saints." They are examples at once of weakness and of strength; of the weakness of human nature, and of the strength and power of divine grace. Among them are to be found types of every variety of human nature under the most various and different circumstances, and types of men and women conquering in that nature every variety of sinfulness, and attaining to perfect virtue and sanctity under every form, by constant correspondence with divine grace and by bringing their own wills into perfect subjection to the divine will.

Yet while this is the great general lesson which the lives of the Saints teach us, there are other subsidiary or special, yet exceedingly important and salutary lessons that may be learned from a study of individual persons among them. These special lessons have special significance too for instruction, warning, encouragement, and edification to particular persons and in particular times and countries.

This is in entire accordance with the spirit of the Sacred Heart, the life of the Church. As the author of the work before us beautifully and truthfully says, "She does not sit still, unchangeable as she is; she clothes herself in every age with mutability; and her changes are akin to the changes of the restless world itself. She goes forth to seek sinners. She speaks to them in a language which they well understand. She undermines by her sweet varieties the fortresses which the world has built to all but her. Thus she in a measure copies the times, and takes the world for her model, that she may the better conquer it for Christ."

Thus, "like to a master of a house who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old," the Church continually sets forth her treasures of truth in such form and array as are best calculated to attract the sincere and single-minded, to encourage the fearful, to confirm in true faith the believing, to edify the devout, to rebuke the froward, to convict the unbelieving of their folly, and to confute and confound the propagators of false doctrines. And so too, in accordance with this same principle in the wonderful providence of God, saints are produced and trained up in His Church, whose peculiar character and virtues, whose mission and work, fit them specially for combating and overcoming special sins, special errors, and special obstacles to true religion, and whose lives and examples thus become special sources of instruction and edification for special times and circumstances.

With such ideas in mind, the author of the volume before us has prepared it. In his opinion, a knowledge of the life and character and achievements of St. Francis Xavier is well adapted to fall in with the peculiar character of the present age and to direct aright its peculiar spirit. He describes its spirit as distinctively enthusiastic, uncongenial as such a spirit may seem at first thought to be, with the marked materialistic pursuits of our age. He says: "It may be doubted if ever men were more enthusiastic than they are now. The times are positively full of enthusiasms. They are partly material and partly intellectual. There are enthusiasms in science; enthusiasms in literature; enthusiasms in politics; enthusiasms in geographical discovery, and enthusiasms in com-

merce." All men are at work aiming at great things, believing in their own aims, with all their souls, minds, and hearts in their endeavors. They spare no expense, no effort, no sacrifices, to achieve their aims. Nothing appears to them impossible. They seem to have agreed among themselves that there is nothing impossible, and to be bent on proving it.

This is the lesson the world is teaching all who listen to it. It must be met by a like yet higher counter lesson taught by Christians. Among the countless enthusiasms of the day there must be held up conspicuously, to be seen and known by all, the higher, purer, nobler enthusiasm of living and being entirely for God. It must be a sober, steady, quiet enthusiasm; yet, for all that, a hearty, earnest, energetic enthusiasm, that shows its persistence of purpose and its intense, whole-souled devotion to God, as plainly, as unmistakably, as the enthusiasm of the world shows its earnestness in pursuit of material and intellectual objects. It must also be thoroughly practical, shaping itself to the work it seeks to perform, and judiciously choosing the means, the way, the methods, and instrumentalities best adapted to the achievement of its glorious object. The life of St. Francis Xavier teaches too where this true, steady, ardent, Christian enthusiasm must begin, how it must first show itself, and how it must be sustained. It must begin in the sanctification of our own souls. It is a fire which must burn inwardly before it burns outwardly; a fire that must be continually fed by constant, closest communion with God, by entire self-abnegation and self-mortification, and entire devotion to God. St. Francis Xavier clearly shows in his life and labors and wonderful success what one man can do who is all for God, and who has begun by sanctifying himself, and then keeps within his own appointed sphere. The very sobriety and obedience of his enthusiasm kindles his fervor rather than stifles it. It is the characteristic of his enthusiasm to neglect no means of grace, and to find an especial means of grace in living in an unbelieving country. It quickens his faith; it confirms his hope; it enlivens and enlarges his charity. His zeal was increased by it, and by the sights and sounds of unbelief and restless misbelief, of worldliness and luxury and immorality that met him everywhere, in India, Japan, and the Asiatic Islands, throughout his whole mission, among worshippers of idols, adherents of false religions, schismatics, heretics, and lukewarm and immoral Catholics.

Of all this, as the author of the volume before us clearly portrays, St. Francis Xavier was a perfect model. He was the very type of a Christian enthusiast. What men now are for physical sciences, for new branches of commerce, for intellectual and political novelties, that St. Francis Xavier was for the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ—entirely absorbed, entirely devoted. The work too which he had to do in his day resembles in a number of very striking particulars the work Christians have to do now. He had to confute and confound the propagators and defenders of false philosophies and false religions; to convert to the true faith pagans, infidels, and Mohammedans. He had also to rebuke and warn, arouse, excite to contrition, and lead into a better and purer life bad and corrupt Catholics. The countries in which he labored were filled with and abounded in such Catholics, and they, along with infidels, pagans, and Mohammedans, were sunk in spiritual sloth, corrupt in their morals, and devotees to wealth, to ambition, luxury, and effeminacy.

It is a picture of our own times. Subtle principles of infidelity, novel and fallacious philosophies, old errors revived under new forms, unbelief and disbelief in Christianity, doubts whether truth has even an existence, contempt for authority, defiant disobedience and lawlessness, shameless

immorality prevail everywhere. We are living, too, in an age of extreme effeminacy akin to what St. Francis Xavier in his day found throughout the East. Personal comfort, an inordinate worship of health and wealth and personal ease, of ambitious display, of dress, of grand mansions luxuriously furnished, of showy equipages, sumptuous tables, troops of servants, false mental refinement, the worship of mere material beauty, lust for power and human honors—these are the distinguishing characteristics of our age. And these vices and sins are not confined to those who are outside the Church. They weaken and corrupt and alienate from God hundreds of thousands of those who by baptism and education, by belief and profession, and, to some extent by practice and life, are Catholics. It is not necessary to look beyond our own country for proofs of this sad, this terrible state of society; but England, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy, and in fact every so-called Christian country, are all in like condition.

To break down and reform this deplorable state of society; to reconvert it and renew it by infusing into it the spirit of true religion; to win souls to Christ from unbelief, from belief in false religions; from bitter, intense hatred of the true religion and Church; from pride, ambition, luxury, and sensuality; to excite her own children to more consistency of conduct, more humility and obedience, more zeal, wider and livelier charity, greater virtue, and a more ardent and intense devotion, is the work of the Church to-day. And to this work she needs as instruments men who will take St. Francis Xavier as their saintly pattern and exemplar.

This is the great lesson of the volume before us, in which the author with full details clearly portrays the youth and manhood, the education and training, the heroic virtues and sanctity, the superhuman labors, the countless miracles, the marvellous spiritual conquests and success in winning millions of souls from the bondage of Satan to the kingdom of God, of St. Francis Xavier. The work is intensely interesting throughout. The author wields an eloquent pen, and his accounts of the condition of the countries in which St. Francis Xavier labored, the difficulties he encountered, the means he employed to overcome them, his self-abnegation, his mortification of himself, his burning zeal, and intense love for souls, his wonderful miracles and other scarcely less wonderful achievements, his death and burial, and the evidences of his sanctity, are masterpieces of clear and powerful narration and description.

PROTESTANTISM AND THE CHURCH.—Lectures delivered in St. Ann's Church, on Sunday evenings of Advent, 1881. By the Rt. Rev. Monsignor T. S. Preston, V.G., LL.D., Domestic Prelate to His Holiness Leo XIII. New York: Robert Codrington, 1882.

Though modestly called "lectures" by Monsignor Preston, and preserving the popular style of lectures, the contents of this volume are really logical and scholarly treatises on their respective subjects. The author's general purpose is to show that "the external communion of the faithful under one head (the Catholic Church) is the Church which Jesus Christ founded;" that "the Reformation, with all the systems it has engendered, denies the existence of that Church, and is, therefore, notwithstanding all its appearances of piety, the enemy of God and His Christ;" that individuals stand or fall before their invisible and omniscient Judge, who will render to every man according to his works; but that systems of falsehood and the founders of such systems are already condemned by the invariable truth of the one Teacher and Redeemer of mankind."

In accordance with this plan the author shows and proves in his first lecture the Divine institution of the Christian Church. He proves this by showing, first, that our Divine Lord did institute a Church. Secondly, he points out the characteristics of this Church—unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolicity—and proves that these characteristics are essential to the very existence of the Church of Christ. Third, he exhibits and explains the principal promises made by Christ to His Church. Fourth, he shows that the facts of history are in perfect accordance with these promises. And, fifth, that the Catholic Church and Christianity are synonymous in idea and in fact. These different points are set forth with great clearness and power, and are supported by numerous quotations from the Sacred Scripture, and from the early Church Fathers. The facts of history referred to are happily chosen and arranged, and their significance and bearing upon the argument lucidly exhibited.

The second lecture, entitled "The Reformation and the Church," shows that the Protestant movement is essentially an attack upon divine revelation and upon Christian faith. The argument is, briefly, that "the Church is the most sacred work of Jesus Christ, His body, the company of those who are substantially united to Him, to which He has promised perpetual life and victory;" that His whole mission on earth is identified with this Church, which represents Him to men and teaches His revelation; that "the religious movement of the sixteenth century, commonly called the Protestant Reformation, began with an attack upon this Church, lives by opposition to her doctrines, and has led to the denial of any Church whatever;" that thus all faith in One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church has been eliminated from the Protestant creed, and the result is the total subversion of Scripture, history, and Christianity; that such a movement, resulting in the destruction of the Church, the most necessary and holy institution of Jesus Christ, cannot be from God; that the Protestant Reformation is such a movement, and is consequently proved to be the enemy of revelation and the Christian faith.

In the prosecution of this argument the author shows how all of the so-called Reformers and their followers invariably attacked the Church, and proves by copious quotations from their writings the virulent and diabolical character of their opposition to the Church, the Papacy, the Episcopacy, the Priesthood, the Sacraments, and the chief doctrines of the Church. The quotations from Protestant writings will be valuable for reference to persons who have neither the sources within reach for obtaining them nor the leisure to collect them. The present Protestant doctrine concerning the Church is then stated, and an analysis made of this doctrine, showing that it substantially and necessarily involves a denial of the existence of the Church of Christ, and is in opposition to the facts of Christianity. The argument is plain, direct, and invincible.

Having thus shown what the Church is, and that all the organizations to which Protestantism has given birth have rejected the doctrine and the fact of One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, and thus are guilty of attempting to subvert the work of His hands and the foundation against which He declared the gates of hell should not prevail, the author in his third lecture examines and shows the untenability of "the Anglican theory of the Church;" a theory which, in the face of the plain testimony of history, contends that Protestant Episcopalians are not one of the offsprings of Protestantism, but of Catholicity, and which insists that their so-called church, though it is involved in all the errors of Protestantism, and has entirely rejected the communion of the Apostolic See, yet has never separated itself from the Church which our Divine Lord founded. Despite their schism entirely severing them from

the Catholic unity, and despite their denial of Catholic doctrine and their adhesion to numerous heresies, they nevertheless set up the claim to being a *branch* of the Catholic Church.

In his examination of this illogical and unhistorical theory, Monsignor Preston first shows from unquestionable historical testimony that the original growth of the Anglican Church flatly contradicts the pretensions of Anglicans. To show this he has made a full and very valuable collection of historical proofs, taken chiefly from the writings and declarations of Cranmer and others who were most active in promoting and completing an entire separation from the Holy Roman See, extracts from acts of Parliament, from royal proclamations, quotations from the oaths required of bishops, clergy, and others, including the oaths of supremacy, quotations from the declarations of "bishops," created by Elizabeth, and of Anglican convocations. These, together with the statements of Protestant historians, form an array of historical evidence which proves beyond all possibility of successful dispute that the Anglican Establishment had its origin in its total separation from the unity of the Church, and in making the English crown to be the acknowledged source of all spiritual authority and power to the Anglican bishops and clergy.

The author then directs attention to three peculiarities of the Anglican system: 1, Its character as an Establishment of the state; 2, Its two-fold aspect as of a compromise between Catholicism and Protestantism; and 3, Its insincerity in its maintenance of divergent and opposite doctrines. Each of these the author clearly and plainly brings to view. His fourth point is, the "*absurdity* of the *branch* theory of the Church." His exposition of this is full and complete.

The fourth lecture is on the Catholic doctrine of the Church. In this lecture the author shows: 1, The nature of the Christian Church as a divine society; 2, The characteristics of its constitution; 3, The nature of its unity; 4, The sanctity which flows from its nature; 5, The ends which the Church accomplishes; 6, The sphere of its operations. The author's own lucid explanations and arguments are enforced and enriched with numerous quotations from the Fathers of the Church.

The work is one calculated to do great good among Protestants who are sincerely inquiring and searching for the truth, and also among lay Catholics who desire to be instructed on the chief vital points of controversy between themselves and Protestants. To the Catholic clergy also it will be valuable as a very complete collection and array of historical proofs, bearing on the different subjects discussed, taken from original sources.

A HANDBOOK OF CHARITY ORGANIZATION. By the Rev. S. Humphrey Gurteen. Buffalo: Published by the Author, 1882.

The author of this book tells us in the preface that it owes its publication "to the fact of the widespread interest which is being felt in every section of the country in the movement which is commonly known as charity organization." "From all parts of the United States," the author says, he is "constantly in receipt of letters asking for information with regard to the new plan for dealing with pauperism and poverty;" that "at first it was a simple matter to reply by sending the pamphlets, leaflets, forms, etc., which had been adopted by the Buffalo Society," but that most of these are now out of print, or are printed only for office use; and that the demand for information respecting details "referring to the mode of starting a charity organization society,

the exact functions of the central and district offices and their mutual relations, the duties of the district agent and the volunteer visitor," which had never been exactly "described in any of the Society's publications," made "the task of writing *A Handbook of Charity Organization*" one which "seemed to meet a real want of the present day."

The work is an elaborate one as respects details, and if charity could be reduced to mere routine work and made a matter of mere mechanical action, calculated, measured, and mapped out with mathematical accuracy like the different parts of a steam-engine, and kept moving with like soulless, rigid adherence to mechanical rules, it would be a valuable book.

As it is, it is a striking illustration of how *not* to be charitable, and *not* to do its real work or fulfil its objects. If any one wishes to see how under name and pretence of "charity" its divine and heavenly spirit can be entirely excluded from organizations professedly intended to benefit the poor and succor the distressed, he can find a truthful account of it in this book. Those of our readers who are familiar with "Mr. Gradgrind," as depicted by Dickens, will find his ideas actualized and reduced to a system in its pages. If it were entitled "a handbook of an organization to degrade the poor and punish poverty as an ignominious crime," its title would accord perfectly with its spirit and contents. It is full of directions to volunteer and district agents, how to "show a real interest in the poor and obtain their confidence," by questioning them minutely as to their circumstances and necessities, advising cleanliness and neatness and saving, with reiterated cautions never to extend assistance by donations of money or anything else until their character, personal history, antecedents, and habits have been searched into, ascertained, and reported upon to the central organization. A more perfect system of how to humiliate the sensitive, and keep at a distance the deserving poor, and those whose self-respect remains despite suffering and destitution, could not well be conceived. An inquisitorial process is instituted, such as no criminal is subjected to, into all the privacies of the family relations and social and personal life of every applicant for relief before relief is administered, and the results of this inquisition, with all their details, are recorded in the books of the central "organization," and copied and recopied into the books of the subsidiary or district organizations.

We have been amused and disgusted and filled with indignation at the manner in which the writer, in his chapter on "Charity and the Church," gabbles about St. Paul's "practical common sense" and "worldly wisdom," as displayed in rules he lays down respecting almsgiving. In proof that St. Paul's teachings respecting "charity" inculcate the principles and system we have been describing, the author actually quotes St. Paul's declaration that "if any man have not care for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith and is worse than an infidel." In the latter part of this strange chapter, however, he unwittingly strips his grand scheme of "charity organization" of all pretence even to real charity, by declaring that it makes no effort to console "sorrows which wring the very heart of mankind," or "alleviate sufferings, . . . in comparison with which the direst bodily wants sink into insignificance;" that "*with this, the heavenly side of charity, the proposed society has no concern*, but leaves it to the Church." Under the plea of aiding the Church, and of saving the Church "from wasting her alms upon paupers," he proposes that she shall surrender to his routine, soulless "organization" the work of relieving destitution and misery.

SCIENCE AND SKEPTICISM: A Study of Some Principles which Influence Modern Thought. By *Stephen M. Lanigan*. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son; London: Burns & Oates.

This work treats of what may be summed up in the popular phrase, "modern scientific thought." It lucidly points out and very thoroughly refutes its leading sophisms, under the several titles of the Tendency of Scientific Thought; Assumptions of Modern Physiologists; the Origin of our Knowledge; the Philosophy of Locke; the Philosophy of Hume; Theory of Causation; the Philosophy of Kant; Mental Laws and Conditions.

In his introductory chapter the author shows with great clearness and force the chief reason why the theories of agnosticism, sensualism, and skepticism have become so popular. The reason is that it pleases the generality of men to adopt them. They are popular not from any positive belief in their truth, but from the hope that they may be true. "They have all this in common, that they either directly or indirectly combat the notion of a modern governor of the world and a state of rewards and punishments hereafter. This is really the question which makes a slight knowledge of metaphysical science so interesting to mankind, and gives a certain interest to modern physical research. . . . Hence arises the contest between the professors of modern physical science and those who uphold the doctrines of revealed religion, which is carried on with so much animosity by the former as to make it appear that their object is less to establish truth than to overthrow all religious belief amongst mankind."

In the following remarks the author briefly but forcibly refers to the destructive tendency of this spirit: "To aid them in this contest, modern scientific men, in their blind rage against religious belief, have invoked, in their adoption of the skeptical philosophy, a power which does more harm to the advancement of science than injury to their adversaries. They do not see that the skeptical philosophy of Hume, carried to its legitimate conclusion, is far more destructive of any theories depending on the facts of human observation than of religious belief. The spirit of skepticism, when summoned to the aid of physical science, in antagonism to religion, like the demon in the German legend, destroys the enchanter who invoked it; and the reason is this, because the doctrine of disbelief is subversive of all human knowledge on any subject; because it demands 'certainty where only probability can be had,' and absolute knowledge in man's present intellectual condition is denied him." . . .

The following remarks from the commencement of the author's criticism of the assumption, by Huxley and other physicists, of the part of metaphysicians will be of interest: "Had Professor Huxley . . . proposed to write a sketch of the life and opinions of . . . some celebrated man in his own profession, the reader would accept his opinions on questions relating to the progress of surgical skill with all the respect which on such subjects he has a right to claim. But when he ventures on the domain of metaphysical speculation, the reader, who is not completely ignorant of the study, is unpleasantly reminded of the story of the Greek sculptor and the professional man who had an accurate knowledge of the anatomy of the human foot. In this there is no disrespect meant to the author. It is only asserted that his great attainments in the investigation of physical phenomena were not realized without the exercise of absorbing attention, which left him neither time nor opportunity to acquire a knowledge of metaphysics, such as to entitle him to the same respect for his opinions on that subject as is accorded to them on matters of physical investigation. There cannot be two sciences more essentially

different in their subject-matter, in their mode of investigation, and in the particular *character of intelligence required for the study of each*, than the science of mind, and the science of body. The one deals with the phenomena of our own consciousness, the other with the phenomena of the material world without us," etc.

We cannot follow the author farther into the body of his work. It keenly dissects the theories it criticises, separates whatever of truth they contain from their errors and fallacies, and lucidly and logically exposes and refutes the latter. The style is that of simple, pure English, and the work throughout is interesting and valuable.

ALL FOR LOVE; OR FROM THE MANGER TO THE CROSS. By the *Rev. James J. Moriarty, A.M.*, Pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Chatham, N. Y., and author of "Stumbling-Blocks made Stepping-Stones," etc. New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 1882.

THIS work is not intended for the use of theologians, but of general readers. It is written, therefore, in popular style, and presents the thoughts it contains in such form as will most readily reach and impress ordinary minds.

As the author well remarks in the opening pages of his volume, the life of our Lord and Saviour is "so full of wonders, and so infinitely rich in all that is precious in thought and feeling, that no two men ever considered it from absolutely the same point of view or ever treated it precisely in the same manner. . . . Each man can enter on the field of exploration and investigation without fear of encroachment on another. . . . What is required is for each to enter upon his work with the credentials of earnestness and good faith, with a calm mind disposed for meditation, a prayerful industry, and a sincere desire to extract from the precious ore of God's Word what is needful for the spiritual enlightenment and refreshment of his immortal soul." And, along with all this, the study of the life of our Adorable Redeemer must be constantly prosecuted under the guidance of the infallible teachings of the Church which He founded.

In the prosecution of his plan, the author divides his work into seven chapters, respectively, entitled: "The Son of Man;" "The Son of God;" "A Voice from the Manger;" "The Hidden Life;" "Unfolding his Mission;" "Love's Banquet;" "Love's Sacrifice."

In the first of these chapters the wonderful condescension of God is dwelt upon, in humbling Himself to the extent of becoming man. The writer shows what this comprehends and the immense infinite sacrifice it involved, and then passes on to speak of how, as true, perfect man, our Divine Lord had the same human feelings and affections as we have, was clothed with our weaknesses and infirmities, sin excepted. Our Saviour's human affection and love for His home, His country, His relatives in the flesh, His race, His chosen friends; His sympathy with the weak, the fallen, and the suffering are well delineated.

The author then turns to the consideration of those features of our Saviour's life and character which demonstrate His divinity. He first exhibits and examines the testimony which our Lord Himself bore to His own divinity, in His declarations as recorded in the Gospels. Rationalists, who admit that Christ was a model man, the type and exemplar of truth, sincerity, and of every human virtue, are shut up to the alternative of admitting His divinity on His own testimony, or else of asserting that he was self-deceived. But their own acknowledgments of His profound wisdom and penetration utterly exclude the idea of self-delusion

or self-deception. The testimony of the Apostles is then adduced, particularly that of St. John and of St. Paul. Then, in proper order, the inferential proofs furnished by the miracles, the prophecies, the resurrection of our Lord, the growth, power, and indestructibility of His religion and Church are dwelt upon.

Having thus exhibited our Saviour as true man and true God, the author turns the attention of his readers to Him as the Babe of Bethlehem, and points out the lessons which devout meditation upon that theme suggests. He then endeavors to penetrate behind the veil which hides from human view our Saviour's life until His entrance upon His public ministry, and from the few and brief allusions to it in the Gospels and in the sacred traditions of the Church, to picture it as devout imagination and meditation may picture that "hidden life."

In the chapter entitled "Unfolding of his Mission," the testimony and mission of St. John the Baptist are explained as introductory and preparatory to our Saviour's entrance on His public ministry. The first miracle, the changing of water into wine, at the suggestion of His holy mother at the marriage feast at Cana of Galilee; His first public appearance before His fellow-citizens at Nazareth, and His discourse to them in the synagogue on the Sabbath-day, are appropriately commented on. The further unfolding of our Saviour's mission is then explained and beautifully shown by references to His discourses and miracles and acts of mercy. His special love for the poor and sympathy with the suffering are dwelt upon; His commendations of meekness, humility, purity, and charity; His denunciations of hypocrisy, cruelty, oppression, and injustice, and the influence of His teaching and example in all subsequent ages in ameliorating, purifying, and elevating all the relations of mankind, social and political.

The author then sketches the Apostles as they naturally were, men illy fitted, from a mere human point of view, for the work our Saviour called them to do,—“illiterate, rude of speech, rough of manners, and very slow of understanding,”—and the infinite patience which our Divine Lord exercised towards them; how He gradually opened their minds, and instructed, trained, and prepared them for the sublime mission which he committed to them and their successors in office to do throughout all following ages.

The writer then exhibits and explains our Saviour's declarations and promises respecting the establishing of His Church; the authority and powers with which He has invested it; its adaptation in all respects for the ends of its institution and the purposes it is to accomplish, and also the evils and deadly sins of heresy and schism. Then, by way of contrast, he points out the utter powerlessness of Protestantism to supply the spiritual wants and cure the ills which the religion of Christ is designed and appointed to supply and cure.

In the next chapter, under the title of "Love's Banquet," the author dwells upon the Holy Eucharist, the time and circumstances and manner of its institution; the infinite condescension and excess of divine goodness it exhibits, and what it comprehends. At some length he explains and proves the doctrine of the Church respecting transubstantiation and the real presence, by quotations from the Sacred Scriptures and from the fathers and doctors of the Church.

The last chapter, entitled "Love's Sacrifice," is a devout description and meditation upon the passion and death of our Lord and Redeemer, depicting the agony that preceded, and the insults and contumely, the ignominy and mortification, the terrible tortures and suffering He endured, with sublime patience and humility, during His trial and cruci-

fixion ; the blessings thus obtained for mankind, and the lessons which we should learn from the history of our Saviour's sacrifice of Himself for us.

The writer's descriptions are clear and strong ; the meditations and lessons inculcated are edifying and highly suggestive to a devout mind, and the work throughout is calculated to exert a highly salutary influence.

EPITOME EX GRADUALI ROMANO QUOD CURAVIT SACRORUM RITUUM CONGREGATIO REDACTA, a F. X. Habert. Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati: F. Pustet, MDCCC-LXXXII.

OFFICIUM MAJORIS HERDOMADÆ, A DOMINICA IN PALMIS USQUE AD SABBATUM IN ALBIS. Juxta Ordinem Breviarii et Missalis Romani cum Cantu pro Dominica Palmarum, Triduo Sacro et Paschate, quem curavit S. Rituum Congregatio. MDCCCLXXXI. Ratisbonæ, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati: F. Pustet.

THE Epitome of the Roman Gradual is indispensable to all choirs, and we are glad to learn that they are yearly increasing that use the Gregorian Chant of the Mass. This Epitome contains all that is necessary for the generality of choirs whose services are limited to Sundays and to holydays of obligation. It also contains those festivals of saints who have a *commune*. The introduction treats briefly of the proper manner of using the Gregorian Chant. There is also given a full collection of the different tones, and the whole is in a compact shape, beautifully printed, and low in price. Those choirs into which the Ecclesiastical Chant has not as yet been introduced will find the Epitome highly useful in its directions for the proper mode of singing the responses at High Mass and other solemnities.

THE Office for Holy Week is an exact reprint of the edition prepared by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. With this book and a little training there is no reason why every church may not carry out the ceremonies of Holy Week as directed by the Church. The Passion Chants are of a simple and easy melody, and priests, who have trained a band of even laymen to sing, pronounce the experiment a success. This Office contains all the masses and services from Palm Sunday to the Saturday before Easter. The type is clear and bold, the notes well formed and remarkably accurate, and the size and shape of the book very convenient. We cordially recommend this, as we indeed do all of Pustet's liturgical publications, to the kind notice of the reverend clergy and to all interested in sacred music.

ORIGINAL SHORT AND PRACTICAL SERMONS FOR EVERY FEAST OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL YEAR. (Three Sermons for every Feast.) By F. X. Wenninger, S.J., D.D. Cincinnati.

This volume is supplemental to that containing Father Wenninger's *Sermons for Every Sunday of the Ecclesiastical Year*, and, along with it, completes the reverend author's plan. The two together are intended to form a full and systematic series of plain, practical, and brief sermons for the use of clergymen, for the term of three years, whose duties prevent them from commanding the time necessary to the preparation by themselves of original sermons.

Father Wenninger states in his preface that the volume before us is "intended for circulation in Europe as well as in America," and, therefore, "contains sermons appropriate not only for the feasts kept here, but likewise for those which in greater numbers are observed in Europe and other transatlantic countries."

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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WHAT IS THE OUTLOOK FOR OUR COLLEGES?

1. *The University of Cambridge from the Earliest Time to the Royal Injunctions of 1535.* By J. B. Mullinger. Cambridge University Press, 1873.
2. *A History of Eton College, 1440-1875.* By H. C. Maxwell Lyte, M.A. London, 1877.
3. *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland.* By James Grant. 1876.

I.

ALL three of these works are instructive and scholarly productions, and amply repay perusal. They are written from a Protestant standpoint, but they are written by fair-minded men who intend to be just. Still, the authors lack that sympathy for the old order of things which colors the page and makes it glow with the old life that reigned in the institutions they describe. Not being familiar with the Church and her teachings they occasionally misconstrue the habits and practices of mediæval days. The motives imputed are not always the correct ones, nor are the causes assigned either adequate or free from error. Mr. Mullinger, for instance, scarcely gives sufficient reason for the decline of the University of Paris in the fifteenth century, when he tells us that it was due to the failure of the "Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle," to establish "the absolute authority of such assemblies over the fiat of the Pope himself;" whilst his words would leave the erroneous impression that the shadow of that fiat deterred intellectual expansion. Nor does he understand the asceticism and de-

¹ University of Cambridge, p. 281.

votion of the monks whose lives and energies were spent in the noble cause of education. In the same sense and with the same reserve, may we commend the work of Mr. Maxwell Lyte on Eton College. It is painstaking and full of information which every educator ought to know. Mr. Grant also writes in good faith. His testimony is so strong in favor of general education throughout Scotland, prior to the Reformation, that we cannot refrain from bringing it into evidence. He says: "With church-schools and burgh-schools in all parts of the country, we may be sure that they did something to 'teach the poor for God's sake, and the rich for reason, and nothing to pay except they be profited.'" ¹ Again, in summing up his researches on this period, he pays the following ungrudging tribute to the Church: "The scattered jottings collected in this chapter show our obligation to the ancient Church for having so diligently promoted our national education—an education placed within the reach of *all* classes."² Such testimony is deserving of record; but such testimony is always given by witnesses who place truth above prejudice or bigotry.

Refreshing and instructive is it to go back to mediæval school-life as these works reveal it. It was a life tempered with few material comforts and made severe by many hardships. The fare was not dainty. That of Oxford was considered superior; and yet, when Sir Thomas More found himself in reduced circumstances, and spoke of retrenching expenses, in his own witty way he made it the extreme limit of poor living: "My counsel is, that we fall not to the lowest fare first, we will not therefore descend to the Oxford fare."³ The discipline was strict, and its slightest breach was atoned by severe bodily punishment. "If convicted of any infringement of the college rules they were soundly birched in the hall of the court."⁴ When a vacation was given every student was obliged to return without fail on the day appointed. "Anybody who failed to return by bedtime that day received a flogging, while any who absented themselves beyond the next day, were deprived of their scholarships."⁵ It is no surprise to meet among the items for which there was a regular charge, the birch. We are told: "A curious charge of 6d. occurs every term as 'quarterydge in penne and ynke, brome and birch.'"⁶ The rooms were damp and uncomfortable. Only in the large halls were fires allowed, and even there very sparingly. Lever, the Master of St. John's, Cambridge, in a well-known sermon delivered in 1550, tells how the students, being without fire, "are fain to walk or run up and down half an hour, to

¹ History of Burgh Schools in Scotland, p. 70.

² University of Cambridge, p. 371.

³ A History of Eton College, p. 153.

⁴ Ibid., p. 72.

⁵ Ibid., p. 369.

⁶ Ibid., p. 161.

get a heat in their feet when they go to bed.”¹ Even a bench or seat in school was considered a luxury the enjoyment of which students might forfeit. A statute of Pope Urban V. bearing date of 1366 forbids the use of either.² But as an offset to this, we must remember that discipline in the family was also severe. The will of the father was law beyond appeal. The ancient Roman tradition of his power for life or death still lingered around the hearthstone. Children were betrothed as soon as born; they were placed in monasteries or convents at the tenderest age. The oldest son followed the calling of the father from generation to generation without a thought of change. In every direction the lines were rigidly drawn. Therefore, in spite of all the inconveniences, and the positive hardships which frequently cost youth their lives, the halls of all these colleges were thronged. Eager youths and grown-up men still more eager, endured the cold and the hunger, the hardships and the privations, with cheerful heart and hopeful spirit, for the sake of the education they received; nay, they prized their education all the more because of the difficulties under which it was acquired.

These mediæval schools have passed into other hands. They have, to a great extent, been diverted from the purposes for which they were founded and endowed. Still, in England especially, they have retained many of the old traditions and even something of the old spirit. “Nor is it too much to say,” says Cardinal Newman, “that the colleges in the English Universities may be considered in matters of fact to be the lineal descendants or heirs of Charlemagne.”³ This fact reveals the sources whence they have drawn whatever power or influence they have wielded. An institution, if it would live and thrive, must imbibe its spirit from the soil in which it is rooted; its vitality must come from the traditions in which it is planted. They supply the sap that circulates through it, giving it life and being. Now, it devolves on our Catholic colleges to carry out the traditions and intentions of those venerable establishments that are the growth of Catholic piety and Catholic charity. And though our Catholic colleges are only the work of yesterday, still, the principle that inspired their erection is as old as reason, as unchanging as truth, and as lasting as the Church. It is the same principle out of which grew the beautiful structures of Oxford and Cambridge. Let us not forget the fact. The work left undone by those institutions has fallen to our share; and that is no less a work than the noble and responsible mission of con-

¹ Lever's Sermons, Arber's Reprints, p. 122.

² *Sedeant in terra coram Magistro et non in scammis aut sedibus elevatis a terra.* See Peacock on the Statutes, App. A., p. xlv.

³ *Historical Sketches*, vol. ii; p. 466.

tinuing to transmit the boon of Catholic education. We inherit the faith, and with the faith we inherit the duty of spreading it, teaching it, explaining it, and showing in its light the true and the false in the science of the day. To be recreant to this mission were an injustice to generations still unborn. It is important that we note how far we are fulfilling our duty in this respect. With the increase of home-comforts and home-accommodations our colleges have kept pace. We have dispensed with the birch; our rooms are heated according to the most approved systems; our benches and desks are comfortable and not unfrequently elegant; at least in some of our schools the fare is far from being inferior; in a word, the most poorly equipped among our schools far surpasses those of the Middle Ages, both in comfort and convenience. The opportunities for education have become numerous and easy, and as a consequence its advantages have come to be undervalued. That which is easily procured is cheaply prized. Still, this does not explain altogether the small attendance at our best colleges. Back of it are other causes which we propose touching upon in the course of the present article.

II.

And first we will note the fact that incidental drawbacks or occasional checks in the advancement of our educational establishments need not cause any grave misapprehension that their mission is going to be a failure. Ultimately they will become all the more robust for having gone through so many hardships in their younger days. Everything lasting experiences at one time or other a struggle for its existence. The past decade has been very trying upon our colleges, and convents, and high schools. The smaller and weaker ones have been driven to the wall. The larger ones have barely kept themselves afloat, and many of them have been so far tided over upon debts, in which they are still threatened to be swamped. These financial embarrassments must needs keep our colleges at a low ebb. Nor are we alone in this respect. Financial embarrassments stare the larger and better non-Catholic institutions in the face, and they begin to grow alarmed at their large annual expenses. More is implied than has been expressed in this assertion of a recent writer: "Though the income of the richer American colleges is larger than the revenue of the English, many colleges on these shores are much poorer than the poorest of the English."¹ True, money is not the end for which we educate; but withal money is an essential element in the running and working of our establishments of education. Being so regarded, money is

¹ Mr. Charles F. Thwing, in the *International Review* for April, 1882.

to be procured and managed as an indispensable means. Père Didon has well said: "If faith is the chief power in the land, money is its head-slave."¹ It is as essential for the well-being of institutions of learning as for that of individuals, families, and even nations. And as our Catholic schools lack endowment, it is only by judicious management of receipts and expenses that they can be sustained and put in condition to do the good for which they have been called into existence.

But wise and experienced heads find the problem of economic management so difficult that for this and other reasons they forecast a dark future for our colleges. They tell us that the day for boarding-schools is past; that everywhere these schools are dwindling down; that the tendency among parents is to keep children at home, and that it is only as day-schools that our colleges can succeed. Nor are their forebodings without ground. The land is strewn with the wrecks of what were once flourishing establishments. Still, in the face of it all, we entertain bright hopes for the future. We hold that our Catholic colleges have not yet begun their real work. We perceive vast and fertile fields of labor looming up and presenting themselves to their industry; it rests with them only to take advantage of the favorable season, put their hands to the plough, and cultivate a soil that promises abundant harvests. And let it be said with emphasis, no richer soil exists in the whole domain of humanity than the active brain, the clear intellect, and the open heart of our American youth. And we are so hopeful of our colleges for the following reasons:

In the first place, our Catholic colleges are the cherished objects of the Church. She is always interested in their welfare; she has ever kept a vigilant eye on them, and guarded their rights and privileges against all encroachments of outside influence, be it from governments or individuals. The depository of supernatural truth, she is anxious that the natural truths be so taught that the higher teachings of faith shall work into their texture and give complexion to the whole. She teaches the natural truths that thereby those of faith may be better understood. For this reason is she jealous of her commission as teacher. She transfers it to no sect or coterie. Certainly, not to the State. But she fosters religious teaching-bodies and bestows upon them special favors, and blesses their work with a special blessing, in order that they may the more efficiently carry out her designs. Now, our Catholic colleges are under the care and management of the clergy or of one or other of the numerous teaching orders that abound.

¹ Si la foi est la première puissance de la terre, l'argent est son premier esclave. (*l'Enseignement Supérieur et les Universités Catholiques*, p. 159.)

And the Church expects that they shall not only foster vocations for the priesthood and for religious life, but that they shall also strengthen youths to be good and useful citizens in the world. Parents place implicit confidence in their methods, and are no less sanguine in their expectations. They have too near at heart the best interests of their children not to consult those interests on such a vital issue as that of moulding their souls for time and eternity. They know that in placing their children under the protection of men whose lives are devoted to the general good, they are giving them a safe shelter from the snares that beset the tender period of youth. The secular spirit of the age may cry out for State-schools, and may hold it good in theory that education be divorced from religion, but when it comes to the practice, the enlightened parent will rather listen to the advice of Quintilian, and choose the school in which the master is most saintly and the discipline severest.¹ And the pagan Pliny the Younger was of the same opinion. He tells a Roman mother to send her son to the school in which good discipline, great modesty, and purity of morals exist.² And, no doubt, both Quintilian and Pliny, in giving this advice, were remembering those golden words of Cicero: "All our thoughts, and every emotion of our minds, should be devoted either to the forming of plans for virtuous actions, and such as belong to a good and happy life, or else to the pursuit of science and knowledge."³ For who can impart the habit of correct thinking and pure desires better than the teacher whose life is devoted to that sole purpose? Here is a standard established by pagans. Where is it more likely to be realized than in our Catholic colleges and Catholic convents? Thus it is that even upon grounds recognized by respectable pagans, we find a *raison d'être* for our Catholic colleges.

Again, the very exigencies of the times require boarding-schools to fill what without them would be an embarrassing want; and if boarding schools, then, in a special manner, Catholic boarding-schools. Now as in the remote past, is there a demand for public institutions of learning, in which youth, away from the distractions of home-life, may give themselves more exclusively to study, and acquire the intellectual force and the robustness of character which are the outcome of the healthy training of large numbers together, and which insure a complete development of each one's energies.

¹ Præceptorem eligere sanctissimum quemque . . . et disciplinam quæ maxime severa fuerit. (Inst. Orat., lib. i., cap. 3.)

² Jam studia ejus extra limen proferenda sunt; jam circumspectendus rhetor latinus, cujus scholæ severitas, pudor imprimis, castitas constet. (Lib. iii., ep. 3.)

³ Omnis autem cogitatio motusque animi aut in consiliis capiendis de rebus honestis et pertinentibus ad bene beateque vivendum aut in studiis scientiæ cognitionisque versabitur. (De Officiis, lib. i., cap. 6.)

Sometimes it is the nature of the parent's occupation that necessitates the sending of the child from home; or it is the death of a father or mother or natural guardian; or the child grows up beyond parental control; or he is exposed to be ruined by bad companions; or his future sphere of usefulness calls for a more thorough education than he can acquire in his own neighborhood: each and all of these reasons call for boarding-schools in which the youth finds whatever was lacking at his home.

Moreover, State-schools abound and bid fair to increase for some time longer. But State-schools are not the schools for our Catholic youth, even though they be taught by Catholic teachers. There is a vast difference between a Catholic school and a school having Catholic teachers. We should not lose sight of the distinction. Later in the course of our remarks we shall lay stress on this; suffice it to say here that the more attractive and plausible State-institutions are made, the greater need is there that Catholic parents keep their children away from them; the greater need also is there that in our Catholic academies and colleges the student finds in a higher degree the instruction and education these institutions pretend to give. Nor is there any reason why our schools should not be superior to all others. We have a fair field and no other hindrance than wholesome competition. If we cannot hold our own we scarcely deserve to live. Our religious teaching bodies are vowed to education; their whole lives are spent in that great work; all their studies are made, all their methods acquired for that sole purpose. They seclude themselves from the world, and permit neither ties of family and friends nor external occupations to interfere with that object to which they have consecrated their very existence. When such bodies labor in the spirit of their institution they must needs succeed.

Finally, the very nature of the work done by a well-disciplined college, and the outcome of that work, are such as always make it a desirable resort for a large class of youths. There, they are trained into the habit of giving serious attention to duty; they are taught to be regular and methodical in their daily life; they acquire a spirit of work and mental application; they learn to do things with order; they are compelled to keep at a subject till it is mastered, and in this manner are they learning that lesson which is also the great secret of all success,—the lesson of perseverance. But all this cannot be done without discipline. And it is an admitted fact throughout the length and breadth of the land, that only in our Catholic colleges is this discipline made an object of earnest study and solicitude. The disgraceful and frequently sad scenes enacted from time to time in our secular and non-Catholic colleges bespeak the necessity of firm and judicious discipline.

But the tendency of these institutions is to abolish all restraints and exact from their students account neither of studies nor behavior. This is the proper course to pursue with men of mature judgments. But it will never do for youths ranging in years from sixteen to twenty. Their characters are still unformed, their good habits are not yet confirmed; they are not penetrated with that overmastering sense of duty; away from the wholesomely restraining influence of their families they do not feel the sense of responsibility; they imagine they may for the moment lose their self-respect without compromising relatives, and led on by a few reckless spirits they rush headlong into habits of vice and self-indulgence that drag them down to ruin. This is no fancy sketch. A prominent public man, in presence of the writer, told off on his fingers' ends youth after youth whom he had known and seen return to their homes from one of our leading universities, blighted—wrecks in body and soul—from habits of excess, and all sinking into a premature grave. Lines of wholesome restraint must be drawn somewhere. Thoughtful non-Catholic fathers have long ago consulted the best interests of their daughters and sent them to convent-schools; they now feel forced to send their sons to our Catholic colleges, where they are convinced that their hearts will be cultivated as well as their intellects.¹

But it is objected that the discipline of our colleges is too severe. Now, we should distinguish between discipline and discipline. The discipline that keeps students in a constant purgatory, either by that espionage that seems to dare them to do wrong or those petty persecutions that irritate; the discipline that sees in human nature nothing but total depravity, that is always suspecting, that knows only coercive measures, such discipline is unworthy of the name and of the manhood of him who exercises it, as it is unjust to those who are its victims. But there is a discipline that works upon the student's finer feelings; it appeals to his honor; it speaks to his sense of self-respect; it stirs up within him a laudable pride; it regulates his ambition and wins his love. It is the discipline that is exercised by the judicious mind, just in its rulings, fair towards all, and prudent in its dealings; that is mild yet firm; that seeks to bring home to the student the conviction of right-doing rather than the makeshift method of doing right then and then only. This is the discipline that begets methodical habits, exactness, and precision in work, promptness in meeting engagements, and close attention to study. This is the discipline that moulds the character into complete manhood. Under such, there need be no apprehension that the student shall be carried into opposite excesses. The student so carried would indulge in excesses still more ex-

¹ The writer knows several instances.

travagant if raised without any discipline. There are youths with characters so weak that they possess no self-control ; any the least breath of temptation carries them away ; they are their own greatest enemies, and to be saved at all they must be saved from themselves. Without some restraining influence they are carried straight to destruction. It is certainly a great charity to extend to them a helping hand, to teach them how to control themselves, to weaken their predominant passions and to subject them to a rule and discipline till they come to find both rule and discipline no longer a burden. All may not profit by this charity ; but if only a few, is not good done ?

And now, seeing that our colleges have still a noble mission, let us throw out a few remarks on the leading lines we should follow in order that they best attain the object of their existence, incidentally hinting at such drawbacks and checks as retard our progress. And if, in alluding to shortcomings or abuses in the course of this article, we should happen to wound anybody's feelings, we here and now disclaim any such intention. We write without personal motive, solely for the general good, and in all charity.

III.

We cannot complain about the number of our colleges ; there is room enough for all. Nor can we find fault with the custom of giving every little boarding-school the misleading title of college. This is one of the outcomes of our liberty in matters pertaining to education. Public opinion and public patronage decide in the long run which is the college in reality, and which in name only. Still, even public opinion and public patronage are sometimes deceived as to the relative grades of our institutions of learning, and a mutual understanding on the subject would be a great convenience all around. The smaller boarding-schools would find it every way to their advantage were they to fit and announce themselves as preparatory to some one or other of our leading colleges, making use of the text-books and giving the instructions requisite for entrance to their Freshman Class or course in the humanities. In this manner would both the preparatory school and the college be the gainer. The course in the lower school would be limited to the essentials, and these would be acquired in a given time. The student, having passed a satisfactory examination, would pass on to the collegiate course with renewed ardor. But to detain him in the elementary school, going over the same ground year after year, or getting the merest smattering of things at an expense both of time and money not at all proportionate to the knowledge acquired, is doing him a great injustice. It is to give him a disgust for all higher studies. For this reason it should never be said of

those schools that they retained a boy a day longer than was really for his advantage, through fear of losing his patronage or any other mercenary motive. Any boarding-school, getting a good name for sending up well-prepared youth to our best colleges, will not lack patronage.

But whilst our educational establishments must not be mercenary neither need they be improvident or extravagant. In order to do all the good it is within the sphere of their mission to do they ought to be self-supporting, and therefore managed on a sound financial basis. Some parents are very thoughtless on this point. They do not calculate the large outlays of a college in good standing. They regard it simply in the light of a boarding-house. They know one can board for so much a week, and they also know that one needs pay only so much a quarter for tuition in a day-school, and putting this and that together they do not see why our colleges should charge so much more. They imagine some deduction ought to be made from the published prices. It does not occur to them that a large household of servants has to be maintained; that professors and tutors are salaried; that expensive apparatus for experiment in chemistry and philosophy need to be procured; that a library has to be increased and preserved; that every year calls for improvements on buildings and premises; that the wear and tear in the furniture of schoolrooms, dormitories, parlors, have to be made good; that kitchen utensils, delft and table articles need to be renewed, not to speak of bedding, fuel or provisions. When these and many other all-devouring means of expending money are considered, what becomes of the stipend paid half-yearly for the student? Glancing over the advertising columns of our Catholic weeklies we find that the average charge of our leading colleges is three hundred dollars a year. Where there are no endowments every dollar of this amount is required in order to keep those colleges, with their comparatively small numbers, abreast of the times. But it is the experience of all our colleges that they do not get every dollar of that amount; that thousands of the income are lost in unpaid debts, and thousands more are cancelled on the entrance of students by reductions made on the regular fees. In consequence our institutions are cramped in their action and find themselves reduced to the alternative of narrowing the sphere of their activity or rushing into debt. There is only one remedy for this evil; it is that our schools hold by their published prices and make no abatement except in extreme cases. It is injurious to our best colleges to place them on a level with cheap boarding-schools. It introduces into them a large class of students who are possessed of neither means nor inclination to make the full course, and who, in consequence, keep the upper

classes sparsely supplied. There are, and always will be, exceptions to the general rule. There are cases daily arising in college life in which charity and peculiar circumstances call for reductions. And such charity brings a blessing on the whole school. But by all such exceptions no principle is violated, as would occur, for instance, were a school to make abatement as a matter of barter or with a view of underbidding a rival establishment. Such conduct is demoralizing to the institution that would practice it. A parent is unable to pay the full charge; be it so; is there not a cheaper establishment to which he may with all safety be recommended? After all, provided good is done, it matters little by what instrument it is done. In localities in which provisions are cheap and the soil is fertile and labor plentiful, institutions may be established,—and such the writer knows to exist,—that can receive younger boys at a comparatively low rate. In these institutions commercial classes might be formed for those desiring a business education, whilst those aiming at a professional career might be well-grounded in the rudiments of Latin and Greek, and afterwards sent to the colleges. Thus would a good understanding between the two classes of institutions lead to mutual encouragement and support. In the course of time, with a network of preparatory schools as so many feeders, the college would be enabled to dispense altogether with its own preparatory department. And this would be a great boon. For where the preparatory department is in immediate contact with the college proper the tendency is to lower its grade, and it is only by great effort that the college can raise itself above the level of the best English public schools, as Eton, Harrow, or Rugby. Under present arrangements very few of our colleges are prepared to dispense with their preparatory departments. Could the preparatory school be placed in a separate building, at some distance from the college, and under a *régime* entirely distinct from that of the college, the advantages would be very great. Then would it enjoy the prestige of the college without interfering with its autonomy as a college. The writer remembers such an arrangement at Stonyhurst.¹ For this and like improvements our colleges require endowment.

And why not endowment? Among whom has the idea of endowment been better understood in the past than among Catholics? In every land may be seen monuments of learning that bear wit-

¹ In the earlier college foundations a preparatory school was generally established in connection with the college. Thus, Henry VI. founded Eton at the same time that he established King's College. "The annexation," says Wolcott, "of a college in the university to a dependent school was followed by Wolsey in his foundation of Cardinal College and Ipswich School; by Sir Thomas White at St. John's College and Merchant Taylors' School; and by Queen Elizabeth at Westminster and Christ Church." — William of Wykeham and his Colleges, pp. 276, 277.

ness to the zeal, the piety, and the enlightened spirit of Catholics. Let us for the present confine ourselves to those of England. A Catholic king—Henry VI.—endowed Eton and King's College, Cambridge; a Cardinal of the Catholic Church—Wolsey—erected Christ Church, Oxford; a Catholic prelate—William of Wykeham—founded New College, Oxford; a Catholic association or guild established the College of Corpus Christi at Cambridge. Catholic ladies were not less generous. Elizabeth de Burgh endowed Clare Hall, Cambridge; Margaret of Anjou and Elizabeth Woodville founded Queens' College. But the whole list is a long one; everywhere it tells the same story; everywhere it speaks of Catholic faith and Catholic piety inspiring acts of the noblest generosity, "that the pearl of science, which they have through study and learning discovered and acquired, may not lie under a bushel, but be extended farther and wider, and when extended give light to them that walk in the dark paths of ignorance."¹ Is not the faith that inspired these sentiments and embodied them in such noble works a living faith still? It is both living and active, and the results of its life and activity will be no less striking in the future than they have been in the past. The number of our wealthy Catholics is increasing daily. They have yet to be educated up to the conviction that the endowment of Catholic high schools and Catholic colleges is a necessity both for the preservation of the faith of their sons and the intelligent promotion of religious truth only little less urgent than the establishment of parochial schools. With time this conviction will come home to them: we shall yet see them rival the Girards, the Astors, and the Coopers. Last year, at the commencements of two of our colleges, before large and respectable audiences, the Right Reverend Bernard J. McQuaid, the zealous Bishop of Rochester, threw out a thought-spark which we would gladly see burn into the business and bosoms of our wealthy Catholics. With an eloquence peculiarly his own, which we cannot attempt to reproduce in a hastily-sketched article, he called attention to the fact that if our asylums, our hospitals, our schools and convents and colleges exist and flourish, it is not due to the wealth of our wealthy Catholics. They have had no hand or part in the work. Something more precious than their gold has been wrought into these institutions. The talents, the energy, the zeal, the very lives of the religious men and women, who sacrificed themselves and denied themselves that these buildings might grace the land, have gone for their erection. Priceless treasures, these; only in heaven can their just value be estimated. Surely, since men and women are found who

¹ Preamble to the Statutes of Elizabeth de Burgh, quoted in *University of Cambridge*, p. 251.

give their lives that the good may be done, why may not men and women be found who shall give their dollars for the same noble object? It is an efficacious means for our wealthy Catholics thus to bring a blessing upon themselves and their children for generations. Let us hope that this timely suggestion of the eloquent Bishop may yet prove to be the rod of Moses that will strike the Horeb of Catholic wealth and draw therefrom the living waters of an active faith and an ardent charity.¹

Finally, the good odor of our colleges must, so to speak, be diffused throughout the land. Each institution must cultivate an *esprit de corps* amongst its members; then will every student feel proud of the school in which he received his education, and sound its praises far and wide. Especially should this be the spirit animating the alumni who have received its benefits in full share even to overflowing. And we must say that it is seldom one meets with an ungrateful alumnus. Such a phenomenon would reveal more clearly the baseness of his character than any shortcomings of the foster-mother that fed him with the milk and the meats of science and letters till he was able to walk forth a man. We would regard him with the same loathing with which we would regard a bad son or a treacherous friend. A sinister vein streaks his nature. Voltaire ridiculed and maligned his Jesuit teachers before he spat in the face of our Lord. Every student must feel that the college in which he is receiving his education is for him the best. This entirely depends upon the president and faculty. They must work in accord. Any discordant element should be removed. Not that each professor should not have the liberty of his opinion, or that the prevalent opinion of the faculty should domineer over that of one or two in a minority; as if, on matters of opinion and purely speculative for example, one professor should hold Homer to be a mere eponym, and the *Iliad* to be a series of ballads strung together, and the others, believing him a great poet, should refuse him of the Wolffian theory to air his views before his classes; or in the face of all recent research and discovery Ninus or Parthollian or Romulus should still be considered a conqueror rather than a myth, and the professor of history be compelled so to regard one

¹ Within the past year there has been an awakening. Mount St. Mary's College has been greatly relieved from its embarrassments by contributions reaching about \$40,000. Georgetown College received two donations of \$10,000 each. Both institutions are deserving of this encouragement. They both have won for themselves such a name and prestige that it would not be to the credit of Catholics in the United States if either should fail for want of funds. A beautiful feature connected with the financial trouble at Mount St. Mary's was the promptness with which sister institutions of learning contributed their mites. Jesuits and Christian Brothers, Sulpicians and other secular clergy, Sisters of Charity, and Madams of the Sacred Heart, all showed their good will in a substantial manner. But their moral support was of greater value than the material.

and all of them; or any open question in science or letters. In this freedom of discussion interest is excited and intellect quickened. And wherever professors are well up in their subjects there must needs be differences. But above the clash of opinion should reign the harmony of principle and purpose, the unity of effort, and the earnestness that brings with it conviction. Each teacher should feel that he was giving out the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth; each pupil should be convinced that his teacher was speaking to him with the authority of one knowing whereof he spoke. Given such a body of men, with a unity of plan and a unity of method in following out that plan, and a central thought inspiring both plan and method, and you have all that is requisite to create a school whose influence must needs be felt. And this influence spreads abroad, reaches the people, and produces confidence in the school so governed. Such a school need never resort to the modern system of canvassing all over the country.

This is a system very degrading to our Catholic education. In whatever light it is viewed it looks odious. That the friends of a school should say a good word for the school; that they should recommend it on all occasions; that they should even interest themselves in procuring it pupils is natural and proper, as has been seen, it is even desirable. But that men should run around, snapping up all who come in their way, inducing students to leave schools in which they are well cared for, and are making reasonable progress, by underbidding or sometimes even at the cost of charity and truth, is an act demoralizing as it is unjust. Such men assume a terrible responsibility. They take on themselves the changing of a student's whole career. Are they going to better it? And if not, why bring about an action so serious in its consequences? Should the student be wrecked by vicious or intemperate habits contracted in the school of their suggestion what an awful account they shall have to render if, for the sake of a few dollars, they have occasioned the removal of that student from a school in which he was doing well! We feel that we have touched on a delicate point, and we would not be misunderstood. There are often sufficient reasons for changing a school; by all means, in such cases, suggest one better suited for the boy; suggest the one with which you are connected, or in which you feel greatest interest; always, however, be careful to leave well enough alone. To this we place no objection.

If parents choose to send their sons to schools so recommended it is their affair. But does it never occur to them that an institution resorting to such means must have something radically wrong in its system? If it were well managed think you it would need

all these eloquent appeals and glowing representations? A well-equipped and thoroughly organized school cannot hide its light under a bushel. Neither the remoteness of its location, nor difficulty of access, will prevent its being known and frequented. Students seek the school and not the school the students. This is a law to which we recognize no exception. We must add that it is only with a class of simple-minded parents that these methods succeed. Their credulity is exercised. They believe all that is said to them. And so, when certain of these drummers will forget themselves and their cloth and the dictates of Christian charity so far, and stoop so low as to disparage another institution, or even a whole teaching body, it does not open the eyes of the unsuspecting parents. It fails to strike them that the man who can malign his neighbor is not the man to give their child an elevated moral tone. This thing is all wrong. It is disreputable. It destroys our dignity as Christian educators. It makes of our education a species of low barter. We gain nothing and we lose much by its prevalence. There is room enough for us all, if each of us only keeps his place and works within his proper sphere. Then there will be no clashing of interests, no necessity of resorting to degrading measures in order to fill vacant seats and replenish empty purses. Let us seek before all and above all the Kingdom of God and His justice, and we shall lack in naught else. This is the promise of Truth Himself, and the promise has never been belied.

IV.

But the means by which our colleges can best continue the work of the mediæval schools is that they become more Catholic. No fault is to be found with our secular instruction. It is thorough as far as it goes. Our students are well-grounded, and our alumni hold their own in every calling and profession. But might we not make them more Catholic? Our teachers should feel that theirs is, in the words of His Holiness, Leo XIII., a most holy ministry,—*sanctissimum docendi ministerium*,¹—and our schools accordingly should be regarded as sanctuaries, which they are in very deed. Everything in the Catholic class-room ought to be stamped with the seal of Catholicity. The professors must be Catholic; the text-books Catholic; the very atmosphere Catholic. Everything must speak to the student of the greatness, the honor, the glory of that name till he comes to regard it as his grandest title and noblest heritage. Consistency must reign in everything. The better to understand what we mean let us enter a Protestant school. Examine the text-books. They all possess a decidedly Protestant

¹ Apostolical Constitution, May 8th, 1881.

coloring. The eloquence of Protestant divines, the inspiration of Protestant poets, and the versions of Protestant historians fill the pages of their literary works; their histories give such a narration of facts as tends to laud Luther and glorify the Reformation; their geographies go out of their way to malign Catholic countries and Catholic peoples, and praise all belonging to Protestant countries and Protestant peoples. Listen to their lessons. They are charged with Protestant prejudices. Is the theory of terrestrial gravity explained? The Professor of Physics goes out of his way to dwell upon the imaginary or implied tortures of Galileo and the wickedness of his persecutors. Are Kepler's laws discussed? The Professor of Astronomy will step aside to say that Kepler was a conscientious Protestant, careful, however, to conceal the fact that the only asylum in which he found refuge from his Protestant persecutors was a Jesuit college. And so on through the whole course. Here is consistency at least. Not only is the school Protestant, but professor and student glory in the fact. They believe in their convictions; they are proud of them; and let us say that so far as they are earnest and consistent are they to be commended. Our Catholic schools should be equally stanch in their Catholicity. Their text-books should breathe throughout respect for religion and love for the holy Church. Mere colorless text-books, that possess no other merit than that of being silent concerning the nature and the work of that Church, do not suffice; still less tolerated should be any book reflecting on her doctrine or her children. That would indeed be a terrible farce which would give place in a Catholic school to books hostile to the Catholic religion simply with a view of conciliating the non-Catholic element in attendance. It were a mockery to call a school Catholic and use books in that school, whether as readers, histories, or literatures, from which passages are hourly read assailing all that is dearest to the Catholic heart; and this under the pretext of not wounding the susceptibilities of Protestant patrons. It is all wrong. It is a scandal. The two or three feeble dilutions of catechetical instructions given each week are only so much sugar coating the poisonous pill, and causing it to be swallowed with all the greater relish. Should such a state of things exist or come to exist, of what earthly benefit would our Catholic schools be? How may children glory in a faith so trampled on? How take pride in a creed so slighted? How feel honored in a name which their teachers seem disposed to sink into oblivion? It is based on a foolish and a false notion. Every Protestant parent sending his child to a Catholic school expects to find the instruction thoroughly Catholic, and, far from being pleased with the reverse, he becomes shocked to find that even in the Catholic school he meets with men

who trim their very principles. Such behavior justly brings contempt upon the men practicing it; unjustly, also, it places the Church in a false light. We do not lose sight of the fact that our modern English literature is in great measure Protestant. Nor would we exclude classical Protestant authors from our Catholic youths. The wiser plan is to have these authors read and commented upon in the light of Catholic doctrine. It prepares young men to be enabled afterwards to discuss them with discrimination. They have learned in the light of truth how to regard whatever is brilliant or fascinating in those authors; tinsel and false ornament and shallow argument and weak assertion; the half-told truth and the misrepresented fact; the rhetorical glitter that concealed the hollow and misleading statement, have one and all been laid bare in that light; having once beheld them as they really are young men are no longer dazzled by them, and henceforth take them for their real worth.¹ In the white light of Catholic truth all human lights are bedimmed or dwindle down to their natural insignificance.

For this reason Catholics need never dread the light. They are born into the light; they are created for the light; they should live in the light. The rays of reason and faith,—the natural and the supernatural light,—both proceeding from the same Uncreated Sun, flood every Catholic intellect. Oculists now teach that it is not excess of light, but rather a want of it that injures the eye. Be that as it may, it holds true of the intellectual vision that it is the darkness of ignorance or the haze of imperfect knowledge, rather than the full light of truth, that leads it to error. Occasionally a lukewarm Catholic will complain of his having had too much religious teaching in his youth, and will lay upon that fact the blame of his present indifference. Such a statement seems to contradict what we have advanced. But it is not true. Coming to examine it for what it is worth we find that perhaps he is not willing to practice the dictates of his religion, and he makes this an excuse for throwing off its wholesome restraints; or if his mind is unusually active, he has become disgusted with the insignificant instructions that he received; he craved for robust logical teaching, with a starting-point and a connecting link; and he received only a few crumbs of sentiment and assertion. Disgust followed,

¹ In the matter of Catholic text-books we are still in the background. True, in English literature we have Jenkins's Handbook, the second edition of which is very full and respectable, and for advanced students Mr. Thomas Arnold's fourth edition of his Manual of English Literature, which the author has partially re-written from a Catholic standpoint. But Fredet's Ancient History does not compare favorably with Canon Rawlinson's. Then Schlegel's Philosophy of History requires to be re-written in the light of the historical investigations and discoveries of the last half century.

and hence his present attitude. Man is created for religious truth; to live in its light is as natural to his intellect as it is to his lungs to breathe the air. Religion should be the all-pervading, all-inspiring element in his thinking. And, in being such, it perfects both thought and life. Men speak of religion oppressing, embarrassing, interfering. We are told that this atmosphere of ours presses upon our bodies with the enormous pressure of fifteen pounds to every square inch of surface. We do not cry out against it; we do not find it to interfere with motion or action. Nature's laws have fitted us for the burden. We feel oppressed if it becomes too rarefied, or if we breathe it in an impure state. So it is with religion. Whilst it remains wholesome it imparts vigor and energy. Milton did not find his religious teachings to prevent his poetical imagination from soaring into the sublimest regions, and where his poetry is deficient his theological training is also found deficient. Dante did not soar any the less high because of his thorough religious and scholastic discipline. Copernicus was no less the great astronomer for having been the pious priest.

Man's religious nature is a sequence of his rational nature. Being intelligent he recognizes a Creator; having a moral sense he recognizes in that Creator a judge to whom he is accountable; who is infinitely holy and infinitely just, the arbiter of his life and the discernor of his every thought, word, and deed; in whom he lives, moves, and has his being; on whom he depends, to whom he looks for light in his doubts, strength in his weakness, assistance in his helplessness; and, recognizing this dependence, he is led to be devout towards that Creator and to offer Him prayer and sacrifice. Passion may weaken in him this religious sense, or worldly affairs may partially suppress it, or secular habits of thought may for the time lead to forgetfulness of it, but for all that the religious element does not cease to act in his nature. Even Strauss admits that atheism requires its religion.¹ A consequence of the utmost importance follows from this truth. It is that intellectual development, as such, far from being incompatible with deep religious belief, aids and confirms it. The loftiest intellects in all ages have had the deepest religious convictions. It is deficiency of reason or want of thorough, rigid, logical exercise of reason, or tampering with the primary operations of reason, or confounding fancy and imagination with reason, or allowing prejudices, avowed or secret, to interfere with the plain conclusions of reason, that induces habits of superficial thinking. Superficial thought leads to contempt for every issue not easily grasped; it precludes all

¹ The Old Faith and the New.

seriousness. Thence follows that inert, half paralyzed condition of mind that refuses to probe any question to its foundation, and ends in being content with a shrug of the shoulders and a *que sais-je*. This is the intellectually death-in-life state of the skeptic. And this sterility of the mind in its highest operations is soon followed, if it is not already accompanied, by a drying up of all the nobler impulses and emotions of the heart.

The profound and rational study of our holy religion can alone preserve our Catholic students from this deplorable state. The Little Catechism and its accompanying explanations do not suffice. They are simply the foundation on which to erect something grand and imposing. After the youthful intellect has been well-grounded in the Little Catechism, a larger and more developed work is placed in his hands; the Catechism of Perseverance or Perry's Instructions, for instance; this gives rise to fuller explanations of the principles and dogmas of our faith; in connection with these are discussed the rise and progress of the various heresies, especially those that led to the definitions of faith; the refutation of these heresies in clear and succinct statements is also given; after which the history of the Church is outlined; her various attitudes towards the temporal powers of Europe are explained, her policies defined, and her position in mediæval and modern times clearly laid down; the student being constantly reminded that whilst the Church is divine in her origin, divine in her doctrine, divine in her authority, the instruments with which she works are weak human mortals. Hence the scandals he reads of, the blunderings, the short-sighted policies in temporal affairs. But from them all he learns still more clearly the divine nature of an institution that remains untarnished in her moral code, unchanging in her dogmas in the midst of so much corruption. He learns the historical origin of Protestantism, the value and importance of man's free will, the enormity of sin, and the distinction between God's knowing and God's willing; he learns how God must have established a definite Church to dispense His graces, and, therefore, why every Church bearing the name of Christian cannot be the true one; he learns how to distinguish and apply the notes of the true Church, and to find them all realized as in the Holy, Roman, Catholic and Apostolic Church; he learns the nature and scope of infallibility, and how to distinguish it from the impeccability so falsely attributed in ignorance to the Pope. He is thus enabled to meet the false religious tenets of the day. But this is not enough. The irreligious teachings must be met as well. And this calls for a superior course of religious instruction in our colleges.

The superior course is placed on a philosophical basis. History and literature and science and art are all converged to this focus,

and discussed, and when necessary reconstructed in its light. It draws out the evidences of religion, natural and revealed; it develops the proofs for the existence of God; for the immortality and spirituality of the soul; for the necessity of a revealed religion in the present order of things; it explains the inspiration of Holy Writ; it dwells upon the harmony and unity of the Church in her doctrine, her dogma, and her ritual; it defines the relations of faith to science and of reason to faith; it traces the limits of the human intelligence in dealing with religious and theological questions; it teaches how to distinguish between facts and theory, speculation and truth, certitude and opinions. All these fundamental issues are discussed with a view to the Atheism, Positivism, and Agnosticism of the day. And those theories are refuted in their principles and premises rather than in their general conclusions or casual statements. Only in this manner are they eradicated root and branch. Due regard is also had to their methods. Scientific method is met with scientific method, and by scientific reasoning. Not with prejudice, or presumption, or the mere dogmatism that asserts without knowledge. An ignorant scoffer may be covered with ridicule to some purpose, one's presumption may be snubbed with effect, but ignorance or error, when it is earnest and well-meaning, and open to conviction, should be met with fact and solid argument in the same spirit in which it betrays itself.

Different periods have different intellectual characteristics. Controversy in the sixteenth century was violent even to vulgarity; in the seventeenth it expressed itself in ponderous tomes and the citations of overwhelming authority; in the eighteenth it indulged in flippancy and mocking. In the beginning of the present century the superficial spirit was predominant. In consequence we find the magic pen of Chateaubriand charming France into respect and love for the Church and her ceremonies by holding up to her view in beautiful style the poetry of her teachings, her ritual, and her sacraments. But the spirit of the present time is deeper. It is more serious, more truth-loving, more earnest in research, more scientific in its methods; it must be treated accordingly. Darwin and Herbert Spencer are not buffoons or charlatans or noisy brawlers like Voltaire and the Cyclopædists. If Littré were not an earnest disciple of Comte do you suppose for a moment that in the last hours of his life our Lord would have admitted him to the grace of His sacrament and a fellowship with His followers? The high intellectual attainments of these men, their respectable social standing, their earnestness, their devotion to science, all deserve the consideration due to gentlemen and scholars. They cannot be pooh-poohed, nor can they be passed over in silence. We have the truth with us, and the truth shall prevail. But in order to pre-

vail it must be properly presented. And if our colleges cannot present it properly then indeed are they sad failures; and far from carrying out the intentions for which nearly all the colleges and universities in Europe were originally founded and endowed, they become things of stunted growth without the robust energy of secular institutions, and therefore without a *raison d'être*. They are Catholic or nothing.

There is a painful lack of proper text-books bearing on these burning issues of the day. On the one hand there is badly needed a life of our Lord, written with a view of refuting the dangerous works of Renan and Strauss. Such a life should be written with the loving unction of a Bonaventura, by one more deeply versed in Oriental lore than Renan himself, and capable of coping with the rationalizing Biblical criticism of Strauss. It should be written in such a spirit as to show the Godhead shining forth in the manhood of our Lord, and encircling his every act with the halo of His divinity.¹ Again we need a work that will take up all the stray beams of truth coursing through the various philosophical and social theories and systems of the day, and converge them all into a single focus. Such a work requires the mental grasp of an Aquinas. It would gather up and harmonize all the conclusions and facts of the various sciences in the light of clearly defined and universally admitted principles, and with a method the rigidity of which no scientist could object to; it would in the light of those principles show wherein lies the fallacy of this author or that opposed to revelation; it would reconstruct his theory and place it in harmony with the truths of faith. We have a few attempts of this kind especially on the continent of Europe; but the weak point with the majority of them is, that instead of going down into the arena of science, and fighting scientists with their own weapons, they plant themselves on the serene heights of religion, and read their opponents lectures on their stupidity, ignorance, or malice. Surely, no man is likely to be convinced of the erroneousness of his opinion by being told that he is a blockhead. No good can come of this mode of dealing with the issues of the day. All along the line experiment must be met by experiment, fact by fact, argument by fact and argument combined. It does not suffice to pick a flaw in this incidental statement or that, to prove the falsity of this side or that, to show the fallacy of this line of argument or that. Such a process is calculated to lead the attention off the main question. It is mere skirmishing. It is caviare to the general. It may construct a brilliant magazine article; but it

¹ Had circumstances permitted the late Bishop Lynch to undertake such a book he would have done it justice. See his articles on the Divinity of our Lord, in early numbers of this REVIEW.

cannot make a student's handbook. Mr. Mallock is a free-lance who follows this desultory mode. He takes the surface expressions of Positivist teachers in letters and science; he picks flaws in them; he shows the absurdity of their conclusions; here and there he exposes a fallacy. In a charming style he seeks to convince his readers that they may judge of the structure of Positivist houses from the specimen of rotten wood and broken brick that he hands around. His book¹ is devoured with relish; men are so well pleased to find the life-studies of eminent scientists and philosophers brought within the reach of their comprehension with little or no effort on their part. Mr. Mallock is hailed as a new light. But no sooner has the first ripple of novelty passed away than it is found that Mr. Mallock has inconsistencies in his reasoning, that he sometimes begs the question, and that the correctness of his conclusions is due more to the shrewdness of his judgment than the logic of his deductions. He deals with burning questions, not because they press him for an immediate answer, but because he finds amusement in their solution. Whether that solution be a Yes or a No, is a matter of small moment to him; it will interfere neither with the digestion of his dinner nor with the rounds of his pleasures. If Mr. Mallock desires to do much good, he must first school himself into earnestness.

The promiscuous reading of such a book as Mr. Mallock's, or of stray articles in the reviews, or of an occasional lecture on these living issues, will not suffice. Such reading is without method, without thought, without aim, and is at the very least worthless, frequently dangerous, for advanced students. It has value only when carried on under the guidance of an older and more experienced head, who has co-ordinated, arranged, methodized these promiscuous works, and who by his explanations leads the student up to each book, showing what may be expected from the reading of such a book, wherein it makes a point and wherein it fails to refute. In this manner only would a student's reading be profitable. "Whatever students read in the province of religion," says Cardinal Newman, "they read, and would read from the very nature of the case, under the superintendence and with the explanations of those who are older and more experienced than themselves."² And when the student has been thus followed up, his religious instruction gaining in robustness and extent as his intellectual faculties quicken, he learns to revere the religion that can suggest to him the complete solution to so many life-problems; he feels proud of it; he proclaims its beauties and its truths wherever an occasion offers. He is prepared to fight the battles of his faith

¹ *Is Life Worth Living?*

² *Idea of a University*, p. 380.

when he goes out into the world. His education has been in deed as well as in name, thoroughly Catholic. These results have been produced from time to time by our Catholic institutions of learning. These results will be more frequent when our Catholic institutions of learning shall have become convinced that neither worldly policy nor worldly expediency can ever supplant Catholic principles.

KING JAMES I. OF ENGLAND.

"Great and manifold were the blessings, most dread Sovereign, which Almighty God, the Father of all mercies, bestowed upon us the people of England, when first He sent Your Majesty's Royal Person to rule and reign over us. For whereas it was the expectation of many, who wished not well unto our Zion, that upon the setting of that bright Occidental Star, Queen Elizabeth of most happy memory, some thick and palpable cloud of darkness would so have overshadowed this land, that men should have been in doubt which way they were to walk, and that it should hardly be known who was to direct the unsettled State; the appearance of Your Majesty, as of the Sun in his strength, instantly dispelled those supposed and surmised mists, and gave unto all that were well-affected exceeding cause of comfort, especially when we beheld the government established in Your Highness and your hopeful seed, by an undoubted Title, and this also accompanied with peace and tranquillity at home and abroad."

TO a Catholic convert the memory of the veneration with which, during childhood and early youth, he regarded the first of the Stuart kings, is, in spite of the ignorance and innocent credulity of those periods, an inexplicable wonder. Not that such veneration was very much less among adults, men and women, at least in country sections, wherein, forty years ago, a Catholic priest had not been as much as seen by the oldest inhabitants. Republicans though all were, young and old, yet they conceded that in those benighted times, when the word of God was kept locked within dead languages, and mankind were perishing in need of the bread of life it contained, it was well for one mighty, valiant, inspired monarch to be invested with crown, and sceptre, and armed with sword, in order to prevail against the arch-enemy of whatever name or sex, whether Man of Sin or Whore of Babylon. How serious, sometimes how awful, our little heart felt, intent on pious thoughts, when spelling through the long strange words we read as well as we could the paragraph above quoted and the rest of that famous dedication on the fly-leaf of our family Bible. Ignorant of all history except what was to be found in the precious Book, and

a few legends of the war of the Revolution, it seemed a dutiful exercise of the mind to associate this puissant sovereign with the great Solomon. Such association seemed the more becoming when we were told that it was common among the divines of his generation. Too young and simple to realize the full meaning and value of "that bright Occidental Star," yet our tongue had already grown fond of the "good Queen Bess," and our mind wondered how two sisters could have been so dissimilar as herself and Mary the Bloody.

Ah, how long it does require for a man, even when most desirous to avoid doing injustice to men and principles, and when yearning for religious truth, to be delivered from influences exerted upon his childhood in the midst of solemn and most important studies! To read language of exalted compliment prefixed to the very word of God, resting within the same lids with the records of the ancient saints, of the Saviour and His disciples, and when arrived at young manhood to find it repeated in the published works of courtiers, divines, and poets, after all these, the wonder ought to be less, we admit, that such influences should remain long upon so many minds, and throughout life upon so many more. It was a long, a too long time even when grown to full manhood, and having read over and over again the histories of her times, before we could part from the veneration first, and afterwards the admiration of Elizabeth, one beginning with the child with the Bible in our lap, and subdued later into the other by the magical verse of Spenser and Shakspeare.

As we grow older we recognize more and more the value of early instruction upon themes whereon it is most important not to be mistaken. The Greeks were right,—even the heathen Greeks who knew God as the Unknown,—they were wiser than the moderns in putting religious in the foreground of all education of the young. Such teachings in that docile period, if they be of the truth, are almost fully secure from being forgotten and abandoned; if of error, deliverance from them, except by some especial grace from heaven, is beset with difficulties which sometimes appear only second to those in whose category are the change of the leopard's spots and the skin of the *Æthiopian*. But the purpose of this article is not to dwell upon the career of Elizabeth, but only to consider it as it may serve to aid in a brief contemplation of that of him who, when that "Occidental Star" had set, rose upon our ancestors as "the Sun in his strength."

Of all the sorrows of Mary Stuart, the sorest and most despairing was perhaps the sense of the unnatural conduct of her only son. But that to a mother's heart such a thing always seems impossible, she must have foreseen that the begotten of Henry Darn-

ley, the incarnation of all revolting grossnesses, avaricious, drunken, a coward, an assassin, must be like his father. Piteous beyond any in history the fate of this princess. The disappointment of Henry VIII. in obtaining her espousal for his son Edward could be appeased only by her removal when a prattling child of six years from her native land. Afterwards, when the husband of her girlhood had deceased, there was another exile from the country she had grown to love as her home. Called to the throne of her ancestors while yet almost a child in years, her religion proscribed by her Parliament, without husband, without brother, except the illegitimate son of Margaret Erskine, who, like all his kind, hated the offspring of his father born in wedlock, watched and harassed by the powerful lords and the bigoted divines of her kingdom, in evil hour she was led to the altar by the son of Lennox. The annals of courts for a thousand years, long and crimson as is their list, contain nothing so unmanly as the conduct of that man when, having introduced his ruffians by back stairs to the chamber where sat the wife of his bosom in expectation of maternity, he pinioned her arms within his own, and made her behold the poor Italian shed the last drop of his blood. The child that was almost ready to be born, when he was born, though devoid of all beauty of face, of form, or of mind, was quick in the development of characteristics which discovered that side of his origin which alone he was destined to inherit and perpetuate.

He made an early beginning. They crowned him when a year old, acting upon an abdication wrung by the ruthless Lindsay from his mother when a prisoner in Lochleven. Outraged by her husband, insulted by bigots, confiding, only to be continuously betrayed, in her kindred, her subjects, the Queen of England, ever delayed in hope of assistance from European sovereigns, the saddest, most sorrowful of all was to befall her as soon as her son should grow old enough to know what it was to be unnatural and base, and follow without scruple or remorse the instincts he had inherited. The same Margaret Erskine, the destruction of whose honor when a maid she claimed to have been repaired by her intermarriage with the Douglas, had been her keeper. Under Murray, her bastard son, this child, so ductile to evil influences, was early taught to think of his mother, languishing in a foreign prison, as a rival, heretical and dangerous. Yet he was scarcely in his teens when, in spite of his religious trainings, her heresy pleased rather than disturbed him, because even then he recognized how it diminished the danger. His religious principles then and ever afterwards were such as he considered best adapted to secure the possession of what he had and meant to keep, and provide that of what he had not and desired to obtain. At the age of fifteen

years, during thirteen of which his mother had been in captivity, he might have been seen at Holyrood, with what grace his ungainly person could command, entertaining the Catholic priests who had been sent, at the instigation of D'Aubigny, taking lessons in the Italian language from one, lolling his great tongue in avowals of filial affection and commiseration, vaguely agreeing, or pleading his inability to co-operate in efforts for her deliverance, and then begging for presents and money, which already, next to his crown, he had learned to love with his whole heart. Yet when, a few weeks later, the Pope and the French and Spanish courts had arranged for the joint occupation of the Scottish throne by his mother and himself, he turned angry and alarmed from the proposal until assured that, within the realm, his mother would agree to abstain from all exercise of royal authority. The captive Queen let her mother's heart bound with gladness at this pretended condescension. Happy it was for her that she never did know the full depth of his baseness, and that while thus professing to the Catholic powers his desire to return to the Church and reign jointly with her, and was receiving the money which he begged at their hands, his own trusted agent, Marr, was secretly betraying these schemes to Elizabeth, proposing a marriage between her and his master, and getting other moneys from the English treasury. Not the deepest depth, we mean. She must have died of a broken heart outright had her eyes penetrated to the bottom of that black abyss. Not far from that condition she was indeed, when being told of a portion of this treachery, and tenderly remonstrating with her son for the employment of such a man in important service, the ingrate answered her remonstrance by bidding her remember that not she but himself was sovereign of Scotland, and that treachery to her and treachery to himself were things widely distinct. Except remorse for great, inexpiable crime, there is, perhaps, no form of anguish so intensely and perpetually agonizing as that which a parent, especially a mother, suffers from such abandonment. He was then nineteen years of age, with full competence to understand a duty which the Creator recognizes as being akin and next to that due to Himself. A year had not elapsed when he had concluded a treaty with the Queen of England, in which he bound himself to co-operate with her in maintaining the cause of Protestantism, and extend aid in the resistance of all possible invasions of other powers for any purpose. In the negotiations for this treaty, not only was the release of the Queen of Scots not stipulated, but her son did not ask for it nor so much as make any mention of her name.

And now, twenty years were passed. Youth, health, hope were gone. Elizabeth had hoped that her prisoner would have died of

confinement, of grief, or by assassination. The hatred she felt towards her had sprung from the sense of how she was aware that others regarded the inferiority of her own comparative beauty and graces, the more honorable birth of her rival, and the thought, more repugnant to her than all others, more horrible than death and the last judgment, that upon her dying without issue, this gifted rival would succeed to the vacant throne. This persistent tenacity to life in the midst of so many persecutions disappointed and incensed her in the extreme. Like her Plantagenet ancestor, when railing against the great prelate of Canterbury, she had been wont to curse and swear, and cursing and swearing ask if none among the recipients of her favor could be found to rid her of this arch-enemy to her peace. When no answer came, and when Paulet, the jailer, turned with horror from a direct appeal for assassination, she determined to prolong the struggle no longer. The commissioners appointed for the trial made their final judgment, and the populace shouted with cruel joy when the bells of London rang out its announcement. The outside world was aghast. But Spain was embarrassed by the affairs of the Low Countries, and must withhold the aid she longed to extend. Henry of France, whatever cause he may have felt that he had to hate the blood of the Guises, yet conscious of the promptings both of compassion and knighthood, and remembering that the condemned had once been Queen of France, remonstrated in terms that made known, that but for engrossment with domestic dissensions he would have hindered or resented the atrocity at the peril of all his resources and of his crown. These impulses were well known to Elizabeth, and the impossibility of their execution. The time so long delayed was ripe and must be availed. The unhappy captive, thus friendless, at least thus unbefriended, was abandoned to the fate that was the more merciless because the event, so long determined, had been so long delayed. In the literature of the tragic muse there is nothing more eloquently pathetic than when, with a courage fired by just indignation at the last of a thousand insults of her jailer, and a confident appealing to heaven, she said to him: "There still remain two things, sir, which you cannot take from me,—the royal blood which gives me right to the succession, and the attachment which binds me to the faith of my fathers."

In such an emergency all mankind justly supposed that her only son, who was a man fully grown and a crowned king, would have risked crown and life. What he did, rather what he pretended to do, in the line of his mother's relief was done partly from fear that her assassination would further weaken his claim to succession, and partly at the instigation of the Scottish nobles who, for very shame, protested against the execution, as a malefactor, of a de-

scendant of the blood royal of their country. This was to send that same Marr, who, at his instance, years before, had been false to her interests, and who, while announcing with his colleagues the threatening words of his master, in private assured the English ministry that they had been sent only to save appearances, and that James would be found, on the payment of a reasonable sum, speedily accessible to pacification. The threats were laughed at in council and in public, and the end came. Considering the circumstances of that long captivity, its alternations of hopes and disappointments, of promises and betrayals, the insults, at its close, to her religion and her sex, it was piteous in the extreme. Even now, after three hundred years, it seems incredible that a churchman, high in office, Fletcher, Dean of Peterborough, destined, for this day's work, to be made Bishop of London, after denial of the consolations of her faith, walked around and around the scaffold, following her, as trying to fix her thoughts wholly on eternal things in the article of death, she turned from his gaze and his railing. Taking these circumstances all in all, and adding yet the blundering butchery of the headsman, it is a tragedy most to be pitied among the chronicles of Christian times. It was enough to lead the merciful of every faith and every condition to cry out to heaven with the prophet, "How long, O Lord! how long!"

What was the effect in old Holyrood, where sat a young monarch in whose veins ran the blood of the Malcolms and the Guises and Duncans, of many a brave ancestor, who had risked their blood, some of whom had shed their last drop in battling for their country's and their own honor? It is said that he rose up in wrath and swore a great oath. And then he sat down and let his tears flow. He was angry and he was grieved. The coming of a present of money, and the artfulness of Elizabeth in a temporary pretended preference of Arabella Stuart for the succession, appeased his ire, and subdued, at least diverted, a part of his grief. The courts of Europe looked with disgust, painful, sickening, upon this unnatural son and this coward of a sovereign prince. His pusillanimity would not have been less unworthy even if he had believed, as he did not, her complicity in the murder of his father, and had resented, when arrived to thoughtful years, her marriage with Bothwell, although the highest tribunal of the realm had solemnly pronounced him not guilty. It was not for these that she had suffered and died at the hands of a Queen to whom she had fled for temporary asylum, who in return had ruthlessly violated what in all recorded times sovereigns, even among barbarous nations, have regarded sacred,—the behests of hospitality and protection to the suppliant. James of Scotland was just fully grown to manhood. Accustomed to the study of books, he well knew the histories of his ancestors

and the brave kings of other peoples than that of Scotland. Here was an opportunity to retrieve at last something of what he could not fail to know himself to have lost in the opinions of mankind by failing to intervene in behalf of his imprisoned mother. He might have pleaded his youthful age, too weak to control the lords whose hostility had first driven her to seek protection of her who had compassed her ruin. For now these lords, overwhelmed with shame, were ready to indorse a conduct that every behest of courage, justice, family, and national honor made appeals to be undertaken. Surely no other than he would have failed to press forward to the glory with which a combat in such a cause, whether successful or unfortunate, would have crowned him. As it was, he cursed his curse, he swore his oath, he made his eyes and his cheeks wet with weeping, and then he grew calm, he dried his tears, he looked fondly on the bags of gold for which he sold himself out, and though he could never get from Elizabeth a recognition of his claims to the succession, he was thankful during the remaining sixteen years of her life that he was not formally and avowedly excluded.

It is curious to study what sacrifices of the things which God and this world have pronounced to be of most binding obligation, this young King was led to make during the years wherein his eyes, mean, envious, hungry, and longing, were never turned from that fair inheritance in the south. To a mind honest, even in the main addicted to serious contemplations, there is a sort of humorousness sometimes in observing the uneasy conduct of a covetous young man, the reluctant though abject court which, in recognition of its necessity, he pays to an aged life-tenant of an estate that he hopes to inherit. One can but smile to see his puny enjoyment of occasional advancements, his clumsy shifts to conceal his disappointment and hate of a prolonged existence, to the termination of which even his contingent remainder must be postponed. Low though this species of fun may be, yet even a mind most honest and most serious must indulge it and laugh, though but within the sleeve, if, for no other reason, to mitigate the pain of disgust. When this duplicity is exhibited on sacred themes, and in consecrated places, such a mind can laugh no more, but denied such relief can only wonder and be appalled.

Elizabeth, during the remaining years of her reign, inflicted upon the King of Scots the persistent insults which a selfish woman, growing old, loves to inflict upon one whom she knows not only not to love her, but to wish for her death, and to long for the fortune that she has to leave. Fain would she, like the dying miser imagined of Bacon, deputed herself the executor of her own testament and been allowed to carry with her that for which, during

life, she had bargained all she had that was dear; and now when she looked upon this son of the cousin she had murdered, it was his very meanness that subdued her grudge and hindered his disinherison. Her sense of security in the infliction of insults and exactions, founded upon a full assurance of his pusillanimity, and his patience under every form of wrong rather than endanger his claim by resentment or exhibit annoyance, led to conduct that surely no other in his place would have endured. But besides being a coward, proven and conscious, there is a facility of endurance with one who feels that he has deserved what he suffers. He bore and he bore. His capacity in that regard was never exhausted and never known. He could never obtain the recognition of his claim, and the Cecils, who had been his mother's enemies most unrelenting and implacable, were suspected to favor Arabella. In the anguish of his fears he attempted to make terms with France, Spain, and the Pope, and in negotiations thereto he exhibited as much readiness to part, for a sufficient consideration, from his religious professions as ever was a seller to dispose of an article of property that was supernumerary and inconvenient, or could be exchanged for one more valuable or desirable. When the aged Queen, suspicious and cunning to the last, would detect his schemes, he not only did not scruple to disavow them, but, at her demand, imposed punishment upon the agents therein by himself accredited. The life, that had been regarded by him as next to eternal in duration, came to an end at last. Though not unexpected, at a great age, and brought by none but natural causes, that end was awful, revolting, horrific. Whoever has been at the Luxembourg Palace and looked upon the picture of De la Roche, representing the Death of Elizabeth, has not forgotten. Though not competent to justly reproduce that scene, yet it is such as to make the beholder shrink with horror, as he beholds the shrivelled woman, her royal robes disordered and soiled, lying upon the floor, her dying eyes those of one who had been a queen to the last, and who, as she had not rendered mercy, had not expectation to receive it from her conqueror.

That James should laugh when he heard the news, that he should cry out, in the ecstasy of his laughing, that he should get drunk, extremely drunk, and indulge in alternations of laughter and tears, none then or afterwards wondered, or felt any additions to their contempt. The bewilderment of his felicity was the greater because of the long time of his waiting, its ever uncertain result until the very last, when suddenly every cloud and every mist disappeared from the sky. The second Cecil, while his mistress was dying, made ready and easy condonement for his father's and his own persecutions of Mary Stuart, and made haste to proclaim at

Westminster and Cheapside Cross the new monarch. Never a man, even to a hereditary throne, had ascended more peacefully. The unanimous summons filled him with surprise and delight, like those which swelled the heart of Sancho Panza when, from being but the esquire of an impoverished knight, he found himself transformed into a ducal governor of a rich populous province. The duplicity of his deportment thitherto, the evidences of absence of vigorous purpose of any sort, served to lead all, Churchmen, Puritans, and Catholics, to hope, the two former for recognition and advancement, the last at least for toleration. Though all were disappointed when they first saw their sovereign, who, in looks and gait, in manner and conversation, exhibited so little of what it is grateful to notice in one who is a gentleman as well as a prince, yet all, in Church and State, looked forward, some with eager expectation, and others without painful anxiety.

James regarded his new inheritance, and his ignorance of the demands of good taste so styled it, as the Land of Promise. Comfortless, poor and mean seemed to him now old Holyrood, birth, and thirty-seven years of dwelling wherein, and the traditions of his ancestors, had begotten none of the fondness which in a manly heart would have prompted some regret at separation. He left it and his countrymen; except his especial favorites, as the snake leaves the withered skin that has been exchanged for the glittering one in its stead. As soon as he had obtained possession of his kingdom it was plain to see that his government and his personal conduct were to be gauged by whatever should appear most likely to secure his undisputed enjoyment of the felicity to which he had risen. Filial instincts, which had not been wholly obtunded, taught him that he ought to hate the memory and the very name of Elizabeth, and the treatment he had received at her hands made him know that he did. Yet when learning that his speeches regarding her wounded the feelings of those who had loved and admired her, he professed his willingness to attend her funeral obsequies, a disgrace that was forestalled by their celebration before his arrival at his capital.

Henceforth, from whatever points of view we may regard him, obtaining our knowledge from whatever historians of his times, he must dwindle more and more with the contemplation. For every generous exalted purpose of empire he not only continued ever unfit, but his narrow spirit never rose to understand its responsibilities, and he was ever whining at their burdens and exactions. Without the bloodymindedness of the Tudors, without their courage also, yet, even more than they, did he regard the sovereignty as a boon from Heaven. Arbitrary rule they had exerted by the practice of an audacity that dominated both State and

Church. He based his claim to continue such rule on having been the elect of God. What sincere religious convictions he had were for the Kirk of his native country. With these he had been indoctrinated in childhood, when the mind is most receptive of solemn impressions. Yet, we have seen, when a boy of fifteen, that he was ready to make religion a matter of bargain and sale. Later, while looking forward to his exaltation, that faith and that form of worship that seemed most desirable for his personal purposes, were those of the Church of England. His Basilicon Doron pointed to that lofty platform whereon the king was to stand, next to God, His representative in things spiritual and things temporal, with both divines and courtiers kneeling before his presence. Such gradations comported exactly with his notions of universal sovereignty of an anointed king. "No bishop, no king." Thus must he answer bluntly to the cries of the Dissenters against the hierarchy that Somerset had instituted and Elizabeth consummated. Men saw that the question to be decided at Hampton Court, and discussions elsewhere, were not what was a church polity most in accord with Christ and the Holy Spirit, but what seemed most suited to secure the possession of the good things that had fallen to the lot of the new King whom God had led to this land of promise. How the old men of the Scotch Kirk who had taught him the catechism must have sickened at heart, and inwardly railed, when were reported to them these words of their catechumen: "If you aim at a Scotch Presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God with the devil." Yet sweet and musical were they to the English prelates. They went not quite to the length of the flatterers of Herod, who claimed it to be the voice of a god, and not of a man, but they said, one, "The King hath spoken with the especial assistance of God's spirit;" another, "The King's like hath not been since the time of Christ." Such responses served to convince him more and more that he was another Solomon come to the throne of Israel, and they made his fooleries yet more abundant, extravagant, and audacious.

It is a curious history, that of Puritanism; ever clamorous for its own liberty, it was ever strange that it did not sympathize with those who suffered for its want. It hated the hierarchy of the established worship, but it hated the Catholic Church with far greater intensity. Here was a common ground on which all sects could meet, indulge for a season in cordial greetings and embraces, and together go forth to battle. Not less than simple toleration had been expected by the English Catholics at the hands of a monarch whose mother's sorrows they had pitied and endeavored to relieve. But he was not the man to withstand the united clamors of Churchmen and Dissenters. Like hounds from rival kennels, who have

quarrelled and combated with one another until bloody and nigh exhausted, if they see a hind rise and flee for its life, turn, and take on a new spirit and dash all together in eager pursuit, and then, having overtaken and rent the fugitive, resume the animosities of their kind, so did both parties of this age deport themselves towards the Catholics of England. Their sufferings had for their original, at least their chief original, the hate in which they were held by the Puritans. The rest was the connivance of the established prelates, with the King at their head, in order to soothe those fierce fanatics for the disappointment of their continued efforts to overthrow the hierarchy. When these were blatant and ferocious more than was agreeable or convenient, or safe to see and to hear, those timely pointed to a quarry more fit and more easy to be taken, hied and shouted to the pursuit, and helped to kill and flay the captured. To read of these sufferings, whether from purposes organized in parliaments or convocations, makes sick the heart. There have been more unrecorded than recorded martyrdoms. Yet, out of the partisan records of English history during these last three centuries, enough has been evolved to compel all who are sensible to pity to shudder for the wrongs that have been committed in the name of Heaven. Whenever struck themselves, as they often were, subjected to fines and excommunication, driven from their conventicles, exiled from their native land, the Puritans would roar with pain and resentment, and then this roar would be silenced by additional atrocities upon the Catholics.

In the midst of their infliction where was this puissant monarch? In that same dedicatory Bible-preface it was solemnly published: "The zeal of your Majesty toward the house of God doth not slack or go backward, but is more and more kindled, manifesting itself abroad in the farthestmost parts of Christendom, by writing in the defence of the Truth (which hath given such a blow to that man of sin as will not be healed), and every day at home by religious and learned discourse, by frequenting the house of God, by hearing the Word preached, by cherishing the Teachers thereof, by caring for the Church as a most tender and loving nursing Father."

Less candor than these words contain was never, in a public document, which the most servile have uttered to the most despotic. He was, indeed, a writer of books and tracts. His glory was to engage with foes at a vast distance, and with weapons that drew not blood. He attacked even the great Bellarmine, with the audacity with which a dog bays the moon, both warning their adversaries to keep their distance. The simple-minded, reading the pious words, were thankful; and if they had been merciful, had pitied the foe that by them was annihilated. But where was the

author while those who could read were reading, and those who could not were listening, to this wisdom? Without the excuse of fanaticism, or enthusiasm, or revenge, he thus fed the appetites of those who were hungry for the money and the blood of the innocent, while himself drew entertainment from many a source. He lingered at the cock-pit, or rode and hallooed behind his hounds, or reclined in his palace, both when sober and when drunken, when on his feet or upon his back upon the floors of his reception-rooms, kicking up his heels in debauch, with the minions of both sexes around him, his tongue, huge like that of an ox, hanging out of his mouth, wagging its gladdest and wickedest when repeating over and over again his claim to be called another Solomon the wise. In the midst of such debaucheries foreign ministers in vain appealed for audiences wherein to discuss the serious questions of international import. When failing therein, to while away the time, they looked in upon the orgies, the letters they wrote to friends in their several homes told of things that were so shockingly foul, that, but for irrefragable evidence of their truth, they would be incredible.

The Gunpowder Plot was one so sweeping in scope, so dire in design, as, if not to hide, at least to make appear less detestable, the outrages that provoked it. The limits of this article forbid any except this bare allusion to a series of persecutions not only more numerous than those under Elizabeth but more blameworthy. The latter had what excuse there was in living in the midst of a struggle between two religious faiths, and the conscious fact that neither the Pope nor the Catholic powers regarded her as a legitimate sovereign. In the case of James the struggle had been ended, and his title not impeached by a single voice in Europe. His persecutions were unpassionate, deliberate, most evidently unnecessary for any purpose that had even one element of honor or honesty. None but a faith divinely sustained but would have become extinguished by that exhausting sanguinary code. The forbidding of the youth of England to study abroad, the closing of the universities to them at home, and debarring from instruction of tutors of their own faith in the houses of their parents, the monthly fines that, amounting often to confiscation, enriched the rapacious favorites both of England and Scotland, to say nothing of the clergy, who were hunted and imprisoned, and executed, they were such as these, and more of other sorts, that provoked that maddened attempt to obtain at one fell blow revenge and deliverance. It failed, as it ought, but the ends it had sought were not as wicked as the outrages that preceded it. Fond are the people of England to celebrate the day of their deliverance and meditate too little upon the careers of those to whom no deliverance ever came.

A man for luck was King James. The luck that brings profit out of the disasters of others. The cruelties he had practised therefore, without pretence of excuse, perhaps with some little secret remorse, he could now continue with a rigor enhanced and secure. Upon his name they brought the greater infamy, both because of their want, in general, even of all suspected necessity, and because the sufferers had been the only sympathizers among his subjects with his mother throughout the years of her sorrow. The slanders bespoke habitually against them, attributing to them all the calamities that were to come henceforth by fire or pestilence, he was enlightened enough to know to be false, yet when he did not join in the railing he was silent when others belied, and refused to stay the hands that habitually laid on wrongs that were horrible to be borne and piteous to behold.

Turning from this view of James, and contemplating him in his other department as a sovereign, there is as little as heretofore to commend him to admiration. In his dealings in his own realm and with foreign nations, he not for a moment ever lost sight of the idea with which he had begun his reign, that he was an especial favorite of Heaven, located in a condition of power mainly for his own personal security and felicity. With none of the qualities needed to make a statesman or diplomat, without the talents to become even a great hypocrite, there were yet in his being elements that, strangely enough, are often eminently successful in the accomplishment of the ends to which they are persistently directed. Of all men with whom to contend, when they have superior position or other advantage, the ungenerous and the cowardly are the most difficult to overcome. Instincts of the generous and the brave often lead them to emerge from behind their fortifications and engage their foes with equal terms upon an open field. With such there is a temptation to take all the risk in order to strive for the glory of prevailing by the strength of arms rather than exhaustion of assaults upon what are impregnable to violence or stratagem. To such victory is regarded not as a triumph, or at least a triumph complete, when there has been no clashing of swords, nor hazard, nor sweat, nor shedding of blood. Risks like these, taken, and sought, and loved, and preferred, are what have made the great heroes. James the First was not of this kind. For twenty-two years he sat upon the throne, during the which he whined, and quarrelled, and sometimes blustered, but ever forbore to fight. But all this whining, and quarrelling, and most of this blustering, were for things he wished, not for his country, but for himself, the full admission of his divinely-bestowed perfections and claims, besides money for his cocks, his hounds, his orgies, and the parasites with whom they were indulged. His native love of

money had grown with the pinching parsimony he was made to practise in Scotland. It could never be satiated, even in his land of promise, that he had believed to teem with milk and honey, with oil and wine, with silver and gold. In contemplating his disappointments in this behalf we are reminded again of the esquire that became a duke when the doctor, Pedro Rezio de Aguero, with his wand spirited away from his hungry eyes, one after another, the tempting viands upon the loaded table before which he sat in state. "By my soul," cried Sancho, when the soup and the roasted partridges were denied, and he saw vanishing the stewed rabbits and the huge smoking olla podrida, "by my soul, and as God shall give me life to enjoy this government, I am dying with hunger; and to deny me food,—let signor doctor say what he will,—is not the way to lengthen my life, but to cut it short." With beseechings as querulous and as dignified, this king pleaded and pleaded for moneys over and above what rapacious enactments allowed him to wring from the Catholics, enormous as these were, and the sums he from time to time obtained from Parliament, though never declined, were regarded of less substance and weight than the "luncheon of bread and onion" for which the new-made duke, in his hungry emergency, longed with tears.

Those who have reflected upon the careers of old men who, from contemptible beginnings, without talent or uncommon energy, without even having ever taken a serious risk either for others or for themselves, and yet have become rich and influential in their old age, sometimes find the subject interesting. A mean miser settles himself on the outskirts of a growing town, on a piece of ground inherited or gotten for next to nothing; he chaffers for even a turnip or a cow-heel, he lives upon a quarter of what another requires, he whines at the opening of streets anear him at whatever indemnification, chuckling inwardly the while as the town grows to him and around him. In vain have they sought to purchase, and called him by every contemptuous epithet because he will neither sell nor improve his land. Patient, forbearing, he waits the time to strike, and then he strikes. He has all the while felt fully secure. The court he now receives is satisfactory. He has no resentment for the little respect paid in the days when he was poor and a nobody. In the times when his only want was ungratified he paid as little to himself. Once, he was quiet, simple, timid, shrinking; now, he is loud, knowing, and looks brave. Yet he knows how far blatancy may be carried, and when it must subside; and this is when either it is seen to be incapable to win that for which it is exercised, or is threatened with collisions that, in all circumstances, must be avoided. It was somewhat thus with the first of the Stuarts. By the accidents of life he was raised to the throne of

England. To this goodly estate he hied, and he let the world around advance as it might, neither aiding nor opposing. If he could have made his own programme, it would have been, first, that the king should live forever, and then there should be assigned what he should name, from time to time, of hunting grounds and dogs, and fighting cocks, and pipes of wine, and moneys; then, the understanding, that in the enjoyment of these he never should be molested. As for politics, it often filled his heart with sickness to think of them, except for the purpose of accomplishing one or another of his personal wants. For had he not chosen ones upon whom that irksome business was devolved, and were not the means for their compensation abundant from the fines and forfeitures of recusant Catholics? The serious duties of empire he loathed. Often, when yielding at last to the complaints of foreign ministers, and the pleadings of his own, he would turn from the chase, or the cock-pit, or the debauch, he would fretfully complain that the business had not been dispatched by themselves, but mostly that the money he wanted had not been provided. If his demands in this last behalf could have been gratified, and himself supplied whenever and to the extent he coveted, it is probable that he would have been content to let legislation have its own way in all matters except such as might have imperilled his crown, or produced dangerous involvement with foreign powers. Of this he was ever afraid; of that almost never. Idle, petulant, insulting, exacting, despotic, he well knew how hard it is for a nation to rid itself of its firmly-established king. Weak as he was in other respects none knew better than he that

"The cease of majesty
Dies not alone; but, like a gulf, doth draw
What's near it with it; is a massy wheel,
Fixed on the summit of the highest mount,
To whose huge spokes ten thousand lesser things
Are mortised and adjoined, which, when it falls,
Each small annexment, petty consequence,
Attends the boist'rous ruin."

He therefore comprehended the almost infinite limit to which he might go and avoid being

"Judged by subject and inferior breath."

Inside, but just inside, this limit, like the coward does always, he foresaw that he would halt, more astute than his son and successor, who overleaped and was ruined by the fall. The strains he gave proved a blessing to English liberties in showing to the people that both their rights and their powers were greater than they had believed. As for conflicts with foreign powers, he re-

garded them with shuddering fear. But the man who most avoids disputes abroad from the fear of injurious consequences to himself is generally most despotic at home. Many a coward, who truckles to the brave that he meets outside, in his own family often extorts a servility great as what he pays. Thus it was with James. He might have sided with the Low Countries against Philip of Spain, except that he dreaded both the resentment of the latter and the precedent of aiding revolted subjects against their king. As it was he would only make promises, receive the payment for them, then turn away again from public business and solace himself with sports and festivities. But if it were a small power that offended, or a weak, and especially in a matter with which he had no sort of rightful concern, as in the religious disputes of the Gomerists and Arminians of Holland, which led to the Synod of Dort, it was most entertaining to a looker-on to see how he could strut and to hear his threatening roarings.

But it was at home, far from the smell of gunpowder, and the noise of drum and cannon, that his characteristics as a fighter were most signally illustrated. He was not naturally cruel. Selfish and quarrelsome to the last degree, yet he was not one to gloat in blood and suffering. The cruelties perpetrated in his reign were mainly in accord with the religious impulsions of his people and the incessant importunities of his courtiers. The treatment of his cousin Arabella was the more base, therefore, because it had not been prompted by passion, except the jealous pangs he had endured when, after his mother's death, this innocent girl had been fondled by Elizabeth. The coward never forgives whatever has once, however innocently, aroused his fears. But he would have been content, like Amulius with the daughter of his brother, to have made her a vestal. She had no ambition other than to enjoy unmolested the wedded love of Seymour. But the discovery of the marriage that he had forbidden led to forcible dissolution and her imprisonment, until first madness and afterwards death put an end both to his apprehensions and his power to afflict.

That such a prince must have dishonest ministers was inevitable, and his chief choice fall upon the most unworthy. Added thereto in this case was that peculiar attraction that drew him to first one and afterwards another youth who had nothing but beauty of person to recommend them. There seemed to have been at least an approximation to insanity in the love he bore to Robert Carr and to George Villiers. Now as for the Fool, with his cap and bells, by whom in former times absolute monarchs were attended, philosophers have accounted for him. He stood as a foil to the wearisomeness that sprang of the satiety of absolute autocracy. A despot, surfeited with the servilities of his minions, found

relief in disporting with this image of himself, in suffering its contradictions, in paying to it a mock service, and submitting to its harmless decrees. It was eminently wise, therefore, in Shakespeare, when stripping the aged Lear of the other insignia of royalty, to leave with him his fool, in order to keep the dotard reminded that he once was a king. And there are few things in literature more plaintive than the contemplation of the ever-changing relation between the king and the fool; how, when the former lapsed into imbecility the latter gradually rose into seriousness and wisdom. But the attachment of James to these boys has never been satisfactorily accounted for. He loved them alternately with a love apparently like that which a man feels for beauty in woman. Yet, coarse as he was, drunken sot as he was, rioting in drunkenness with men and women, we believe he was never charged with conjugal infidelity. But he would hang upon the necks of these boys, slobber upon their bosoms, and pine whenever they were out of his presence and away from his arms. Such unnatural conduct would have been only disgusting but for the power to which his fondness exalted them and the audacities which they perpetrated with impunity. There is nothing in the judicial history of modern times, to select a single case, so foul and otherwise so unmitigatedly disgraceful as the trial instituted by the first of these favorites, now Duke of Somerset, for the divorce from her husband of the Countess of Essex, whom he had dishonored. The King, taking, in addition to his personal fondness, a present of twenty thousand pounds from the profligate, browbeat the court for their hesitation in admitting that his theological learning and especially his wishes were sufficient to produce the judgment he demanded. When even this could not prevail, he cut short the depositions against the plaintiff, increased the number of the judges, and thus, yet by a bare majority, made a rendition that put asunder what God had joined. Because of his opposition to this nefarious proceeding, Sir Thomas Overbury, the brightest ornament of that court, bravest and most gifted, was imprisoned without notice of charge except the declinature to go as minister to a foreign court, and his murder, on the very day on which the trial came to an end, was not even investigated until years afterwards, when a new beauty was found among the boys of England, and George Villiers rose upon the ruins of the one who had faded and ceased to be loved. It was not from horror of the crime that the assassins were brought to trial, but because mostly of this change in the affections of the King, and some dread of suspicion of complicity. The warrant for the arrest of Somerset found him in the royal arms, not dreaming that this was to be the last of those dear embraces, nor that,

when scarcely out of hearing, the monarch, like other perjured lovers, would curse him as he moved away.

The Queen had warned the ministers against the substitution of this new younger favorite. Their hostility to Somerset grew mainly out of his refusals and delays of connivance in all their schemes of reversions and other oppressions in their interest. The upstart that rose in his stead was more proud, more unscrupulous, and more audacious. Not Sejanus in the court of Tiberius exerted a sway more unlimited. Humiliation of the clergy, sale of ecclesiastical preferments and peerages, bribery of the courts, even dictating in his own hand the judgments they were to render, these and their likes he did not even take pains to disavow or conceal. The influence of no minister in a Christian court of any age was ever so vast and pernicious. Among the innumerable instances of this perhaps the saddest is that wherein was wrought the ruin of Bacon. The instincts of this most illustrious man, in spite of the corruptions of his times, prompted him to yearn only as a great solemn spirit can yearn for the universal weal of mankind. It was like the doings of an evil demon to assail the one weak spot in a spirit otherwise so strong and mighty, and then mock at the prostration that ensued. In that fall there is a pathos profound and touching almost like that which comes from reading of those in classic tragedy who, having conquered every other enemy, succumbed only to the decrees of fate, which even the gods had not power to revoke. More sublime may have been the complainings to the elements of nature of Prometheus Bound, but they touch not the heart like those of this greatest of mankind when, dying, he appealed to men's opinions among foreign nations and in future ages.

As the King grew old it was wonderful to notice the evergrowing control which this bold vulgarian exerted upon him, and pitiful to contemplate his late vain endeavors to resist it. The negotiations for the marriage of the heir-apparent are interesting reading to all who are fond of meditating upon the amount of falsehood and treachery and baseness of every form that is sometimes found in kings' houses. In the case of the Spanish princess not only was princely honor ruthlessly violated at the instance of Rochester, but oaths the most solemn. The Commons, in answer to the royal demand for more money, complained of the indulgence that was understood to have been promised to the proscribed faith. James solemnly denied, and, almost to their satisfaction, raved against those whom he had already robbed and persecuted until there was little to provoke vengeance or invite rapacity. The same promises confirmed by similar oaths were uttered in the case of Henrietta Maria, and the same facile repudiation would have probably ensued

had the monarch survived to find therefor sufficient motive for compassing selfish ends or evading official responsibility.

Of the dealings of this prince with the Irish people there is not space to consider in this article. The enormities began hundreds of years before his time were simply repeated and continued, with the exception that in some instances fraud was substituted for the open violence of his predecessors. The new colonization, first of Ulster, and afterwards of other counties of the east and south, the further impoverishment of their inhabitants by expatriation, both by violence and fraud, are so unmixedly disgraceful that all the world wonders yet that after two hundred and fifty years the great nation that allowed these wrongs to be inflicted has done so little towards their abatement.

The last days of James the First were such as, to any other than his son Charles, would have imparted salutary lessons. The demoralization that continuously grew in Church and State had sprung in the minds of the thoughtful who were not corrupt, an eager desire for greater purity in government and more liberty for the people. The dying King noticed the changing temper, and naturally his mind, now worn with age and cares, serious and petty, shrank with fear if not disapprobation from the profligacies of Rochester. But he was now a dotard. Like a lover broken-hearted he lingered along puling and drivelling until death closed his career.

Herein are some of the doings and promptings of that puissant sovereign, who at the setting of the bright Occidental Star, came like the Sun in his strength upon our ancestors of England. Sad has it been to part from the innocent veneration which our childhood paid to one, to whom in our simplicity we believed that next to God, we owed the gift of the Book of Life. But then had we not also believed in the lamp of Aladdin, the purse of Fortunatus, and the concealed perfections of the prince in "Beauty and the Beast?" Ay, and so the regret and the shame are less that in that young time we could but credit what our Bible itself had said about him, who, of all sovereigns of Christian ages, was the meanest, the most cowardly, the least of a man.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

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"It is the sweetest note that man can sing
When grace in Virtue's key tunes Nature's string."
SOUTHWELL.

IN the year 1586, Robert Southwell, an Englishman of gentle birth, went from Rome to London on a voluntary mission of danger. He was a Jesuit and his mission was priestly. The times were troublous. The fear of the Spanish Armada, Philip's retaliation for the political injuries inflicted by Elizabeth during twenty years, then lay heavily upon England. The avenging fleet had been nearly five years in preparation. From the felled forests of Flanders; from the dock-yards of Nieuport, Gravelines and Dunkirk; and from the harbors of Spain, the sounds of the workman's axe and hammer had become more and more distinct, until now they were a fearful import to Elizabeth. The ocean had not before borne as grand and as threatening a fleet. The number and size of the ships, their unusual construction, and their lofty prows and turrets might well strike fear into the English heart. At this time it was not known, though it was believed in England, that the purpose of the Armada was other than political. All England, however, was beginning to be alarmed. The people were angered by their fears and by their suspicions; and the Protestant party made fitting use of this condition of affairs. By torture, Elizabeth sought to learn the plans of her enemies, and, by executions, to uproot suspected sympathy with the cause of Philip II. For Catholics, it was a time of bloody persecution. "To be a Catholic was a crime; to be a priest was high-treason; and to be a Jesuit was to be hunted as a wild beast." To escape the spying informer the laity worshipped in secret; and to escape the priest-hunters, or pursuivants, as they were called, the clergy had to disguise

their persons and dress like gallants of the day, with feathers in their caps, hawks on their wrists, with slashed satin doublets and velvet cloaks, and be mounted upon well-groomed horses, and with lackeys running by their sides. Though seeking to defer it, both laity and clergy calmly awaited the civil punishment of their religious heroism. Many a hero became a martyr. Whenever a Catholic was the defendant, the justice of the highest courts of law was a mockery; and the priest could not doubt that his torture and his sentence to cruel death were less sure than was his arrest. The preceding year the so-called plot of Francis Throgmorton had been discovered; and not long afterwards that of the impostor William Parry was exposed. Then came the revolt of some of the nobles, with its consequent executions or proscriptions. In 1585 seventy priests had been taken from their dungeons and, as a great favor, sent into banishment; but, after a few months, the severest laws were enacted against the priests who remained, and spies and pursuivants made dangerous the landing of any Catholic ecclesiastic in England. So severe were the laws and so harsh were the methods of enforcing them that it is a wonder that any priest was left. Executions began to redden the land and to make savage a people already maddened by their fears. Going to London, Father Robert Southwell well knew that his violent death was not a mere possibility.

In that same year, 1586, William Shakespeare went from Stratford to London on a compulsory mission. He was seeking his fortune, and the stories of the extraordinary profits of the play-actor's life may have influenced him. The drama was in favor, and, despite the war of Puritanism against players and play-houses, the first English theatre of James Burbadge had many rivals. So sure and so quick was the gain that men of talent and of education eagerly took up the new profession of play-writing. George Chapman, John Lyly, Thomas Kyd, George Peele, Robert Green, Thomas Nash, and Christopher Marlow were the dramatic writers of that time and then highest in favor. They were men of university education; but they were, also, men of dissolute lives and well merited the stinging reproaches of the moralists. They were cheats, liars, gamblers, drunkards, and whoremongers; and their deaths were as miserable as their lives had been debauched. In the verses of the day there was a licentiousness which many a morally weak poet suffered himself to imitate, and which the cleaner writings of Sackville, Spenser, Sidney, Daniel, and Drayton could not offset.

The young poet Southwell, flaming with piety, thought the fashionable verse of the day a misuse of talent; and, unwilling that poetry should be made the handmaid of evil, he shaped his course to

sing of higher things and for higher ends. Referring to this, he subsequently wrote in a preface to his poems :

"Poets, by abusing their talent, and making the follies and faynings of loue the customarie subject of their base endeouours, haue so discredited this facultie, that a poet, a louer, and a lyer, are by many reckoned but three words of one signification. But the vanitie of men cannot counterpoyse the authoritie of God, who deliuering many parts of Scripture in verse, and, by His Apostle willing vs to exercise ovr deuotion in hymnes and spiritual sonnets, warranteth the art to be good, and the vse allowable. And therefore not onely among the heathen, whose gods were chiefly canonized by their poets, and their Paynim diuinitie qracled, in verse, but euen in the Olde and Newe Testament, it hath beene vsed by men of greatest pietie, in matters of most deuotion. Christ Himselfe, by making a hymne the conclusion of His Last Supper, and the prologue to the first pageant of His passion, gaue His Spouse a methode to imitate, as in the office of the Church it appeareth; and to all men a patterne, to know the true vse of this measured and footed stile. But the deuill, as he affecteth deitie and seeketh to haue all the complements of diuine honour applyed to his seruice, so hath he among the rest possessed also most Poets with his idle fancies. For in lieu of solemne and deuout matter, to which in duety they owe their abilities, they now busie themselves in expressing such passions as onely serue for testimonies to what unworthy affections they haue wedded their wills. And because the best course to let them see the errour of their works is to weaue a new webbe in their owne loome, I haue heere laide a few course threds together, to inuite some skilfuller wits to goe forward in the same, or to begin some finer peece; wherein it may be seene how well verse and vertue sute together."

These words explain his purpose. They give the clue to that deep meaning which pure-minded readers find abundant, and they lend grace to what some have thought drawling dulness. The development of the moral sense in the reader heightens his perception of true poetic beauty; and, in the true poet, that development must refine the thought and beautify the expression. How far Southwell's moral sense was developed, the reader will see.

The few facts of Southwell's life are so closely interwoven with his writings that they are needed to form a correct judgment. The years of his short life were passed in study and not in recreation; in self-sacrifice and not in indulgence; in voluntary poverty and not in the wealth to which he was entitled; in danger and not in security; in persecution and not in public honor; in prison and not at court; and were brought to a violent end at the scaffold.

Like a beautiful thought, his noble life comes to us through the gloom of three hundred years.

Robert Southwell was the third son of Richard Southwell, Esq., of Horsham St. Faith's, Norfolk, England. The family was old, wealthy, and honorable, deriving the name from the original seat, which was in the neighborhood of the town of Southwell, Nottinghamshire, where it resided until the reign of Henry the Sixth; and, in its many lines, linking our poet with the historic names of Sidney, Newton, Howard, Paston, and Percy Bysshe Shelley. Robert was born in 1560-61. He was such a remarkably beautiful babe that he roused the greed of a wandering woman, or gypsy. She stole Robert and left in his place her own less favored child. But the theft was soon detected and the handsome boy recovered. Later in life, remembering this escape, Robert exclaims, with a pious tenderness peculiar to him, "What if I had remained with the vagrant? How object! how destitute of the knowledge or reverence of God! in what debasement of vice, in what great peril of crimes, in what indubitable risk of a miserable death and eternal punishment I should have been!"

When very young he was sent to Douay, and there during some years was an alumnus of the English college or seminary in that university, and received instruction from the celebrated Father Leonard Lessius, S. J. His own father, recognizing the religious danger attending a London education, prudently sent him in his fifteenth year to Paris, to be under the care of Father Thomas Derbyshire. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, that eminent "Master" had surrendered, for conscience' sake, the Archdeaconship of Essex. Afterwards, with the loss of his ample fortune and of all the preferments and dignities, which, in reward for his piety and learning, had been bestowed upon him, he was driven into banishment. During his exile he had joined the Jesuits.

Southwell's early piety and self-sacrifice naturally led him towards the priesthood, and his letters show that he long had been nursing the desire. The zeal and example of his two great masters quickened his will; and, after some hesitation between the Carthusian order and the Society of Jesus, decided his choice of the latter. Being too young, his application for admission was refused. The refusal so pained him that he condemned himself to solitude and prayer. As an outlet to his disappointment, he wrote in English a strange, singularly pious lamentation, which he entitled a "Complaint." He compares himself to Agar cast forth from the house of Abraham; and he claims that he has greater cause for grief, because excluded from a more worthy family. "For who can hinder my dying of grief," he asks, "when I behold myself parted from that Company, separated from that Society, torn from that

Body, wherein my very life, my love, my whole heart and every affection are centred?" Young as he was, his piety was manly. Day by day his desire grew stronger; and, unable to gain admission into the Society either in France or in Belgium, he was fired by such a holy eagerness that unbidden he went to Rome. There, with an apostolic impatience, he awaited the date of his admission to the novitiate, October 17th, 1578. The St. Omer manuscript states that Southwell's principal motive for entering the Society was his desire for the triple crown of "virginity, learning, and martyrdom," which appeared to him to be nowhere more attainable. His joy upon being admitted to the Society was extraordinary; and his own reference to the fact is ecstatic. His noviceship was passed mainly at Tournay, whither he had been sent from Rome. During his noviceship he was remarkable for "every virtue;" and, the two years being ended, he was admitted October 18th, 1580, to the first, or "simple," vows of a Jesuit scholastic. Then he was sent back to Rome, to make his course of philosophy and of theology. The world rarely learns anything of a Jesuit's life during the years spent in the novitiate and in the scholasticate. They are years of special hardship and of special happiness to the Jesuit; and afterwards he looks upon them as the brightest in his rigorous life. Their details, however, would be monotonous to an outside world. How successfully Southwell passed these years, there is abundant testimony to prove. So highly was his learning esteemed that he was chosen to make a public defence of the whole course of philosophy—an honor of undoubted force. After completing his theology he was ordained a priest in the summer of 1584, and was appointed "Prefect of Studies" at the English college in Rome. For this position the high reputation of the college demanded a man of great learning and strength of character. Southwell successfully discharged the duties of his new position, mainly devoting himself to the study and the teaching of his native language. Not alone his learning, but his sweetness and holiness made him revered. He was a strict disciplinarian; but he was more severe to himself than to others.

All the while, Southwell had been nourishing his secret desire "to meet a glorious death for Christ." During some time he had thought of asking for the Indian mission; but latterly he felt that his desire could be more surely gratified at home, where the savages were not heathens but Christians. The pitiable condition of his native land made him anxious to return to it and to be of some service where persecution was rapidly thinning the ranks of the priesthood. As an Englishman, he felt that it was incumbent upon him to share the dangers of his countrymen; but, as a priest, he was eager for his work and ready for the rack and the gallows.

After two more years of prayer and of study, during which he earnestly sought what he called "the perilous commission," he was assigned as companion to Father Henry Garnett and sent to England. The letters written during the time of his journey are beautiful proofs of apostolic zeal. His courage was sublime. The letters breathe an eagerness to work and a readiness to suffer which were characteristic of the man, and which, even in a less degree and for less unselfish ends, have often won the world's praise. These tender letters show that his mission had no character other than the purely spiritual.

At the time of Southwell's arrival, there were only two other Jesuits in England—Father Henry Garnett, who was Superior, and Father Edmund Weston, who was "confined at Wisbeck." Parsons, Campian, and the others had already paid the penalty of their boldness. In times of political excitement, the readiest and most damning accusation is that of disloyalty; and this was the accusation by which the English of that day murdered those who conscientiously held themselves aloof from civil matters and would not forsake their ancient faith. The courage of this handful of Jesuits made them conspicuous objects for accusation. Ignatius of Loyola had been dead only thirty years; and the example of his strict seclusion from politics was yet all-powerful among his followers. The Society was in its first fervor and love; and its members were too much imbued with the religious spirit of Loyola, of Francis Xavier, of Lainez, of Salmeron, and of others of the memorable nine, as well as of Aquaviva and of Francis Borgia, to meddle with state affairs. The partial alliance of Pope Sixtus V. with Philip II. did not implicate the Jesuits or prescribe the conduct of the priests. It was a strange alliance. Unless for some wilful purpose, Philip was not the ruler to acknowledge in the Pontiff the right of disposing of the crowns of princes. In former times he had not hesitated to declare war against Paul IV.; and through his general, the Duke of Alva, he had dictated in the Vatican terms of peace. When, therefore, Philip communicated his project to Sixtus V., and asked his aid in an attempt, one of the objects of which was the restoration of the Papal authority in England, he partially kept back the truer purposes of the Armada—revenge and ambition. The Pope favored the scheme, in so far that he consented to prepare a bull of deposition, and to make out the appointment of a legate; and, subsequently, he agreed to pay Philip a subsidy of a million of crowns as soon as the invading army had landed upon the coast of England. But despite this connection between the Pope and the King, it seems certain that the early Jesuits were not the agents for furthering the scheme. The remarkable letter of Campian, published shortly before Southwell's arrival, proves that the

Jesuits were strictly forbidden to meddle with worldly concerns or affairs of state. Whatever the suspicions may be, history gives no fact or document to prove the complicity of the early English Jesuits with Philip II. They went to England as apostles of God, not as plotters against Elizabeth. As priests, by prayer and by the faithful discharge of all their duties in the face of persecution, they sought to keep alive the ancient faith. If the statute of Elizabeth made treason of their priestly acts, the law, or its interpretation in practice, was the result of fear and of anger; and such a calmer world now pronounces it. Even as Englishmen, these Jesuits acted according to their consciences; and, without a murmur, they submitted to a cruel interpretation of a law which was written with blood. Of such stuff, traitors are never made and no ordinary patriots are formed.

The first acts of Southwell, after his arrival, were in keeping with his character. He "sought out," with a view to her conversion, the woman who had rescued him from the gypsy; and, solicitous for the spiritual welfare of his father, he wrote him a tender, yearning, wistful, and most eloquent letter. This letter was Southwell's earliest prose writing. In strength of language and beauty of treatment, it is a masterpiece; and in eloquent pathos, it is matchless. The father was a man of the world, a time-server, and proud of his high standing at Court. His wish to keep his wealth and his associations, and his recent marriage with a lady of the court of Elizabeth, formerly governess to the Queen, made him abandon the practice of his religion. To win him to "higher walks" and to bring him back to the use of the sacraments were the objects of the letter. Observe how deftly the son prepares the father for the main purpose of the letter:

"In children of former ages it hath been thought so behoveful a point of duty to their parents, in presence by serviceable offices, in absence by other effectual significations, to yield proof of their thankful minds, that neither any child could omit it without touch of ungratefulness, nor the parents forbear it without nice displeasure. I am not of so unnatural a kind, of so wild an education, or so unchristian a spirit, as not to remember the root out of which I branched, or to forget my secondary maker and author of my being. It is not the carelessness of a cold affection, nor the want of a due and reverent respect, that has made me such a stranger to my native home, and so backward in defraying the debt of a thankful mind, but only the iniquity of these days that maketh my presence perilous, and the discharge of my duties an occasion of danger. I was loth to inforce an unwilling courtesy upon any, or by seeming officious to become offensive; deeming it better to let time digest the fear that my return into the realm had bred in my kindred than

abruptly to intrude myself, and to purchase their danger whose good will I so highly esteem. I never doubted but that the belief, which to all my friends by descent and pedigree is, in a manner, hereditary, formed in them a right persuasion of my present calling, not suffering them to measure their censures of me by the ugly terms and odious epithets wherewith heresy hath sought to discredit my functions, but rather by the reverence of so worthy a sacrament, and the sacred usages of all former ages. Yet, because I might easily perceive by apparent conjectures that many were more willing to hear of me than from me, and readier to praise than to use my endeavors, I have hitherto bridled my desire to see them by the care and jealousy of their safety; and banishing myself from the scene of my cradle in my own country, I have lived like a foreigner, finding among strangers that which, in my nearest blood, I presumed not to seek." Then begin arguments the most earnest, and entreaties the most tender. "Surely," writes he, "for my own part, though I challenge not the prerogative of the best disposition, yet am I not of so harsh and churlish a humor, but that it is a continual corrective and cross unto me, that whereas my endeavors have reclaimed many from the brink of perdition, I have been less able to employ them where they were most due; and was barred from affording to my dearest friends that which hath been eagerly sought and beneficially obtained by mere strangers. . . . Who hath more interest in the grape than he who planted the vine? Who more right to the crop than he who sowed the corn? or where can the child owe so great a service as to him to whom he is indebted for his very life and being? With young Tobias I have travelled far, and brought home a freight of spiritual substance to enrich you, and medicinable receipts against your ghostly maladies. I have with Esau, after long toil in pursuing a long and painful chase, returned with the full prey you were wont to love; desiring thereby to insure your blessing. I have in this general famine of all true and Christian food, with Joseph, prepared abundance of the bread of angels for the repast of your soul. And now my desire is that my drugs may cure you, my prey delight you, and my provisions feed you, by whom I have been cured, enlightened, and fed myself; that your courtesies may, in part, be countervailed, and my duty, in some sort, performed." Then follow arguments and examples taken from the Scriptures, to show that youth was often made the minister of a divine purpose, and that his age does not make his advice presumptuous. "Seeing that your superiority is founded on flesh and blood," continues he, "think it, I pray you, no dishonor to your age, no disparagement to your person, if, with all humility, I offer my advice unto you. . . . The full of your springtide is now fallen, and the stream of

your life waneth to a low ebb ; your tired bark beginneth to leak, and grateth oft upon the gravel of the grave ; therefore it is high time for you to strike sail and to put into harbor, lest, remaining in the scope of the winds and waves of this wicked time, some unexpected gust should dash you upon the rock of eternal ruin." The writer joins issue and comes "to the principal drift" of his letter, beseeching the father by his sense of duty to God's Church, to the comfort of his children, and "to the redress" of his own soul, to consider the terms he stands upon, and to weigh himself in a Christian balance, taking for counterpoise the judgments of God. "Remember," he says beautifully, "that you are in a balance, that the date of your pilgrimage is well-nigh expired, and that it now becometh you to look forward to your country. Your strength languisheth, your senses become impaired, and your body droopeth, and on every side the ruinous cottage of your faint and feeble flesh threateneth a fall. Having so many harbingers of death to preadmonish you of your end, how can you but prepare for so dreadful a stranger ? The young may die quickly, but the old cannot live long. The young man's life by casualty may be abridged ; but the old man's life can by no physic be long augmented. And, therefore, if green years must sometimes think of the grave, the thoughts of sere age should continually dwell on the same. The prerogative of infancy is innocency ; of childhood, reverence ; of manhood, maturity ; and of age, wisdom ; and seeing that the chief property of wisdom is to be mindful of things past, careful of things present, and provident of things to come, use now the privilege of nature's talent to the benefit of your soul, and show hereafter to be wise in well doing, and to be watchful in foresight of future harms. To serve the world you are now unable, and though you were able, you have little wish to do so, seeing that it never gave you but an unhappy welcome, a hurtful entertainment, and now doth abandon you with an unfortunate farewell. You have long sowed in a field of flint, which could bring you nothing forth but a crop of cares and afflictions of spirit ; rewarding your labors with remorse, and for your pains repaying you with eternal damages. It is now more than a reasonable time to alter your course of so unthriving a husbandry, and to enter into the field of God's Church. . . . Wherefore, good sire, make no longer delay ; though you suffered the land to be blasted and the flower to fade ; though you permitted the fruit to perish and the leaves to wither away ; yea, though you let the boughs decay and the very trunk corrupt ; yet, alas, keep life in the root for fear the whole become fuel for the fire." More and more the letter rises to poetic grandeur, and, in its awful earnestness, to sublimity. The young apostle was ex-

pressing not only his own desire, but the desire of the other children, and he solemnly urges the fact upon the father. The son's intensity of purpose inspires the reader with an awe peculiar to this impassioned pleading. Such a letter could not fail in its purpose; at least, it did not fail. The father heeded the appeal, and, subsequently, crowned his reawakened religious fidelity by his death in the Fleet prison.

From the moment of his arrival, Father Southwell was in danger of arrest. The priest-hunter was so watchful that the priest often had to interrupt the Mass and to strip the altar and hide "everything which would betray" even his presence. It was the time of secret panels and hiding-places. The priest had to fear not only the priest-hunter, but the gentry also. To circumvent the gentry the priests had to wear the dress of the gallants. Father Southwell, however, would use no such showy disguise, but went about in black rashe, "clothes more fit than fine." The description which the spy Snowden gave of him was, "that he went without a beard, was of middle stature, and of hair auburn." Not the dress only, but the conversation might betray the priest. There is a grim humor in the idea of the meek Southwell misleading the gentry by speaking of hunting and falconry, for which sports he had neither taste nor education; and there is something pathetic in his complaints, while trying to master the technical terms of sport, of his bad memory "for such things." "On many occasions," writes one of his companions, referring to Southwell's needs, "when he fell in with Protestant gentlemen, he found it necessary to speak of these matters, which are the sole topics of their conversation, save when they talk obscenity or break out into blasphemies and abuse of the Saints or the Catholic Church." As the law made it a crime to harbor priests, Southwell did not live with any of his relations; but, to save them, he "lived like a foreigner, finding among strangers that which, in his nearest blood, he presumed not to seek." At first he lived with William, third Lord Vaux of Harrowden; but after a few months he was appointed the domestic chaplain and confessor of the Countess Arundel. The husband of the Countess was Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, who was imprisoned in the Tower and died there, *non sine veneni suspicione*, "the noblest victim to the jealous and suspicious tyranny of Elizabeth." While living with this noble family, Southwell composed for the Earl's use *Consolations for Catholics*. The work is not, perhaps, remarkable for literary grace; but it is pervaded by a sympathetic love that makes it dear to suffering hearts. Here, too, Southwell kept a private printing press; but, apart from the *Consolations*, it is uncertain what use he made of it, though

Father Gerard says that from it were "issued his incomparable works."¹

The life of a priest in the mansions of the Catholic nobility was usually close confinement. The servants were mainly Protestant, because, on account of the rigor of the laws, it was not judged safe to have many Catholics. Far from sight and hearing, in some attic room, the priest was hidden; and only one or two of the most trusted domestics shared the secret. He said Mass in the presence of a few; but during the rest of the day he had little opportunity for conversation. He moved about his room almost noiselessly; he opened his window cautiously; and he received in silence the food that was brought to him stealthily. Thus Southwell lived in the house of the Countess of Arundel; but the needs of others made him dare to go about London, and even into Sussex and elsewhere. To a hero like Southwell danger is a matter for prudence, not for fear.

For about six years Father Southwell continued to labor. In the midst of extraordinary dangers, while many of his companions were suffering tortures that shame humanity; while some were "hanged, bowelled, and quartered;" while his gentle heart was wrung by tales of their suffering; and while, day by day, the surety of his own appalling fate became greater, he wavered not, but to the last worked unceasingly and successfully. His time came in 1592, when he was taken by the treachery of Anne Bellamy. Her parents were stanch Catholics, and their house, with its secret room, had often been a place of concealment for the priests while in the discharge of their duty. Anne, too, had been a pious Catholic; but having been committed as "an obstinate recusant" to the Gatehouse prison at Westminster, she was seduced from virtue and faith by the villain Topcliffe and was forced by him, in order to conceal his crime, to marry her jailor, Nicholas Jones, one of Topcliffe's servants. Poor Anne Bellamy! Victim as well as prisoner, her conduct is not without some palliation. Torn from a home which in its peaceful seclusion was like a convent, and ignorant of the world of cruel selfish men, she was thrust into a loathsome prison, where her associates were the vilest, her position helpless, and Topcliffe's power for evil unrestrained. Topcliffe was a ghoul, rioting in blood and crime, and believing that in the pursuit of a "papist" everything was justifiable. From the savage brutality special to this infamous wretch sprang two words current in the language of the day and of ghastly meaning—"Topcliffian" and "Topcliffzare," the latter being used in the sense "to hunt a recusant," as only Topcliffe knew how. Anne Bellamy was Topcliffe's prey. After six months,

¹ See the Life of Father Gerard, page 71.

she in her shame was set free by his orders. Homeless, friendless, moneyless, and driven to despair by Topcliffe's threats, she became the means of the destruction of her father's house and of the priests who had often risked their lives for her spiritual good. She took advantage of the recent statute of 27th Elizabeth, which made the harboring of a priest treason, with the penalty of confiscation of the offender's goods. Choosing her time, Tuesday, June 20th, 1592, she sent a messenger to urge Southwell to meet her at her father's house. Believing that she wished his priestly services and ignorant of her fall, he unsuspectingly went at the appointed time; but she, having disclosed the secret hiding-place of the house, sent, instead of herself, the priest-hunters and the "implacable" Topcliffe.

Captured at last, Southwell fearlessly admitted that he was a priest; but, from a wish to shield other persons, he would not give particulars as to his residences, his movements, or his assumed names. With mock ceremony he had been carried to Westminster; but on the third day he was taken to Topcliffe's house, there, by royal permission, to be tortured. Topcliffe's brutal letter to the Queen, asking this permission and giving some of the horrible details of his process, did not shock any delicacy of the Queen; for leave was immediately given to torture Southwell "to any extent short of death." Topcliffe's house does not seem to have been publicly known as a place of torture; and the Lords of the Council may have wished to deceive Southwell's father and stepmother, then high in Court favor, into the belief that the change was an act of lenity. The true motive was concealed; and, throughout the city, the Queen was praised for her clemency in confiding a Jesuit, "taken in open crime," to such a mild jailor. By the authorities it was expected that Topcliffe in his own house would have greater success in extorting a confession of those things which they most wished to know. Topcliffe was happy. He would now be like a king, he said, having in his hands a priest whom he could torture according to his taste; and he proudly boasted that he had at home a machine of his own invention, relatively to which the racks, the pillars, and the iron hoops of common use were mere playthings. The details of the torture are not fully known, but the few stated particulars are characteristic of Topcliffe. Around Southwell's wrists were placed sharp bands of iron, pressing upon the arteries; his legs were bent backwards; his heels were tied to his thighs; and, in this condition, he was hung by his hands against the wall. Ten times was he thus hung. On one occasion he remained hanging seven hours, and then was taken down only because he seemed to be dying. Each time this torture was so severe that Southwell declared death preferable. After the fourth

day he was so reduced in strength that, from fear of his too speedy death, he was removed to the Gatehouse; but there he was again made to suffer, or as another expresses it, "was agonized."

When Southwell was brought before the Queen's Bench, spent though he was from extreme suffering, he spoke thus boldly: "I am a priest of the Society of Jesus, and am come to preach the Roman Catholic religion to my fellow-countrymen. If you seek out the cause of my death this is amply sufficient for you. Hang me; and thus you will equally satisfy both myself and the Queen. As to the rest, spare, I beseech you, to try human strength by these unheard of punishments. Brand not your name, your age, and nation with so infamous a blot. Lastly, remember that there is a God—the judge." Hereupon Topcliffe savagely resented the charge that his house had been a place of torture, for he feared public indignation; but Southwell tremblingly answered him that his house had been "direr than any prison whatever." "These feet, upon which I can scarcely stand," said he plaintively; "these hands torn by your iron points; the blood which still wets your pavement, tell the leniency of thy hospitality and of thy heart." Outstretching his bloody, swollen, livid arms, he made of them eloquent proofs of the truth of his charge. Seeing the effect of this appeal, Topcliffe triumphantly produced his warrant, showed that he had acted within the authority given, and fiendishly boasted that he was not ashamed of his work.

Whatever money Southwell may have had when arrested had been taken from him by Topcliffe, and consequently he had been herded with the pauper prisoners. When, subsequently, his father came to see him, he found him so emaciated that he could not stand, and so covered with vermin and maggots that the sight appalled the father. Burning with indignation, the father boldly wrote to the Queen: "That if his son had committed anything for which, by the laws, he had deserved death, he might suffer death; if not, as he was a gentleman, he hoped her Majesty would be pleased to order that he should be treated as a gentleman, and not be confined any longer to that filthy hole." The justice of the plea or the influence of the father was successful. Southwell was ordered to a better lodging in the Tower, where, for the rest of his confinement, he was kept at his father's expense. The only books for which he asked were the Holy Bible and the works of St. Bernard; and these volumes, together with his breviary, formed the prison-library of the poet-priest. During the three following years of his imprisonment in the Tower he was ten times put to torture and "suffered kindred atrocities that are not to be named." The tortures were useless. From the beginning he

avowed himself a Jesuit priest and denied any part in political complications; but he sturdily refused to disclose the names of those who had harbored or aided him. The Commissioners said that he seemed more like a stock than a man. In private, Cecil, president of the Council at that time, thus told the heroic story: "Antiquity boasts of its Roman heroes, and the patience of the captives under their tortures. Our own time is not inferior to theirs, nor does English courage yield to Roman. We have now in our hands one Southwell, a Jesuit, who, having been thirteen times most cruelly tortured, could be induced to confess nothing, not even the color of the horse he rode on a certain day, for fear lest his adversaries might thereby form a conjecture at what houses, or what Catholics he had visited that day; and on being frequently interrogated by them upon irrelevant matters, he respectfully replied—if Topcliffe, indeed, interposed anything—that the man was unworthy of a single word; and on being asked the reason, 'I have frequently found,' he said, 'that he is not to be guided by reason.'"

To the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, the latest and best of Southwell's editors, belongs the credit of discovering "hitherto unrecognized traces" that Southwell's poems were composed while a prisoner in the Tower. With this new clue it is easy to get the force of many an unusual simile and metaphor, and to fully understand the inexpressibly tender pathos of the poems. It was natural for a poet so imprisoned to draw comparisons from the racking and tormenting which he courageously suffered rather than from the green fields and shady woods which for many a year he could not enjoy. His longing for death was not the repining of weakness, but the aspiration of a nature confident of a juster world. The following pathetic prayer for the release of death, taken from "Life is but Losse," receives new force from Grosart's discovery, and sounds like the pæan of strength, not, as some cold critics have judged, the plaint of weakness:

"By force I live, in will I wish to dye;
 In playnte I passe the length of lingring days;
 Free would my soule from mortall body flye,
 And tredd the track of death's desyrèd waies:
 Life is but losse where death is deemèd gaine,
 And loathèd pleasures breed displeasinge payne.
 * * * * *

"Come, cruell death, why lingrest thou so longe?
 Why doth withhold thy dynte from fatall stroke?
 Nowe prest I am, alas! thou dost me wronge,
 To lett me live, more anger to provoke:
 Thy right is had when thou hast stopt my breathe,
 Why shouldst thoue stay to worke my double deathe?
 * * * * *

"Where life is lov'd, thou ready art to kill,
 And to abridge with sodayne pangues their joy;
 Where life is loath'd thou wilt not worke their will,
 But dost adorne their death to their annoye.
 To some thou art a feirce unbidden guest,
 But those that crave thy helpe thou helpst lest."

* * * * *

Hear him, in "I Dye Alive," thus tenderly expressing, in the intervals between tortures, his spiritual longings:

"I live, but such a life as ever dyes;
 I dye, but such a death as never endes;
 My death to end my dying life denies,
 And life my living death no whitt amends.

"Thus still I dye, yet still I do revive;
 My living death by dying life is fedd;
 Grace more than nature kepes my hart alive,
 Whose idle hopes and vayne desires are deade.

"Not where I breath, but where I love, I live;
 Not where I love, but where I am, I die;
 The life I wish, must future glory give,
 The deaths I feele in present daungers lye."

Then take these two stanzas from "What Joy to Live" and think what cause he had to write them:

"I wage no warr, yet peace I none enjoy;
 I hope, I feare, I fry in freesing colde;
 I mount in mirth, still prostrate in annoye;
 I all the worlde imbrace yet nothing holde.
 All welth is want where chefest wishes sayle,
 Yea, life is loath'd where love may not prevayle.

"For that I love I long, but that I lacke;
 That others love I loath, and that I have;
 All worldly fraightes to me are deadly wracke,
 Men present happ, I future hopes do crave:
 They, loving where they live, long life require,
 To live where best I love, death I desire."

Now hear him apostrophize sleep, the sleep of the tortured prisoner:

"Sleepe, Death's allye, obliuion of teares,
 Silence of passions, balme of angry sore,
 Suspense of loues, securitie of feares,
 Wrath's lenitue, heart's ease, storme's calmest shore;
 Senses' and soules' reprieuall from all cumbers,
 Benumbing sense of ill, with quiet slumbers!"

(ST. PETER'S COMPLAINT, St. cx xi.)

A prisoner in the Tower during nearly three years, Southwell sent to Cecil, Lord Treasurer, a letter, in which he humbly asked that he might be brought to trial, or, at least, that his friends might

have leave to visit him. Cecil answered that "if he was in such haste to be hanged, he should have his desire." Straightway he was removed from the Tower to Newgate and confined in "Limbo," a subterranean dungeon without opening for light or air. There he was kept for two days, when, February 20th (O. S.), 1595, without warning to prepare for his trial, he was hurried to Westminster. The trial was one of many, but differed in a few particulars, some of which beautifully show the character of the man and priest. The indictment charging him with being a priest, "contrary to the peace of our lady the Queen, her crown and dignities" was drawn up by the great Coke, then the Queen's solicitor. The statute of Elizabeth, under which many priests were put to death, would seem to require some proof of treason; but, in the application of the law, a proof of treason was not necessary, as a proof of being a priest was found sufficient for conviction. Treason was the pretext: the priesthood was the wrong. Southwell, at least, knew this; but, nevertheless, being too much of a patriot to silently allow himself to be called a traitor, and too much of a priest to tamely admit the implication that priests and traitors were the same, he everywhere coupled the avowal of his priesthood with the denial of any treason. When he was asked the usual question, whether or not he was guilty, he answered: "I confess that I was born in England, a subject to the Queen's majesty; and that, by authority derived from God, I have been promoted to the sacred order of priesthood in the Roman Church; for which I return most hearty thanks to His divine Majesty. I confess, also, that I was at Uxenden in Middlesex at that time; when, being sent for thither by trick and deceit, I fell into your hands, as it is well known; but that I never entertained any designs or plots against the Queen or kingdom, I call God to witness, the revenger of perjury; neither had I any other design in returning home to my native country than to administer the sacraments, according to the rite of the Catholic Church, to such as desired them." Being interrupted and told to answer yes or no, he said: "I am not guilty of any treason whatever."

Southwell waived his right of challenging the jury, saying that as they all were strangers to him, charity did not allow him to take exception to one more than to another. When asked, in derision of his youth, how old he was, he tenderly said that he was about the age of our Saviour. This unusual answer showed how closely and fully all his thoughts were linked with the Christ of his daily meditations; but it was perverted in meaning by Mr. Coke and it drew forth the reproaches of Lord Chief Justice Popham. The chief witness against Southwell was the unfortunate Anne Bellamy. Her course of sin, publicly known long before this, had made her shameless and ruthless; and, with a cunning peculiar to conscious

guilt, she charged Southwell with counselling her to commit perjury. Southwell began to explain what he had said to the witness,¹ whose statement was as inexact as it was wily; but he was so often interrupted that he was obliged to give up the attempt. He saw that he was prejudged; and, later, in answer to the question what he had to say why sentence should not be pronounced, he solemnly answered: "Nothing; but from my heart I beg of Almighty God to forgive all who have been in any way accessory to my death." When the judge pronounced sentence, Southwell returned thanks "as for an unspeakable favor." That night Southwell spent in "Limbo."

The next morning when the jailor brought the news that Southwell was to be taken to Tyburn, Southwell embraced him and presented him with a night-cap, saying with characteristic tenderness, "If I had anything better to give you, you should have it." Bound upon "hurdles," or sledge, a rude wheelless vehicle drawn by horses, he was dragged over the long distance from Newgate to Tyburn, a journey of three hours. At Tyburn, according to custom, he was transferred to a cart placed under the gallows. There, standing, he made the sign of the cross, as well as he could make it with pinioned hands, and began to speak; but he was interrupted, first, by the sheriff, and, then, by a minister. Southwell meekly assured the sheriff that he would not say anything to give offence; and the awed crowd indignantly silenced the minister. Then Southwell slowly said these memorable words: "I am a Catholic, and, in whatever manner you may please to interpret my words, I hope for salvation by the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. And, as to the Queen, I never attempted, contrived, or imagined any evil against her; but have always prayed for her to our Lord; and, for this short time of my life, still pray that in His infinite mercy He would be pleased to give her all such gifts and graces which He sees, in His divine wisdom, to be most expedient for the welfare, both of her soul and body, in this life and in the next. I recommend, in like manner, to the same mercy of God, my poor country, and I implore the divine bounty to favor it with His light, and the knowledge of His truth, to the greater advancement of the salvation of souls, and the eternal glory of His divine majesty. In fine, I beg of the almighty and everlasting God, that this my death may be for my own and my country's good, and the comfort of the Catholics, my brethren."

With eyes raised to heaven, his lips moving in audible prayer, and his gentle countenance showing the calmness of his soul, Southwell, with rope around his neck, awaited the withdrawal of

¹ For Southwell's answer, see "The Life of Father Gerard," pp. 270-272. See also "The Condition of Catholics," second edition, pp. ccxiv-ccxviii.

the cart. As was usual, the noose had been so unskilfully applied that the neck was not broken; and Southwell, while several times trying to make the sign of the cross, was slowly strangled. Horrible as it may seem, this manner of death was an act of mercy and a tribute to the worth of Southwell; for it was very seldom that the victim was permitted to die by hanging. Immediately after the withdrawal of the cart the victim was cut down, and was embowelled while yet alive. When there were several victims, the executioner performed his horrible work before the eyes of those whose punishment was yet to come, and forced them to behold the butchery that awaited them. His hands red with the blood, and his person smeared by the entrails of his victim, the executioner held aloft the trunkless head, that the people might see how savage was the justice of a Christian Queen.

The behavior of Southwell had touched even the Protestants; so that Lord Mountjoy (Charles Blount, eighth Baron Mountjoy), a chance spectator, exclaimed, "May my soul be with this man's!" and joined with others in restraining the brutal executioner that would have cut the rope before the victim's life was gone. Not until after death, then, was Southwell cut down; and when the smeared executioner held aloft the head, the crowd was awed into a solemn respect and not a voice cried "Traitor." Thus, February 21st (O. S.), 1595, died the English Jesuit priest. As, then, there was no one of all that bloodthirsty throng to cry traitor, so, now, there is no writer to uphold the judicial murder of the priest Robert Southwell. His end crowned his work: his life was noble, his death heroic.

Since their first publication the writings of Southwell have always been in favor with readers. Of his works, prose and poetic, eleven editions, of which four were quarto, were printed between 1593-1600; and since that time there were printed sixteen other editions, of which four were quarto editions. Trouble-laden, sorrowing, sympathetic, minds find in his writings a comfort which compositions of slower growth, of quieter hours, and of greater care do not give. The reflecting reader soon is tired of that literary excellence or faultlessness which critics praise, and from the cold perfection of the polished sentence turns eagerly to the warm imperfection of the living word. The prose-writings of Southwell are the outcome of his inner life; and what they may lack in mere literary grace they more than supply in warmth of feeling, purity of diction, and strength of thought. His poetry possesses a literary merit higher than that of his prose; but at times the verse seems weighted with the severe morality of its purpose. To show in becoming manner the moral use of the poetic ability, Southwell seemingly felt obliged to curb passion and imagination. He

might safely have given himself freer rein; but, at a time when licentiousness was as common in the verse as it was in the lives of poets, the severer course seemed the better. It is important to remember that the poems were wholly posthumous; and that, though he had intended them for publication, they have suffered something from the lack of the author's supervision. By the present age the poems have been known mainly through the careless editions of Walter in 1817 and of Turnbull in 1856. How careless those editions were or how imperfect were the MSS. upon which they were based was not publicly known until 1872, when Grosart published his handsome quarto edition. Grosart luckily had found Southwell's own MSS. in the Jesuit's college at Stonyhurst, England, when he, a Protestant minister, began his labor of love in correcting annoying misreadings and misprints, misplacements of words, absurd reversals of meanings, and mistakes of every provoking sort. Collated with Southwell's own MSS., all editions earlier than Grosart's are so faulty that the reader of this latest edition is chafed by the thought that the work of re-editing was not sooner undertaken. The British Museum MSS. were used by Walter and by Turnbull; and Grosart shows that those MSS. have many misreadings. That fact, however, cannot fully excuse the earlier editors for the school-boy carelessness of their work; for it is this very carelessness which has discouraged many a reader, and repelled many a critic, of Southwell's poems. The misreadings and misplacements, stripping the finest passages of their force or of their meaning, mar every poem, and show what bad work editors may unintentionally do. Carelessness such as that of Turnbull would soon corrupt the literature of any language.

The principal Stonyhurst MS. is a "handsome volume, daintily bound in vellum, with gilt edges, and written very beautifully throughout in one hand," and has corrections in Southwell's autograph. Besides this volume, Grosart had the use of separate MSS. in Southwell's autograph, notably the *Latina Poemata*, which Grosart prints for the first time. The writing, as appears from a fac-simile, is small, very neat, and delicate. The Stonyhurst MSS. must be taken as the highest authority.

Apart from the Letter to his Father, Southwell's principal prose works are: *An Epistle of Comfort to the Reverend Priests*; *A Short Rule of Good Life*; *The Triumphs over Death*; and *Mary Magdalene's Funerall Teares*. *The Triumphs over Death* is a beautiful panegyric of a lady of the Howard family, Lady Mary Sackville. The character of the lady is a bit of masterly description and is an example of the labored elegance of Southwell's style:

"She was by birth second to none but vnto the first in the realme;
yet she measured onely greatnesse by goodnes, making nobility

but the mirrour of vertue, as able to shewe things worthie to be seene, as apte to draw many eies to beholde it; shee suted her behauior to her birth, and enobled her birth with her piety, leauing her house more beholding to her for hauing honoured it with the glorie of her vertues, then she was to it for the titles of hir degree. She was high-minded in nothing but in aspiring to perfection and in disdaine of vice; in other things couering her greatnes with humilitie among her inferiors, and showing it with curtesie among hir peeres. Of the carriage of her selfe and her sober gouernement, [it] may be a sufficient testimony, that enuy himself was dumbe in her dispraise, finding in her much to repine at, but naught to reprove. The clearenes of hir honor I neede not to mention, she hauing alwaies armed it with such modestie as taught the most vntemperate tongues to be silent in her presence, and answered their eyes with scorne and contempt, that did but seeme to make her an aime to passion; yea, and in this behalfe, as almost in all others, shee hath the most honourable and knowen ladies of the Land so common and knowen witnesses, that those that least loued her religion were in loue with her demeanour, deliuering their opinions in open praises. How mildly she accepted the checke of fortune fallen vpon her without desert, experience hath bin a most manifest prooffe; the temper of her mind being so easie that she found little difficultie in taking downe her thoughts to a meane degree, which true honour not pride hath raised to her former height; her faithfulness and loue, where she found true friendship, is written with teares in many eies, and will be longer registred in grateful memories."

The three following epigrammatic sentences are from the same work:

"That which dieth to our loue is always alieue to our sorrow."
 "The termes of our life are like the seasons of our yeare, some for sowing, some for growing, and some for reaping: in this only different, that as the heauens keepe their prescribed periods, so the succession of times have their appointed changes; but in the seasons of our life, which are not the laws of necessarie causes, some are reaped in the seed, some in the blade, some in the vnripe eares, all in the end: the haruest depending vpon the Reaper's wil."
 "The dwarfe groweth not on the highest hill, nor the tall man looseth not his height in the lowest valley."

Mary Magdalene's Teares is highly impassioned and the work of a fervid imagination. In part it was reprinted by Dr. Isaac Watts with his own "Hymns;" and many of its good passages have been borrowed by other authors. It has always been liked by the religious public. It is full of reasoning by illustrations which are now commonplace, but which with Southwell seem to

have been original. A few sentences will show the peculiarity of the style :

"If thou [Mary] seest anything that beareth the colour of mirth it is vnto thee like the rich spoiles of a vanquished kingdome in the eye of a captiue prince, which puts him in mind what he had, not what he hath, and are but upbraidings of his losse and whetstones of sharper sorrow. . . . Loue is no gift, except the giuer be giuen with it. . . . Loue is not ruled with reason, but with loue. . . . In a garden Adam was deceived and taken captiue by the deuill. In a garden Christ was betrayed and taken prisoner by the Jewes. In a garden Adam was condemned to earne his bread with the sweat of his browes. And after a free gift of the bread of angels in the Last Supper, in a garden Christ did earne it vs with a bloody sweat of His whole body. By disobedient eating the fruit of a tree, our right to that garden was by Adam forfeited; and by the obedient death of Christ upon a tree, a farre better right is now recouered."

Not until 1873 appeared the *Hundred Meditations on the Love of God*. It is edited by the Rev. John Morris, S. J., from Southwell's manuscript at Stonyhurst. In this work, as in others of Southwell, there is something which is above mere literary criticism. There are feelings which usually surpass the power of words; but Southwell had a strange ease in expressing lofty emotions and in carrying them to a point of moral sublimity, whither the verbal critic is not able to follow. Only that knowledge which is perfected by religion—and who will prove that it is not the highest?—will enable the reader to appreciate this kind of writing. Not all palates crave or like the food of a St. Teresa.

Of Southwell's poems, the longest is "St. Peter's Complaint." It consists of one hundred and thirty-two stanzas of the form most liked in the Elizabethan age. It is strange that the Stonyhurst MS. and the Harleian MS. 6921, of the British Museum, contain only twelve of the one hundred and thirty-two stanzas. This fact would seem to show that the poem was completed at a later date. As a whole, the poem gains nothing from the extension. In many places it lacks connection. It is a succession of separate meditations or studies upon the sin of St. Peter; and these, with less tedious effect, might have been divided into short poems with separate headings. Through it all, however, there moves a solemn chant of sorrow, swelling sometimes into outbursts of hallowed remorse. The world has had few poets who, throughout their longer poems, have sustained the force and interest of their shorter compositions. In no respect, perhaps, is this Southwell's best poem; and yet it has a happiness of metaphor, a deftness of portraiture, and a daintiness of word-painting which entitle it to consideration. In tone

it is so eminently Catholic that some Protestants, failing to catch its delicate meaning, complain that it jars upon their feelings. If that be not a merit, it cannot be called a fault. Of the following stanzas, only the first three are to be found in the Stonyhurst MS.:

- "Vaine in my vaunts, I vowd, if friends had fail'd,
 Alone Christ's hardest fortunes to abide;
 Giant in talke, like dwarfe in triall quaild;
 Excelling none, but in vntruth and pride.
 Such distance is betweene high words and deeds:
 In prooffe, the greatest vaunter seldome speeds."
 (St. XI.)
- Matt. 16. "Titles I make vntruths: am I a rocke
 That with so soft a gale was ouerthrowne?
 Am I fit pastor for the faithfull flocke
 To guide their soules that murdered thus mine owne?
- Mark 9. A rock of ruine, not a rest to stay,
 A pastor, not to feede, but to betray.
 (St. XXIX.)
- "Fidelitie was flowne, when feare was hatched,
 Incompatible brood in vertue's nest;
 Courage can lesse with cowardise be matched,
 Prowesse nor loue lodg'd in diuided breast.
 O Adam's child, cast by a sillie Eue,
 Heire to thy father's foyles, and borne to grieve."
 (St. XXX.)
- "Like solest swan that swims in silent deepe,
 And neuer sings but obsequies of death;
 Sigh out thy plaints, and sole in secret weepe,
 In suing pardon, spend thy perjur'd breath;
 Attire thy soul in sorrowe's mourning weede,
 And at thine eyes let guiltie conscience bleede."
 (St. LXXVI.)
- "Weepe balme and myrrhe, you sweet Arabian trees,
 With purest gummes perfume and pearle your ryne;
 Shed on your honey-drops, you busie bees;
 I, barraine plant, must weepe vnpleasant bryne,
 Hornets I hyue, salt drops their labour plyes,
 Suckt out of sinne, and shed by showing eyes.
 (St. LXXXI.)
- Ps. 6, v. 7. "If Dauid, night by night, did bathe his bed,
 Esteeming longest days too short to mone;
 Inconsolable teares if Anna shed,
- Tob. 10. Who in her sonne her solace had foregone;
 Then I to dayes and weekes, to monthes and yeeres,
 Do owe the hourelly vent of stintless teares."
 (St. LXXXII.)
- "My eye reades mournfull lessons to my hart,
 My hart doth to my thought the greefes expound;
 My thought the same doth to my tongue impart,
 My tongue the message in the eares doth sound;
 My eares back to my hart their sorrowes send;
 Thus circling griefes runne round without an end."
 (St. CXIII.)

The monotony of this poem is greatly owing to a certain structural richness. The lines are rarely locked together, but stand al-

most independently, and the stanza usually ends with an antithesis. But notwithstanding its monotony, its lack of connection, and its quaint conceits, the poem has the marks of a true poet. Had Southwell written it amid the quiet of a library, instead of in a dungeon and when suffering from torture, he might have made it more varied, more connected, and more complete; but he could not have made it daintier, truer to nature, or more Catholic.

In the shorter poems Southwell was more successful. They are pure in diction, strong in expression, and full of thought. The resignation which they inculcate is not a whining weakness; for in Southwell's character there was no weakness. In a dungeon of torture the weak man does not sing. Southwell was a hero; and his poems are the songs of a courageous heart. They are laden with the flower-fragrance of a land other than ours. Their music awakes to a wholesome sympathetic action many an unused chord of feeling. In fineness of work many of them call forth our wonder; and yet they are so spontaneous that their finish seems only the accident of their delicacy, and so true to life that the reader finds many an applicable line which, without effort, lives in his memory for the true and the beautiful. Some of the poems are perfect; such as, "Times goe by Turnes," "Look Home," "Scorne not the Least," "A Child my Choice," "Content and Rich," "Love's Servile Lott," "Life is but Losse," "Lewd Loue is Losse," "Dyer's Phansie Turned to a Sinner's Complaynte," and "Losse in Delaye." In their present authentic form the poems are much improved.

Free from the mistakes of the early editors, the well-known poem "Times goe by Turnes" takes a stronger hold upon our pleasure:

"The loppèd tree in tyme may growe agayne;
Most naked plants renewe both fruite and floure;
The soriest wight may finde release of payne,
The dryest soyle sucke in some moystning shoure;
Tymes go by turnes and chaunces chang by course,
From foule to fair, from better happ to worse,

"The sea of Fortune doth not ever flow,
She drawes her favours to the lowest ebb;
Her tide hath equall tymes to come and goe,
Her loome doth weave the fine and coarsest webb;
No joy so great but runneth to an ende,
No happ so harde but may in fine amende.

"Not allwayes fall of leafe nor ever springe,
No endlesse night yet not eternall daye;
The saddest birdes a season finde to singe,
The roughest storme a calme may soone alaye;
Thus with succeding turnes God tempereth all,
That man may hope to rise yet feare to fall.

"A chaunce may wyne that by mischance was lost;
 The nett that houldes no greate, takes little fishe;
 In some things all, in all things none are croste,
 Fewe all they neede, but none have all they wishe;
 Unmedled joyes here to no man befall,
 Who least hath some, who most hath never all."

The theme "Content and Ritche" has all the flavor admitted to belong to some highly-praised, though perhaps untasted wine. Pagan and Christian poets have often written of contentment; but Southwell's success is peculiar to him:

"I dwell in Grace's courte,
 Enrichd with Vertue's rightes;
 Faith guides my witt; Love leades my will,
 Hope all my mynde delightes.

* * *

"My conscience is my crowne,
 Contented thoughts my rest;
 My hart is happy in it selfe,
 My blisse is in my breste.

* * *

"My wishes are but fewe,
 All easye to fullfill,
 I make the lymits of my poure
 The bounds unto my will.

* * *

"I feele no care of coyne,
 Well-dooing is my welth;
 My mynd to me an empire is,¹
 While grace affordeth helth.

* * *

"No chaunge of Fortune's calmes
 Can cast my comfortes downe;
 When Fortune smyles, I smile to thinke
 How quickly she will frowne.

"And when in froward moode
 She prooves an angry foe,
 Smale gayne I found to lett her come,
 Lesse losse to let her goe."

¹ Mens regnum bona possidet.
 SENECA, *Thyestes*, Act II., line 380.

"My mind to me a kingdom is;
 Such perfect joy therein I find,
 As far exceeds all earthly bliss,
 That God and Nature hath assigned.
 Though much I want that most would have,
 Yet still my mind forbids to crave."

From BYRD'S *Psalmes, Sonnets, etc.*, 1588;
 and found in PERCY'S *Reliques*.

A rare tidbit is "Loue's Servile Lott." The beauty of the theme does not depend upon the liveliness of the strain :

" Love mistres is of many myndes,
Yet fewe know whome they serve;
They reckon least how little love
Their service doth deserve.

" The will she robbeth from the witt,
The sence from reason's lore;
She is delightfull in the ryne,
Corrupted in the core.

" She shroudeth Vice in Vertue's veyle,
Pretendinge good in ill;
She offreth joy, affordeth greife,
A kisse where she doth kill.

* * *

" May never was the month of love,
For May is full of floures;
But rather Aprill, wett by kinde,
For love is full of showers.

* * *

" Her house is sloth, her dore deceite,
And slippery hope her staires;
Unbashfull bouldness bids her guestes,
And every vice repayres.

* * *

" Her sleepe in synne doth end in wrath,
Remorse rings her awake;
Death calls her upp, Shame drives her out,
Despayres her uppshott make.

" Plowe not the seas, sowe not the sands,
Leave off your idle payne;
Seeke other mistres for your myndes,
Love's service is in vayne."

" Lewd Loue is Losse" tells the same morality of purpose. The following stanza shows the quaint manner :

" Lett not the luringe trayne of phansies trapp,
Or gracious features, proofes of Nature's skill,
Lull Reason's force asleepe in Error's lapp,
Or drawe thy witt to bent of wanton will.
The fayrest floures have not the sweetest smell,
A seeminge heaven proves oft a damninge hell."

It was characteristic of Southwell to turn Sir Edward Dyer's "Phansie" into a "Sinner's Complaint;" but the manner in which he did it proclaims the born poet. Dyer was one of the fashionable writers of the time; but his poems did not outlast his life.

Southwell's poem has thirty-eight stanzas, of which the following show something of the beauty of the whole:

" He that his myrth hath lost,
Whose comfort is to rue,
Whose hope is falne, whose faith is cras'd,
Whose trust is founde untrue;

" If he have helde them deere,
And cannot cease to mone,
Come, lett him take his place by me;
He shall not rue alone.

" But if the smallest sweete
Be mixt with all his soure;
If in the day, the moneth, the yere,
He feele one lightninge houre,

" Then rest he with him selfe;
He is no mate for me,
Whose tyme in teares, whose race in ruth,
Whose life a death must be.

* * *

" My phancies are like thornes,
In which I go by nighte;
My frighted witts are like a hoaste
That force hath put to flighte.

" My sence is Passion's spie,
My thoughtes like ruyns old,
Which shew how faire the building was,
While grace did it upholde.

* * *

" I sow'd the soyle of peace;
My blisse was in the springe;
And day by day the fruite I eate,
That Vertue's tree did bringe.

" To nettles nowe my corne,
My feild is turn'd to flynte,
Where I a heavy harvest reape
Of cares that never stynte.

* * *

" Forsaken firste by grace:
By pleasure now forgotten,
Her payne I feele, but Grace's wage
Have others from me gotten.

* * *

" But since that I have synnd,
And scourge is none too ill,
I yeld me captive to my curse,
My hard fate to fullfill.

" The solitarye woode
My citye shall become;
The darkest denns shall be my lodge,
In which I rest or come.

"A sandy plott my borde,
The woormes my feast shall be,
Wherewith my carcas shall be fedd,
Until they feede on mee.

"My teares shall be my wyne,
My bedd a craggy rocke;
My harmonye the serpente's hysse,
The screeching oule my clocke.

"My exercise, remorse
And dolefull sinners' layes;
My booke, remembrance of my crymes,
And faltes of former dayes.

* * *

"And though I seeme to use
The feyning poet's style,
To figure forth my carefull plight,
My fall and my exile:

"Yet is my griefe not fayn'd,
Wherein I sterve and pyne;
Who feeleth most shall thinke it least,
If his compare with myne."

How beautiful is the matter, and how crisp is the manner of these stanzas from "Losse in Delaye!"

"Shunne delays, they breede remorse;
Take thy time while time doth serve thee;
Creepingne snayles have weakest force,
Fly their fault lest thou repent thee.
Good is best when soonest wroughtie,
Lingred labours come to noughte.

"Hoyse upp sail while gale doth last,
Tyde and wind stay no man's pleasure;
Seeke not tyme when tyme is paste,
Sober speede is wisdom's leysure.
After-wittes are deerely boughte,
Lett thy forewytt guide thy thoughte.

"Tyme weares all his lockes before,
Take thy hould upon his forehead;
When he flies he turnes no more,
And behinde his scalpe is naked.
Workes adjourn'd have many staies,
Long demurres breede new delays."

* * *

The poems "Upon the Image of Death," "A Vale of Teares," and Ben Jonson's favorite "The Burning Babe," have been copied again and again. The poems on Christ and His Mother are the least known. Their tender piety and glowing faith show the moral harmony of Southwell's nature. Like his other poems, they have delicate touches, strength of expression, and simplicity of the

means to the end; but occasionally, as with many a better poet, a strained conceit mars or spoils the work. His conceits may well be shown by the poem on "The Teare." The poet thinks that the tear in Mary's eye is "a moist sparke," "a watry diamond," "a star about to dropp." Finding that it is a tear and about to fall "in the dust," he will bring a pillow

"Stuft with the downe of angel's wing,"

and upon this pillow the tear will be carried up to heaven, to become

"An eye, but not a weeping one."

And, then, he doubts whether the tear had

. "Rather there have shone
An eye of heaven; or still shine here,
In the heaven of Marie's eye, a Teare."

Thus told the poem loses everything; but, when read, its tenderness touches us deeply. Nevertheless, it is wholly a conceit, but of a kind worse than is to be found elsewhere in Southwell. Conceits in verse, like affectation in dress or in manner, may be forgotten in the presence of qualities which fully win our praise and esteem. With the exception of a very few, Southwell's lines show, in point of mechanism, a skill that is natural, not merely ingenious. His poems appeal to every heart that lives for faith, for love, for right. Small must be the mind that cannot enjoy their naturalness, their warm beauty, and their tender simplicity. They stand the test of great poems: they are true, not for a class, but for the human race.

The Latin poems are but seven. The longest, *De Assumptione*, has two hundred and nineteen lines. It is probable that these were Southwell's "maiden" poems, and that they were written during the time of his studies. It is the custom of the Jesuit scholastics, or students, to write Latin poems twice a year for the semi-annual Renovation of Vows; and the best writers "contribute something" to the patronal feasts of the theologians and of the philosophers. The semi-annual poems are hung in some public place, where they may call forth the criticisms of the professors or of the priests; and the feast-poems are read by their authors before the assembled community. The former serve to show the bent of the writers' talents; and the latter, to keep alive a taste for literature. These poems are often of a high literary merit; but, as they are not printed, they are soon forgotten. After the writer's death, the poems are found among the papers which form the only property of the Jesuit. At Stonyhurst, or any other Jesuit college, might be found

many a Latin poem which would delight a delicate taste. In rhythm Southwell's Latin poems are not better than the compositions of many another Jesuit; but they have a boldness and an originality of idea to be found only in the born poet, not in the mere rhetorician. All Jesuits who write the customary Latin or English poems are not poets; but, nevertheless, many of them are poets "born to blush unseen" by the outside world. Southwell's Latin poems show the restful faith, the tenderness of feeling, and much of the beauty of thought which we everywhere find in his English poems. For some unknown reason, the Latin elegies are incomplete; and the ninth, in which the shade of Mary Queen of Scots solemnly teaches "*quid sit de rebus hisce fluxis sentiendum*," is a mere fragment, too small to enable us to see more than the author's purpose.

The faults of Southwell's style were the faults of his time—obscuring inversions, too frequent use of antithesis, and the misuse of pronouns and of nouns in the possessive case; but when we recall the fact that Latin words and Latin constructions were then commonly used by the educated, the purity of his English seems wonderful. Sometimes his inversions obscure the meaning; as, "of pearl the purest mother," for "the purest mother of pearl." A frequent use of antithesis usually shows more care for the manner than for the matter of an expression; but it is to be remembered that Southwell's long scholastic training made him quick at nice distinctions, and that, in the antithesis, as he uses it, the contrast is truly in the ideas and does not depend upon any trick of similarity of verbal arrangement. Its use makes his verse occasionally monotonous; but the verse does not seem forced, for the use of the figure was quite natural to the man as a trained reasoner. A more serious matter, however, is the careless use of relative pronouns and pronouns of the third person. In the lines,

"Thus gripes in all my parts doe never fayle,
Whose onely league is now in bartring pains—"

the antecedent of "whose" is "parts;" not "gripes;" and in

"Yet higher powers must think though they repine,"

"they" does not stand for "higher powers," but for "feebler part," two lines away. The correct use of the English pronoun of the third person is the severest test of a writer's skill; and even the best writers of the present, as well as of the past time, have made provoking blunders in the management of that troublesome part of speech. The misuse of the possessive pronoun and of the

possessive case, which is as common now as it was then, is shown in the following lines :

"God is my gift, Himself he freely gave me,
God's gift am I, and none but God shall have me,"

wherein "my gift" is used for "a gift to me;" and "God's gift am I" means "I have given myself to God." But all these faults do not seriously mar Southwell's verse; for the context readily furnishes the needed correction.

In the histories of literature Southwell has been overlooked, or else buried in a homely foot-note. It is well known that Elizabeth and her Court read and liked his poems; that Ben Jonson, who was a bold, unsparing critic to Shakespeare, gave Southwell credit for rare poetic feeling and power; that independent critics have pronounced Southwell to be the Goldsmith of the early poets; and that despite the historians' neglect of Southwell, his writings have always been in favor with the better class of readers among the English people. By the historians he is, perhaps necessarily, classed with the "minor" poets of the golden age; but the term "minor poet" shows simply that there were greater poets and not that he was any the less a true poet. Though the sun be shining, the lamp of the sanctuary burns steadily. Southwell was outshone by men of greater genius; but his work, though not less good than that of many who are given a higher place in the world's memory, and the purpose of his work, though more praiseworthy, were so different that a just comparison cannot be made. By nature he had all that is needed for a poet—warmth, fancy, and an excitable and creative imagination; but his nature, not allowed an unrestrained course, was guided by a tender conscience, was softened by sorrow, and was chastened by suffering. Different surroundings, greater ease and freedom of life, less painful moments for his compositions, and the supervision of their publication, might have enriched and varied the themes of his songs and might have extended his fame as a poet. The gain, however, might have been less than the loss; for then all who believe that subjects other than sexual passion may properly claim a poet's talents might find less of the simplicity, of the tenderness, of the pathos, and, above all, of the moral beauty of the best English sacred poet of the Elizabethan age.

GARIBALDI AND THE REVOLUTION IN ITALY.

Mémoires of Garibaldi. Edited by Alexander Dumas.

Victor Emanuel. By Edward Dicey, M.A. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1882.

Life of Pius IX. By John R. G. Hassard. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. 1878.

JOSEPH MARY GARIBALDI, who died at Caprera, June 2d, 1882, was born at Nice, on July 4th, 1806, at the dawn of the present century. Nice at the time belonged to France. The French won it in 1793. A year later Napoleon Bonaparte obtained his captaincy in the artillery of the Republic. It was to Nice that Napoleon conveyed his mother and other members of his family after Paoli's rising in Corsica, during the very year of Garibaldi's birth. Thus Garibaldi was by birth a French citizen, in the same way and by the same accident of fortune that Napoleon himself was born a citizen of France. And in the hands of the French Nice remained up to 1814, when it was given back to Sardinia. By the secret treaty between Cavour, Victor Emanuel and Napoleon III., it again changed hands and went back to France, together with Savoy, in 1860. This treaty evoked Garibaldi's undying enmity. He thenceforth refused to live in his native city, preferring after that date to enjoy his easy life in Caprera.

Mazzini was born in 1805, Cavour in 1810, and Victor Emanuel in 1820; a year after John Ferretti was admitted to priest's orders. Here we have grouped the names of the chief actors in Italy within this century. In what is called the unification of Italy Cavour was the leading spirit, Victor Emanuel the chief instrument. John Ferretti, who became Pius IX., was eager for Italian unity of a federative national kind; that is, he would have an Italy united in commerce and public life, without invading or breaking up the separate states and principalities. Gioberti had been an ardent advocate of the scheme, which might be described as an extension over all Italy of the old Lombard League for commercial and defensive purposes. Pius IX. took the initiative in this regard soon after his accession in 1846. For this he was hailed as a liberal and a nationalist; both of which titles in their best sense he unquestionably merited.

How the scheme of Pius IX. to establish a federated Italy was broken in upon and frustrated by Cavour's idea of establishing a Piedmontese Italy, or an Italy under the sway of one sovereign, makes the story of Italy from Charles Albert's declaration of war

against Austria in 1848 down to and subsequent to the invasion and possession of the Capital of the Roman Pontiffs by the troops of Victor Emanuel in September, 1870. It is a story full of deep interest, of many bloody, many treacherous, and some heroic episodes. The story is not ended yet, and he would be a wise man indeed who could predict the final issue. All Europe may be said to have taken part in it. Austria hastened it by stupidity; and the English and French governments by duplicity. But through all its stirring and changeful movements stand out prominently the figures of these five Italians: Pius IX., Victor Emanuel, Cavour, Mazzini, and last and least the man who died the other day on the rocky island of Caprera.

If ever Shakespeare's sayings about greatness were verified in mortal life, it is so in the career of Garibaldi. He was not born great, he did not achieve greatness, yet he had much of what men call greatness thrust upon him. Pius IX. was a living example of heroic faith and saintly life. Victor Emanuel staggered all his life between the faith that he never lost and indulgence in his passions. He had, however, some sterling qualities, and was of the stuff out of which soldiers are made. Cavour was a statesman of genius, who might have out-machiavelled Machiavelli. Mazzini was a man of culture, enthusiasm, and rare literary powers, diabolic almost in his intensity. But Garibaldi—what was he? His speeches are only worse than his writings; his actions were of the most quixotic character. While the principles to which he gave utterance professed to be noble, his life was an open scandal; and he lived and died a pensioner on the bounty of the very government which he professed to hate. He claimed to be essentially a man of action, a fighting man. He fought much. He undoubtedly had courage. Yet he never won a battle worthy of the name. His mob might and sometimes did beat another mob, whether in Italy or in South America. But when faced by Austrian or French regulars the man was simply nowhere, and may be said to have lost his battle in advance. It was criminal for such a man to lead men against soldiers. It was murder; and of murders of this kind Garibaldi was often guilty, while Mazzini, who probably hardly knew how to handle a gun, took a special delight in sending dupes thus to their death. Garibaldi himself was a dupe of Mazzini, but a deeper dupe of Cavour. It is laughable to-day to see the ridiculous ease with which Cavour used the "Liberator" of Italy to serve his own purposes. Take him all in all, Garibaldi's red shirt is the most conspicuous thing about the man, and is characteristic of him. He was showy and shallow from first to last: "An ass's head on a lion's heart," as some cruel apologist has described him. "All his deeds will bear criticism," says a journal

that admires him beyond measure ; " happy if he had spoken less and written nothing." Here is how he wrote in 1877 to Dr. Brandina, arranging beforehand for the cremation of his body :

" On the road leading from this house northward to the seashore, there is, at a distance of 1300 paces to the left, a depression in the ground, bounded by a wall. Upon that corner you will erect a pile of timber, two meters high, of acacia, linden, myrtle, and other aromatic woods. On the pile you will place an iron couch, and upon that the uncovered bier, with my remains upon it, dressed in the red shirt. A handful of ashes shall be preserved in an urn of any kind; and this is to be placed in the little sepulchre which contains the ashes of my daughters, Rosa and Anita."

These were doubtless his daughters by Anita, the amazon, whom he fell across while battling for the Republic of Rio Grande. The lady had the misfortune of being already married, nevertheless she deserted her husband to attach herself to the fortunes of Garibaldi. Of this incident in his career his biographer in the *London Times* writes: " At last, after losing a flotilla in a hurricane on the coast of Santa Caterina, where he landed wrecked and forlorn, having seen his bravest and most cherished Italian friends shot down or drowned, he fell in with his Anita—not, apparently, the first fair one for whom he had a passing fancy—with whom he united his destinies for better or worse, in life and till death, in some offhand manner, about which he is reticent and mysterious;" that is to say, in his *Mémoires*, as edited by his friend and admirer, Alexander Dumas. Anita was an amazon, and when she died in the woods near Ravenna, after Garibaldi's retreat from Rome in 1849, the hero was so heartbroken that he was compelled to seek other and very unsavory matrimonial alliances. His experiences in this respect were anything but heroic, were in fact openly immoral. Indeed all these men, Victor Emanuel, Cavour, Garibaldi were notoriously free livers, Victor Emanuel more especially. Yet these are the heroes of new and regenerated Italy.

Now it is not the purpose here either to belittle or exalt Garibaldi, but to try and get the measure of the man. Certain it is that with all his faults and vices, his blunders and failures, which are almost as numerous as his exploits, the man somehow made for himself a great name in and out of Italy, and at least a passing fame. For a month or so conservative England, that harbored Mazzini, Orsini, and all the conspirators against every government but its own, who were refused asylum elsewhere, went wild over Garibaldi when he consented to visit the country. Certain it is that at his summons men would rise up and face death with him, even in abortive expeditions in defence of their native soil. Garibaldi in this sense was a power. He could create a popular commotion at almost any time, and count upon a certain following. Perhaps the reason of this is to be found in his connection with the secret soci-

eties. He was affiliated to the Carbonari about 1830, as was also Mazzini. The Carbonari were at this time very powerful. Even as early as 1820, they counted 700,000 members in Italy, and 20,000 in Paris alone. It is very doubtful therefore whether there was so much spontaneity as showed on the surface in the various Mazzinian, Garibaldian, and such like uprisings that periodically took place in Italy. Here was a powerful organization, secret, unscrupulous, penetrating all classes of society, sworn to obey the command of an irresponsible, often an unknown leader. To these men Garibaldi's red shirt was an oriflamme, and they rose when he was sent to call. Italy was a land of conspiracy, and had been for a long time. Conspiring monarchs and statesmen took advantage of the undercurrent of popular feeling to secure their own purposes. Mazzini proclaimed that "Charles Albert had betrayed Italy, that Victor Emanuel would also end by betraying her."

And here comes the whole question, what is Italy, what was it at the dawn of this century, what has it become to-day? Italy is one of the most difficult of countries to approach with a clear understanding of the situation for any decade, one might say, since the disruption of the old Roman Empire. From the days of battle against the inroads of northern, eastern, southern, western, tribes and peoples on the Roman Empire, has the soil of Italy been a general battle-ground. The land that we call Italy never entered as a nation into the formation of Christendom. Its great cities tried to combine the municipal privileges of the civilization that had passed away with the new order of things, where the strong hand seized what it could, and held possession as long as it could. The lands of Italy were parcelled out among the conquering Dukes, much as William the Conqueror cut up England, or the later Norman and other kings, parcelled out Ireland. At one time it is the Goths, at another, the Saracens, again the Normans, later on, the French, the Spaniards, the Germans, who fasten upon this or that portion of Italian soil, claim it for themselves, and erect their principalities or kingdoms. Such is the history of Italy all the way down to our own days. Strong and wealthy republics or principalities were formed time and again, only to attack and destroy each other, or to be wiped out by some new invasion. Dante dreamed of a country that did not exist. The Lombard League united for self-preservation against Frederick Barbarossa and German oppression, but it was never more than a League of mutual defence, and never extended over Italy. There was little idea of nationality connected with it. Half Italy never joined it, though the Popes favored it. The land was in truth a land of factions, torn between foes from within and foes from without, robber chieftains and foreign adventurers. The one sacred spot, if any, was

Rome, yet was even Rome often invaded and the Popes were driven into exile. But they always contrived to return.

This deplorable state of things, of course, affords the strongest argument for the political union of a country that is geographically a unit, and is one in language, not to speak of religion or race. Race in Italy is very mixed. The first man, oddly enough, to make at least an ostensibly united Italy was Napoleon Bonaparte. As usual he took a very short cut to his end. After driving the Austrians out, he fashioned with his sword the native states into a kingdom, which he annexed to France. Napoleon, in due time fell, and his Italian Kingdom fell with him, though not the lesson that his plan conveyed. The great powers met at Vienna, in 1815, and proceeded to rearrange the European map, with which that spoiled child of the revolution, Bonaparte, had played such sad havoc. Revolution was still in the air; secret societies were numerous and powerful; and the wise gentlemen who met at Vienna agreed that the only way to withstand the tide of revolution and disobedience among subjects, was to restore the old order of things, and put back into power, that had been often grossly misused, every trumpery little prince that had been put out of power, in Italy as elsewhere, reserving certain large slices for their large selves. Accordingly the King of Sardinia was set up again on his throne, and Genoa was added to his possessions. Austria got Lombardy and Venetia, very unfortunately as it turned out, for Austria. Italy was again cut up into various quarters; and to stop all clamor of the peoples for constitutional rights, severe restrictive measures were passed. The various governments were perhaps as coercive as is the English government in Ireland to-day. The people were practically allowed no rights worthy of the name. Later on, in 1851, Mr. Gladstone was eloquently indignant about the treatment of political prisoners in Naples during the revolutionary *régime* of Ferdinand II., whose methods Mr. Gladstone now seems, with the accumulated wisdom of over a quarter of a century, to adopt in Ireland. The consequence of such harsh treatment in Italy then, as in Ireland to-day, was to drive the people outside of the law into secret societies. Hence the Carbonari flourished so mightily, and Mazzini came to develop them into "Young Italy."

Mazzini was a republican on paper, an autocrat in a republican bureau. Italy was to be made a republic under one system of law. "Liberty, equality, and humanity," was the cry he set up for Young Italy, and with it "God and the people." Italy was to undergo a "moral regeneration" under Mazzini's direction. "Young Italy" was suppressed only to develop into "New Europe," which was to proclaim the old theory of the first French Revolution, of universal liberty, equality, fraternity, or death. Indeed death figured very

largely in Mazzini's calculations, for his chief agents of "moral regeneration" were the dagger and the bowl, and one of Mazzini's right-hand men among "the party of action," was the ardent and effusive Garibaldi.

The people in Italy were disaffected, as they had ample cause to be, but the Austrian armies put down all disaffection, at least for the time being. The Austrian rule was harsh and encouraged harshness among the native princes who ruled under Austria's protection. Risings took place here, there, everywhere, and were quenched in blood.

Meanwhile Garibaldi had entered on his adventurous career. The son of a coasting captain, his father intended him for the Church, and his mother's piety is evinced in the names she chose for him, Joseph and Mary. There was little of the ecclesiastic about young Garibaldi. With that vein of tenderness that betokened a sweeter and higher nature than was developed by his adventurous life, he says of his mother, that "to her inspiration he owed his patriotic feelings," and that "in his greatest danger, both by land and sea, his imagination always conjured up the picture of the pious woman prostrated at the feet of the Most High, interceding for the safety of her beloved." Much in the same way, though to a deeper degree, Victor Emanuel always cherished secretly his religious feelings. "I am not a good man," he said once, "but she who is above could never allow me to make any other than a good death." And when death came to him and he was told that it was knocking at the door, "Is it come to that?" was his response; "then send for the priest," and "she who is above" helped him at least to the grace of the last sacraments.

Garibaldi's sentiments of piety troubled him less than Victor Emanuel's. He had small vocation for the priesthood. After picking up, thanks to the priests, what might be called a fair education, he followed his father's vocation to the sea, coasting from place to place, and subject to all the aspirations of "Young Italy." Early in 1831 those aspirations developed into new risings in Parma, Modena, and also in the Papal States. It was about this time that Garibaldi fell in with Mazzini, and they remained fast friends for a very long period, a rupture only occurring between them late in life, when each denounced the other in the public press. The revolts, like most of those in which these champions of democracy engaged, having proved wretched failures, Garibaldi took to sea and to exile, landing finally in Rio Janeiro. He was absent from Europe from 1836 to 1848. His exploits in South America were more of a buccaneering character than otherwise, full of the adventures incidental to such a state of life and the condition of the countries and peoples through which he passed. At one time he

is a general, at another a captain, again a schoolmaster, now a prisoner, now a broker, occasionally a professor of mathematics or a cattle drover. With all this period of his career the present article has little concern. The man was a soldier of fortune, living a life of adventure, and gathering a certain romantic glamour around his name and that of his "Italian Legion" of 800 men, most of whom he lost.

Italy all this time was agitating for reform. Gregory XVI. died on the 1st of June, 1846. His reign had been troubled by efforts of the secret societies in the domain of the Church, and he had condemned the extreme liberalism of Delamennais. On June 16th, 1846, Cardinal Giovanni Mastai Ferretti was elected Pope. He began his reign by introducing a liberal series of reforms, including representative government, which should be jointly clerical and lay. In brief he took measures to bring about the scheme of a federated Italy, to which allusion has already been made.

At once Pius IX. became the hero of the hour and the world rang with his name. The "party of action" in Italy saw in the Pope their agent. They had already made overtures to Charles Albert, the King of Sardinia. "In great countries," said Mazzini to Young Italy, "it is by the people that we must seek regeneration; in yours it is by the princes. Get them on your side. Attack their vanity. Let them march at the head, if they will, so long as they march your way. Few will go to the end. The essential thing is not to let them know the goal of the revolution. . . . You must *manage* the clergy, because the people believe in it; already it holds half the doctrine of socialism, for, like us, it has the sentiment of fraternity, which it calls charity. But its hierarchy and habits make it the imp of authority—that is, of despotism."

Charles Albert had a very keen appreciation of the goal of the revolution. Naturally he seems to have been a man inclined towards liberal ideas, but he was unfortunately placed for their exercise. "Throughout his life," says Mr. Dicey, "Charles Albert had a profound distrust—which he imparted to his son—in the power of the Italian revolutionists to effect anything of and by themselves. Upon his accession Mazzini addressed to the young King one of his grandiloquent and declamatory epistles, calling upon him to emulate the fame of Washington and Kosciuszko, and promising him the aid of twenty millions of Italians if he would only inaugurate a crusade against Austria under the patronage of the *Giovane Italia*. The offer was ignored, and forthwith Mazzini and his adherents vowed deadly and lifelong enmity against the one prince who had at heart the cause of Italy."

The revolutionists turned to the Pope. Instead of aiding Pius

IX. in his efforts to establish peace and good will within the Italian borders, Austria resented his attempt, and some of the Italian states themselves joined with Austria in its resentment. France, then under Louis Philippe, took up the Pope's cause, and England re-echoed his praises. A great Protestant meeting was held in New York city in November, 1847, and the "hearty and respectful salutations" of the American people were conveyed to the Pope "for the noble part he had taken in behalf of his subjects." Horace Greeley prepared the address. Mazzini was alive to the signs of the times and their changes. Having renounced all hopes of winning over Charles Albert, he wrote to the Pope in November, 1847: "Holy Father: I watch your progress with immense hopes. Be confident, trust in us, and we will found for you a government unique in Europe. We know how to convert into an active force the instinct with which Italy is quivering from end to end. . . . I write to you because I believe you worthy to initiate this grand enterprise."

Garibaldi was at this time in Montevideo, and seeing things stirring again at home longed to be back "while there was something left to do." So he offered his sword and the remnants of his legion to Pius IX., much in the same spirit doubtless that Mazzini offered his services. Garibaldi, in October, 1847, addressed a letter to Mgr. Bedini, the papal nuncio at Brazil, saying that "if to-day, men who have some practice in the use of arms should prove acceptable to his Holiness, it is scarcely needful to say that we shall gladly consecrate ourselves to the service of him who is doing so much for the country and the Church. We shall indeed deem ourselves fortunate if we can contribute aught to the work of redemption initiated by Pio Nono." He graciously added that he made this offer, "although well aware that St. Peter's throne rests on a solid basis, proof against all human attacks, and needing no mortal defenders." How much of this sentiment was real and how much simulation may be left to the conjecture of the reader. Garibaldi, not receiving an answer speedily enough to please him, embarked for Europe with Anita and his children, and from sixty to eighty of his legion, landing at Nice in the spring of 1848.

The interval of his voyage had been eventful in Europe. There was revolution in the air, not in Italy only, but over all the continent. "Associate, associate! Everything is in that one word," was Mazzini's constant instruction, and it was carefully carried out. He bade the people assemble in mass meetings, under the guise of festivals, celebrations, any excuse at all to bring them together and enable them to feel their strength. "As for the Pope," he said, "we must make him our political *bœuf gras*." The Jesuits were to be expelled, and the retrogrades slain. So matters progressed

during 1847. The Austrians invaded the Papal territory. The Pope protested against such invasion, and all Italy was aflame. The Austrians retired and Italy was inflamed still more. The Pope's attitude was one of complete trust in his own people; he can hardly have realized the extent of the secret agencies that were at work in his own domains and over all Europe. Everything marched the way of the revolution. Then came the year of wonders, 1848.

Modena, Milan, Leghorn, Messina, Palermo, and other cities, were the scenes of revolt. Naples rose, and its King, Ferdinand II., hastened to grant his people a constitution. Charles Albert immediately followed suit in Piedmont. Then came Tuscany, and finally the Pope to put the finishing touch to the reforms he had already inaugurated. But most influential of all was the revolt in Paris, the expulsion of Louis Philippe, and the establishment of a French Republic. This reacted on Europe. The German States, Hungary and Austria itself were in convulsion, and Charles Albert hastened to place himself at the head of the popular movement in Italy, by declaring war against Austria, March 23d, 1848.

The test had now come, and the final issue was raised. There could hardly be a united Italy with Austria as the predominant power. Austrian power had, to say the least, not been exercised to the best advantage either for itself or for Italy. As Austria was not likely to abandon Italy of her own good will, there was no visible alternative between letting her stay in or forcibly turning her out. Encouraged by the condition of affairs in Europe, and by half promises of assistance from the newly established Republic of France, as well as pushed on by his own ambition, and the traditional acquisitive instinct of the House of Savoy, Charles Albert, who had made preparations with a view to such an event, finally declared war on Austria, expecting all Italy to flock to his standard, while the enemy was being rent in the rear.

And how did the Pope act, the man who so generously and actively took up the idea of a federated Italy? He acted as the Pope could only have been expected to act. The days of warring Popes were over, even if there ever had been what could properly be called a warring Pope. In all the history of the Church, the Pope never could, and never cared to, raise an army that could hope to cope single-handed with any European state worthy of the name. He never could successfully defend his frontiers or his capital from anything approaching a formidable attack. In his very weakness lay his strength, save against conspirators and freebooters. He was the father of Christendom, the head of the Christian Church, and by the common consent of Christendom, the heritage of the Papacy, which it had acquired in past ages by

cession and free gift, was guaranteed and protected. Napoleon Bonaparte overrode this common assent, invaded the Papal territory, and possessed himself of it, as of all Italy. But at his fall the common consent of the powers, predominant among which at that time was England, restored the estates of the Church to their lawful owner. And now he was called upon to take part in what was proclaimed as an Italian crusade to free Italian soil from the invader.

The Pope refused to join in the war against Austria. How could he, the representative of peace on earth, have done otherwise? The Pope is Italian only by accident. As head of the Catholic Church he has relations with all peoples, even Protestant peoples, quite as binding as those he has with Italy. There is no such thing as an Italian monopoly of the Papacy. The cry of the Italian revolutionists against the Pope was the old cry of the oppressed Jews against Christ. They wanted no Prince of Peace. They wanted a leader, a warrior, one who should restore her ancient glory to Israel, not minding that to the Saviour all the world was Israel. Whatever might be his personal nationality, the Pope sent his troops to guard the Papal frontier, much as he might have sent an army of police. But he made it expressly understood that they were not to cross the frontier, and, so blessing them, he let them go.

General Durando, the commander of the expedition, was hand in glove with the revolutionists. He understood the Pope's commands perfectly well, and proved a traitor to them. The Pope had, to say the least, the good sense to see that even all Italy could not hope to cope with Austria single-handed. At Bologna, Durando placed his command at the service of Charles Albert, under secret instructions from Aldobrandini, the Papal minister of war. Thus it was conspiracy all around.

The Pope promptly repudiated Durando's action, and from that day forth he became a special object of hatred to the revolutionists. At once revolutionary Rome rose and raged against him. At the same time he addressed a letter to the Emperor of Austria, avowing that while he shrank from declaring war, he appealed to the Emperor's filial and religious sentiments to withdraw from a contest "which can never subdue to your empire the hearts of the Lombards and Venetians." He begged the German nation to lay aside resentment, and "exchange for friendly relations of neighborly intercourse a domination which could never be useful or honorable while sustained only by the sword."

In this is revealed the idea of unity proposed by Pius IX.; a unity among the friendly Italian states, with the consent and gradual withdrawal of Austria from Italian soil. It may seem a dream, and yet the Austrian government was so struck by its feasibility

as to ask the British government "to mediate between itself and Italy on the basis of the independence of Lombardy and the duchies," on condition of the payment of an annual tribute or a separate administration for Venetia. (See Hassard's *Life of Pius IX.*, pp. 92-93.) Lord Palmerston, who favored Mazzini in all his schemes, was the chief obstacle to the bringing about of such an understanding.

Meanwhile, where was Garibaldi? Garibaldi, with his remnant of a Legion, scorning the Pope, made his way up northward from Nice and offered his sword to Charles Albert. Charles Albert took the offer very coolly. Garibaldi then turned in disgust to Milan, where, as in Venice, the Mazzini party was all-powerful. The success attending the Sardinian arms was short-lived, and Charles Albert was crushed by the Austrians under the veteran Radetzky at Custoza, in July, 1848. The campaign as regarded Sardinia was virtually ended here, but as Milan had joined its fortunes with Sardinia, the King retreated to that city in the hope of saving it. He was greeted by the revolutionists as a traitor, and had to fly from the city by stealth. Mazzini proclaimed that a republic alone could save Italy. On August 5th, Milan capitulated, and Garibaldi, who was hastening to its defence at the head of a considerable force, organized by the republican Committee of Public Safety, was compelled to retreat towards Como. He took his revenge by denouncing Charles Albert as a traitor, and declaring war on all in Italy who recognized peace before the expulsion of the Austrians. The declaration was happily timed, as the Austrians had just overwhelmed the only available and regular force that Italy could bring to bear against them. "The royal war is at an end, and the war of the people is now to begin," proclaimed Mazzini, who offered to serve as a volunteer under Garibaldi. The war of the people did not last long. As usually happened in Italy, it speedily degenerated into a rabble rout. The 30,000 men under Garibaldi's command dwindled away with astonishing rapidity to two or three hundred, who, with their leader, vanished over the border. This campaign affords a very good example of Garibaldi's generalship when faced by real troops.

The effects of Charles Albert's disastrous campaign in Italy were manifold. For the time being all hope of liberation through Sardinia was abandoned, and Charles Albert, like the Pope, was regarded as a traitor to the national cause, the cause of a nation that did not yet exist; the hands of the revolutionary party were strengthened. They alone were the patriots, they alone did not betray the people, though it must be confessed they made a pretty bad mess of matters. The scenes that immediately followed in Rome are well known. Count Rossi, the Pope's chief minister,

was assassinated, and by November the Pope was in exile at Gaeta, while in all Italy Charles Albert could hardly count upon a friend.

Seeing their opportunity Garibaldi and Mazzini made for Rome. The cry of a "United Italy, with Rome for Capital," was an old one with the party of revolution. In Rome a Constituent Assembly had hastened to depose the Pope as a temporal sovereign, to establish a "pure democracy," to which they gave "the glorious appellation of the Republic of Rome." A triumvirate was created, with Mazzini as leader, and Garibaldi and Avezzana for military leaders. Under this inspiring government Rome became a pandemonium.

It is unnecessary to go over the details of the memorable siege of the city by the army of the French Republic under General Oudinot, and the triumphant re-entry of Pius IX. The defence was very stubborn, and Garibaldi's claim to military skill probably never showed to better advantage than during this siege. But, as usual, he could never face trained valor, and at the fall of the city Garibaldi and those immediately associated with him in command took to flight. It is singular to note the comparative ease with which the revolutionary leaders in Italy always escaped from desperate plights, or rather it would be singular were it not known how the whole country was eaten up by the secret societies, numbers of whom were members of the very governments whom the revolutionists attacked. As to the restoration of the Pope, there could be no more doubt about the general joy of the Roman population, at that event, than over the desperate hate of the revolutionary party.

Meanwhile in the north Custozza had been followed by the final defeat of Novara (March, 1849), which resulted in the abdication of Charles Albert in favor of his son, Victor Emanuel. Charles Albert died a heart-broken exile at Oporto, on July 28th, of the same year, and Sardinia lay a cripple at the mercy of Austria.

The history of Italy from this date out is so modern and so well known that it calls for no extensive detail. It is only now that Cavour, the man whose able but wholly unscrupulous statesmanship, advanced Sardinia from its crippled condition into the foremost place, and finally into at least the nominal possession of Italy, comes prominently to the front.

On the very night of the defeat at Novara Charles Albert, with a view of making terms easier for Sardinia, resigned in favor of his son, Victor Emanuel. The fact, though not the idea, of a united Italy had been rudely dispelled. Austria was again predominant in the north, while the sense of the European powers was wholly averse to the revolutionary party in Italy. Italy struggled along among its factions much in the old style. Perhaps the revolu-

tionists had still the ear of the masses. As Mr. Dicey, who is by no means a defender of the Pope or of Catholicity, says, "the grandeur attributed to the long defence of Rome and Venice under the Republic, was contrasted with the summary collapse of Sardinia under a monarchy," though he confesses that the siege of Rome "made but slow progress, mainly it is true, on account of the extreme reluctance of the French commanders to resort to force," and adds that "the magnitude of this resistance was exaggerated by national vanity till it assumed, in popular imagination, the proportions of an heroic achievement."

It would be a mistake to set down Victor Emanuel, as is the custom with some writers, as nothing else than a man of brutal appetite and a slave to his passions. He was by no means a good man, as he himself confessed. At the same time he was not a man devoid of conscience, of religious sense, training and feeling, nor lost to the traditions belonging to his great and illustrious house. He was always reluctant to oppose the Church; he always entertained extreme personal respect and reverence for Pius IX. as head of the Catholic Church, and Pius IX. was not ignorant of this; and when Victor Emanuel did, as often happened, wrong to the Church and the papacy, he tried to console his conscience with the excuse that he was driven into such action by the press of circumstances. He was a constitutional king, and had to stand by the constitution. So he argued. Had he been a genius he might have devised means of his own to work out Sardinia's supremacy and the union of Italy in such a manner as not to have left behind him the vexed burden of an imprisoned Pope and a despoiled papacy on the historic soil and in the historic city of the Popes. But he had Cavour at his back, and even Cavour died too early. Cavour's idea was to reach Rome by moral means, never by force. Not that he was averse to force in order to gain his ends. His valet, who knew him as valets only know men, always presaged war when his master was in an exceptionally good humor. It was like the old legend of the statue of Memnon, that, cold and impassive in the time of peace, when war was in the air, and the sun's rays first caught it, gave utterance to sweet music. Possibly had Cavour not been called away on the eve of his triumph, he might have attempted some means of providing for his free Church in a free State. But if he had the secret, he carried it with him to his grave.

Cavour was called to the chief power in 1852. He had been in England, and studied closely the English system of government. He had travelled about Europe a good deal, and observed much. He had a rare combination of extraordinary keenness of intellect and far-sightedness, with strong every-day sense. To all ap

pearances, even his personal appearance, he was a very matter-of-fact sort of man. But his purpose was as firm, though apparently as flexible as the finest tempered steel. It would bend this way and that at will, yet always come back to itself. His purpose from the outset of his political career was to make Italy a nation through the agency of the House of Savoy, and this he accomplished, using always whatever and whoever came to hand to suit his purposes, from Napoleon III. to Victor Emanuel, Mazzini, or Garibaldi, and, as some would whisper, Cardinal Antonelli, the Pope's clever Secretary of State.

With the advent of Cavour, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and their secret society associates, simply appear as puppets pulled by this master-hand. Thenceforth the campaign in Italy is his; and whatever was accomplished, whether in Sicily, Naples, Rome, was done according to his will or inspiration. This has now become matter of fact, so that it would be sheer waste of time to go over Garibaldi's ridiculously easy conquest of the kingdom of Naples, and his equally easy surrender of his assumed dictatorship at the confidential command of Cavour. As to how the conquest of Naples was accomplished, in common with all Cavour's conquests, it is enough to say, in the words of Mr. Dicey, "There is no disguising the fact, that the part played by Sardinia in the Garibaldian invasion of the Two Sicilies was not altogether open or straightforward;" and he adds, that "by a not unjust Nemesis neither the King nor his minister have ever attained the credit due to them for the skill with which they brought about the annexation of the Southern Kingdom. The glory of the enterprise was monopolized by Garibaldi, and it was believed at the time, and will probably be believed hereafter, that, but for Garibaldi and his red-shirted comrades, the unity of Italy would never have been an accomplished fact" (p. 235). Mr. Dicey adds, as is well known, that it was the interest of Sardinia to repudiate all responsibility for the act, and to represent Garibaldi as a principal, not as an agent. "Garibaldi himself," he says, "honestly shared this delusion; but the more the true history of the Neapolitan revolution becomes known, the more it will be recognized that it was Cavour who pulled the wires and worked the puppets."

Mr. Dicey was an eye-witness of the exploits of "the thousand of Marsala" in overturning a king and a kingdom. It is not always necessary to be an eye-witness in order to be a fair judge of events. But this Protestant writer ridicules the whole idea of the marvellous success of the Garibaldian invasion, save in so far as behind Garibaldi there stood the kingdom of Italy. The Bourbon monarchy, as he says, collapsed from sheer inanition and fear. The Neapolitans did not join Garibaldi any more than later on did the

Romans. Mr. Dicey is an honest admirer of Garibaldi. He witnessed his rule as dictator in Naples, and here is the picture he draws of it: "Naples had had long and rich experience of all kinds of mal-administration, but in the whole course of her troubled annals the capital of the Two Sicilies was never worse administered than under the rule of Garibaldi. In no city of Europe were there greater elements of social disturbance. The partisans of the Red Republic saw their opportunity." It is needless to quote further.

This is Garibaldi's most famous exploit, and the measure of the man may be taken here. In the zenith of his success he was never more than a tool playing into the hands of abler men, to what end he hardly knew. Deprived of his dictatorship, and enraged at both Victor Emanuel and Cavour, he retired to sulk in Caprera, rating them roundly as liars and cowards, charges that they could easily withstand from the *fou furieux*, once he had accomplished their work. He indignantly refused a pension from the King, but afterwards thought better of his refusal and accepted it, though refusing to relinquish the privilege of assailing, at stated intervals, the monarchy whose pensioner he voluntarily became. It is generally understood that such ebullitions occurred only when Garibaldi's pockets were empty, or when he had some favor to demand of the government, and his forcible appeal was never without effect. The march on Rome is simply a repetition of the march on Naples, save that Garibaldi was badly beaten by the French and the Papal volunteers. In all these movements Louis Napoleon was a close ally of Cavour and Victor Emanuel. In 1861 Cavour died, but his policy with regard to Rome lived after him. Victor Emanuel was recognized as King of Italy by Napoleon III., and after him by the other powers. In all Italy there was only left a little strip of territory and the City of the Pontiffs to the Pope. Even that would have been abandoned had not Napoleon III. feared the anger of the French people, already angry at the absorption, by invasion, duplicity, and fraud, of the peaceful States of the Church, that threatened the peace of none and relied on the good-will of all.

It is impossible here to touch on all the events that tended to make Italy what it is: such as the Crimean campaign and the campaign of Solferino, ending in the peace of Villafranca. In the campaign of Solferino, Garibaldi bore a conspicuous though not a very effective part. Through all the war of 1859 the French bore the lion's share. Later on Cavour discerned the rising power of Prussia, and made a secret alliance with it, which proved of service to Prussia during the war with Austria, and to Italy in the final session of Venetia, though it came through the hands of the

French Emperor. The result of this alliance with Prussia was the desertion by Italy of its old ally, the power that most of all helped to make Italy, France, in its sorest hour of need, during the war with Germany. The war with Germany necessarily included the withdrawal of the French forces from Rome, and the final invasion and possession of the city, in violation of his solemn pledge, by Victor Emanuel, on September 20th, 1870. In all these events Garibaldi bore a part of no special consequence. The kingdom had conquered the republic, at least for the time being. Rome had become the capital of a kingdom, and the Savoyard was king. Mazzini and Garibaldi had become little more than names. The one remained in exile and wrote and scolded to the last. The other, while continuing to advocate a republic, became a pensioner of the King, and so lost character among those who once worshipped him. Cavour and Pius IX. were the real conquerors. Cavour succeeded in making a kingdom of Italy, whether united or not is for the future to say. He conquered the Mazzinians and Garibaldians by using them for his purpose. The only man that neither he nor his successors could conquer was the Pope. They broke a breach through the Porta Pia, and entered in and took the City of the Pontiffs. They might have done that years before had they so desired. As said before, the Pope could never by arms defend himself against them. They could not make him, as they made Garibaldi, a pensioner on their bounty. They could not prevent him being head of the Church, or his sacred person from being the centre, his word from being the guide, of Christendom. They broke the pact of centuries and destroyed the last tradition of moral force, standing calmly in the face of might; and to achieve this great victory they employed the foes of all order, and made use of every kind of deceit. This is the brilliant statesmanship of Cavour, which has resulted in making an Italy united over a revolutionary Vesuvius and an outraged and alienated Catholic population. Italy is to-day held together, the revolution repressed, by an army of 200,000 men, while the land groans under more grievous taxation than the separate States ever knew. Of moral force there is none attached to the monarchy. The only thing after all staple in Italy to-day is the Papacy. The figures that played so conspicuous a part in the stirring events faintly sketched here have one by one disappeared. Cavour was the first to go in the hour of his temporary triumph. Mazzini followed, irreconcilable to the last, and leaving a school of Mazzinis behind him. Victor Emanuel's death preceded that of Pius IX. by a few days. There is a new King and a new Pope, and if asked which will surely last, all the world would give but one answer. And now Garibaldi has gone, unreconciled to the

Church that he had learned to hate, or to the kingdom that he had helped to make. Italy remains to be made. The revolutionists will surely unmake even the present framework unless they are offset by a government of justice and right. But the right arm of such a government is the great conservative force of the Catholic Church, which these makers of Italy chose to cut off. The brilliant policy of Cavour, which after all was the policy of the revolution, resulted in the dispossession of the centre of Catholicity and conservatism. The government would now fain call that power to its aid against the living revolution; but they found it easier to dispossess than they find it to repossess, and all Europe bears witness to their mistake.

PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND CHURCH-GOERS.¹

PROTESTANTISM has always been stronger in denial than in profession; it could always say decidedly that it rejected and did not believe certain doctrines of the Catholic Church, and deny its authority in general; but when it came to say what it professed and believed, all unanimity was lost, each individual claimed, if he did not exercise, the right to frame a system for himself. Under state pressure uniformity was enforced in many countries in utter defiance of the boasted right of private judgment, and men were compelled to acquiesce in confessions of faith and formularies drawn up by men who did not, and could not, claim to be directly commissioned or empowered by God. Attendance at the church service instituted was made compulsory, punishment being meted out to all who neglected or refused to be present.

This was so utterly inconsistent and absurd that human reason rebelled, and in England, Holland, Denmark, Germany, and Scandinavia, as well as in this country, men believe as much or as little of Protestant doctrines as they choose, and attend service in the churches as it suits them. Their opposition to Catholicity, and their rejection of the teaching authority of the Church, its worship and its ordinances, still stands firm in most minds; few men can tell precisely what they believe on any point, or what constitutes

¹ A Compendium of the Ninth Census (June 1, 1870) compiled pursuant to a concurrent act of Congress, and under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, by Francis A. Walker, Superintendent of Census. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872, pp. 940.

worship, but they feel sure that the Catholics are in error, and on general principles must be opposed and kept down. In the spread of indifferentism and apathy, nothing but an anti-Catholic movement can rouse the masses; and even this fails to create any lasting interest in Protestantism as a faith or a system.

The young people, it was seen, would not become church members, and bind themselves to a code for which they saw no reasonable foundation, and the necessity of which for salvation could not be predicated. The machinery of Sunday Schools and Sunday School Unions was tried; but though it kept the children by a kind of bribery, when they ceased to be children they fell away. Then the Young Men's Christian Association sprang up, and the young men found something in religion less repellent and cheerless than the hard dry forms from which they shrank, but these associations in time threatened to supersede the churches, and the Protestant clergy took alarm. A decline was soon apparent. In a few places fine buildings have been erected and the organization maintains some life, but in many smaller cities and towns they have disbanded or exist only in name. The latest effort is the Bible Class, which under the International plan, setting forth a lesson to be taken up everywhere on the same day, has for a moment given some life; but even this already shows signs of waning.

In spite of all efforts, the interest of Protestants in their religion and their churches is steadily declining. The preachers who attract large congregations are those who appeal to the public taste of the place or moment, who put forward no doctrine, who explain away everything by generalities, who seem more anxious to show what they do not believe than to declare what is God's truth revealed to man. More and more distinct becomes the contrast between the Catholic Church, speaking like the prophet or apostle, "Thus saith the Lord," and Protestantism enouncing: "Brethren, I am inclined to think."

The decline of Protestant church life has been so marked that the United States census has been employed to hide it. Every ten years the public documents give an imposing array of figures, showing so many Protestant churches, and so many millions of sittings, counting actually the empty benches, and trying to make the world believe that they represent that number of occupants. It is like the military stratagem of spreading out a thin picket line to convey the idea of a large supporting force. Yet though the United States Government adopts this system for the census, we do not suppose they accept it in the Treasury Department, or that a National bank is allowed to report the size and capacity of its vaults, instead of the number and amount of the securities therein contained. Some

of the insurance companies would doubtless be very glad to adopt the census system in making up their statements.

The census enumeration would have gone on unchecked and unquestioned had not some one connected with the press desired to raise a new question for public discussion; or some editor been at a loss how to turn to advantage the labors of supernumerary reporters. But in January, 1881, reporters were detailed to the churches of all denominations in Philadelphia to make an actual count of the people who went to church one Sunday. The city of Philadelphia and the State of Pennsylvania are strongly anti-Catholic, the rampant Protestantism displaying itself in a host of intolerant acts of the legislature, and measures of administrative detail. The count in Philadelphia would, therefore, naturally show a preponderatingly large Protestant attendance at church. This the census clearly indicated; this every thinking man would assert. But yet the actual count of all who entered the 131 Protestant places of worship in the city of William Penn showed a total number of 42,140, while those placed at the doors of the 19 Catholic churches counted 82,653 who passed the portals of those few houses of worship. This was an unexpected and rather startling result. There were actually in Philadelphia nearly two Catholic church-goers to one Protestant, and every Catholic church had twelve times as many worshippers as the average Protestant meeting-house.

The figures seemed incredible, and in March another trial was made. The Philadelphia *Times* of March 17th announced that by a calculation made on the previous Sunday 38,019 attended 9 Catholic churches, and 19,946 attended 56 Protestant churches. The proportion is about the same; the average attendance of a Catholic church being 4000, that of a Protestant church about 300.

In April, 1881, the same experimental test was resorted to in New Haven, one of the capitals of the State of Connecticut. There 40 Protestant churches could gather only 12,000 within their walls, while 5 Catholic churches had congregations numbering 12,431; the Protestant average corresponding with that in Philadelphia, though the Catholic average was less. To fill their meeting-houses, Protestants would need to revive the old New Haven law, which read:

"And it is further ordered that wheresoever the ministry of the word is established within this jurisdiction, according to the order of the gospel, every person according to the mind of God, shall duly resort and attend thereunto, upon the Lord's days at least, and also upon days of public fasting or thanksgiving; ordered to be generally kept and observed. And if any person within this

jurisdiction shall, without just and necessary cause, absent or withdraw from the same, he shall after due means of conviction used, for every such sinful miscarriage, forfeit five shillings to the plantation, to be levied as other fines." Trumbull's *True Blue Laws of Connecticut*, page 220.

This present year the chief city in Puritan New England, no other than Boston itself—Boston that enforced uniformity, and beheld with satisfaction Quakers swinging from the gallows, gave its statistics of church-goers.

The *Advertiser* made arrangements to take, on April 16th, 1882, not a United States census, but a common-sense census of the number attending the services at every church in the city. Of the result it is said: "In a general view, the total view is a very considerable understatement, on account of the numerous forenoon services held in the Roman Catholic churches, all of which have a large attendance,"—in other words, the early masses (each of which has a distinct congregation not generally attending any other mass) were not included.

Yet what was the result!

23 Baptist churches,	15,775
3 Congregational,	805
25 Congregational Trinitarian,	15,005
24 Congregational Unitarian,	9,326
20 Episcopalian,	12,040
6 Jewish,	958
2 Lutheran,	591
23 Methodist Episcopal,	9,336
2 Methodist,	2,058
7 Presbyterian,	3,300
2 Swedenborgian,	530
3 Union churches,	775
9 Universalist,	2,337
11 Miscellaneous and non-Sectarian,	2,738
160 Protestant churches,	75,572
30 Catholic churches (early masses not generally counted),	49,337

Thus in the chief city of Puritan New England, there were, according to these figures, two Catholic to three Protestant church-goers, and on a full count including all the masses, the Catholics would undoubtedly equal the Protestant in number.

In the same month a census was taken in St. Louis, which showed at 104 Protestant churches, 34,109, and at 34 Catholic churches, 85,171, the Protestant average being about 320, the Congregational with 2105, in 5 churches, the German Evangelical with 3868, in 8 churches, German Lutheran, 3651, in 9 churches, Methodist Episcopal with 5833, in 16 churches, Presbyterians, 6926, in 17 churches, being above the average.

The data supplied by the census thus made in different parts of the country compared with the capacity of the places of worship, shows that the Protestant Church extension has been carried beyond the limits of necessity, and beyond the ability of the decreasing flocks to maintain them. The present congregations, with their average number of three hundred, could not have erected the stately edifices, which dot the land in all parts, nor can they now maintain a married clergy. And yet the congregation, as it is, does not consist entirely of members who feel a moral responsibility to make sacrifices to maintain the organization. If we come to the matter of church membership, the figures are still more astonishing. To judge by the demonstrations made against Catholicity which elicit polemical Protestantism, one would imagine the great mass of the population deeply imbued with Protestant doctrines, and hugging them to their hearts with a love and devotion which nothing could lessen, but when we come to count practical Protestantism by those who feel sufficient interest in religion to associate themselves with a church, so as to undertake to observe its ordinances, and according to their ideas and language become "Christians," the mystery is almost inexplicable. The Congregational Church, once the power of New England controlling the state, shows a decline of members in 1881, and claims 381,697 members for 3804 churches, an average of little more than 100 to a church, and of these 251,822 were women, leaving 128,060 male members, but little more than 33 to a church, and we infer not 25 adults. Ten years ago the census of 1870 said: "The Baptists average 80 communicants to a church organization; the Methodist Episcopal, 90; the Presbyterian (North), 98; the Reformed Church in America 132, the highest average attained; the Evangelical Association, 74, the lowest." The census may well call this an "extraordinary and wholly unprecedented" state of affairs. To use its language in endeavoring to settle the figures for a certain denomination, "when it is considered that nearly if not quite two-thirds of the communicants of churches are, as a rule, women and minor children, we shall have as an average," about thirty-two "communicants among the adult males bearing the burden of the support of a church." For the lessons of the census of 1880, we must still wait patiently, as the results are not yet ready to lay before the public.

Where the burden falls on so small a number, a struggle ensues that cannot long be maintained. A popular preacher may be secured at a comparatively high salary, who will draw more to the church services; music and other attractions will be tried; the benevolence of the wealthy during life, or at death, keeps many a church from sinking, but in many cases, it is a constant and pain-

ful struggle for existence. A clergyman may have devoted himself to study, and according to their standard be pious and zealous for the welfare of his flock, but if he fails to draw, his congregation declines, and he is set aside for a more worldly and attractive man.

A Protestant clergyman discoursing on this very theme, "The Alleged Decline in the Power of the Christian Ministry," says: "The Protestant ministry relinquished a large active power when it took the position that a minister was not a priest," but that was inevitable, for priest supposes altar and latreia; and no man can make himself a priest; that must come from a supernatural power.

The theological seminaries show the influence of this spirit. Rationalist doctrines, if pertly and popularly put, take with the students, and where a faculty from a sense of duty remove a man who is sapping what remains of Christianity instead of inculcating and upholding it, they find that a crowd of students depart with the professor. The ears of the multitude must be flattered with florid and vapid discourses, and this style, the young aspirants to the ministry seek to adopt as the only one that holds out a prospect of competence, if they enter the ministry.

As a consequence the standard of the Protestant clergy is much lower than it was. The stately old minister is a thing of the past. The body consists of a few stars, highly paid, and of a host of men whose salary does not average five hundred dollars a year, who must live respectably on that, and exercise hospitality—in fact, try to live like gentlemen on the pay of a third-rate mechanic.

Faith in Protestantism as a system is dying out. Berlin, the centre of the *Kulturkampf* against Catholicity, has a population so little given to church-going, that most of the places of worship are comparatively empty on Sunday. Though, as we have seen, church-going has so rapidly declined here, American Protestants are shocked at the state of affairs in Berlin.

In London it is the same. Many of the old Catholic churches in that city, which the Established Church has retained, have on Sunday congregations of less than fifty. It is proposed to suppress some of the churches, and consolidate the parishes. The Ritualist are the only ones belonging to the establishment which seem to interest any large numbers, and this is perhaps one reason of the hostility manifested towards them. There the Catholic churches overflow, and if the government sells the time-honored shrines, some of them will be, like Ely Chapel, restored to Catholic worship. Then the contrast will be sharply defined: then churches which Protestantism could not save from utter emptiness, will be filled with crowds who gather to offer the holy sacrifice.

We have actual figures by which to judge of the decline of

church attendance in Liverpool. In 1853, the average numbers of those present on Sunday at the various places of worship, was 101,982; in October, 1881, notwithstanding the increase of population, it had fallen to 63,576, and it is remarked that the number of Catholic church-goers far exceeds that of the Protestant.

The fact of the great decline in the numbers of those who attend Protestant churches is admitted. People are no longer compelled by fine or by public opinion to attend. The time is gone when the head of a family felt it a duty to be present with his wife and little ones. The next questions are, what is the radical cause of this defection, and whether Protestantism can afford a remedy.

One of the papers, discussing the matter, says: "That a large majority outside of the Catholic communion do not, in large towns and cities at least, attend a church, and that the influence of large towns and cities will, in this as in other things, produce in time like results in country districts, is on all hands conceded. The causes have been discussed and rehearsed, but the remedy seems no plainer than before."

The increasing influence of the infidel element in this country has done much to weaken the hold of Protestant churches on their people. Lincoln's infidelity did not prevent his reaching the presidency, nor does Ingersoll's prevent his influence in a party which assumed the merit of all the virtues and Christian graces. Public men disavow being church members now as decidedly as they put it forward as a recommendation a few years ago. Each political aspirant seeks the backing of church organizations, but shrinks from being identified with any, or being regarded as a man who takes his salvation to heart. Secret societies have with them superseded the church, and all these adopt a sort of ecclesiastical character, with chaplains, rites, ceremonies, services, prayer, hymn, and address; they baptize, marry and bury with rites of their own; they lay corner-stones of public buildings, and not being overstocked with modesty, push in the background not only the Protestant clergy and church organizations, but, as in the obelisk celebration in New York, take the whole affair in their own hands and ignore city, state, and federal governments as mere trivial institutions compared to themselves.

One of the outgrowths of this infidel element is the proposition to tax churches. The project when put forward met strong Protestant approval. Many saw the fine and stately Catholic churches swept away from the builders for non-payment of taxes, and the thought was pleasing and gratifying; but when they came to reflect they saw that Catholics thought a great deal of their churches and were accustomed to make sacrifices, so that they would strain every nerve to save them; but how would it be with the poorer

Protestant churches? As it is they are continually breaking up. In most cities you can at any time find a Protestant church of some denomination for sale. It seems strange, but it is a fact. A priest, who had received permission from the head of the diocese to begin a church for his countrymen, spoke to the writer of his wish to find a lot and build. "Why build when you can surely find a Protestant church for sale, which will do you for the present and cost comparatively little?" He was amazed at the idea of finding churches in the market in that style, but one morning's search showed six churches for sale in the part of the city assigned for his labors. One of these was secured at a very small outlay of ready money, and it has served the purposes of the congregation to the present time.

When heavy taxation is added to the burden of these weak Protestant churches the number that will come into the market will increase rapidly. Even without this the paralysis and inanition are diminishing them rapidly. Recently in Brooklyn five Methodist churches resolved to consolidate, use two of their buildings, and dispose of the rest. The Hicksite Friends, to whom Grant in his administration allotted such a host of the Indian agencies, had dwindled at the commencement of this year to two meeting-houses in New York city, and recently they have disposed of one of these, and now in a city of a population exceeding a million can boast of only one meeting-house.

Evidently the moribund churches need only taxation to sweep them out of existence.

Another evidence of infidelity is the hostility to the church-going bell, that from time to time finds expression, and is almost always heartily indorsed by the press. The last campaign against the bell in New York was begun by one Bell. People are not altogether ready to give way on this point; but the bell must fight for existence.¹ There is a marked and growing hostility to all that savors of religion, and the war is carried on with much tact. No agency has been so potent in rooting out of the mind all trace of Christianity as the public school and the so-called Secular Education—that most pleasing to the *Princeps hujus Sæculi*. There was a time when the Ten Commandments were taught, obedience to

¹ Longfellow has gone without entering the Church, of whose interior life he read so much, by an insight that was almost faith. In his last poem he sang:

"The Bells of San Blas to me
Have a strange, wild melody,
And are something more than a name,
For bells are the voice of the Church;
They have tones that touch and search
The hearts of the young and old."

God and his law, the necessity of adoring God, and keeping his law inculcated, but that is of the past.

An ex-Jewish rabbi, Adler, formed a society for ethical culture; it had its Sunday services, but he has recently abandoned it as sterile; it had no good works to show. How could infidelity or negation be fruitful in good works?

Men are everywhere groping for something more satisfactory than Protestantism, and unfortunately they start with such a prejudice against Catholicity that they never seriously examine it, but flounder hopelessly from one experiment to another.

As one paper remarked: "Many church members do not regard the church as essential to salvation any more than those outside of it regard it as essential. . . . The attitude toward the church both of the members and of the non-members is strikingly alike. Both are swayed by the same forces away from the church. The one do not care much to go; the others do not care much whether they go or not."

Here lies the real difficulty. Those who undertook in the sixteenth century to remodel Christianity assumed one theory as the basis of all their action. Man must not be required to believe or do anything not specifically commanded in Scripture. They do not attempt or pretend to show that this was laid down in Scripture: they refused to give the proof, and insisted that their assertion made it so.

The worship of Almighty God that had obtained throughout Christendom for centuries was abolished by the innovators, and its ministers marked out for slaughter, as thoroughly and as ruthlessly as that of the old law and its ministry by Antiochus.

They seized such of the churches as they spared, and set up a service for the people. Ministry and worship were as effectually the creation of the innovators as those of Michas in the days of the Judges, when "every one did that which seemed right to himself."

If then or now a Protestant were asked: "What is the essential element of public divine worship in your service as distinguished from preaching or instruction of the people on the one hand, and private prayer or praise on the other?" he can give no answer, for there is no essential element in their service. There is nothing in it instituted by God, required by Him under pain of sin; there is nothing therefore that makes the Protestant service one that member or non-member feels bound in conscience to join in. There is nothing about it essential to salvation, as our Lord evidently taught that there must be in public worship. There is, therefore, no logical reason for the existence of Protestant churches at all. Instruction can be acquired, and is acquired, in our day more generally

from books ; prayer can be offered more quietly and collectedly at home. Why then go to church at all ? Thousands of Protestants really put this question to themselves, and hence the indifference to church-going.

But can it be possible that God under the new law has no positive form of worship which He requires man to render to Him ? If we turn to the old law we find the patriarchs offering sacrifice of animals to the Lord, and this was practiced not only by Abraham and his descendants, but also by gentiles who acknowledged the true God, as Job, Melchisedec, Raguel, Balaam. When God gave the law to Moses He instituted a priesthood hereditary in the family of Aaron, He established a daily worship by incense, with sacrifices at appointed times, prescribing in detail the rites and ceremonies to be used, the dress of the priests and their ministers, down even to their underclothing. The first of the Ten Commandments, while in form negative, and forbidding worship to be rendered to false gods, in its positive character required this appointed worship to be offered by all to the living God : " The Lord thy God, thou shalt adore, and him only shalt thou serve." The adoration and service being clearly a public worship. Wherever the Ark of the Covenant was, down to its final removal to Solomon's temple, this whole system of worship was carried out, and there it continued till the Kingdom of Juda fell, the temple was destroyed, and the people carried away to Babylon. When they were at last permitted to return to their own land, they rebuilt the temple ; the Ark of the Covenant was no longer there ; the Holy of Holies was empty ; but though the Scriptures nowhere give any positive command of God that He should be worshipped there and only there, our Lord decided that point when He told the Samaritan woman that in this matter of sacrifice salvation was with the Jews and not with the Samaritans, who carried out the same worship on Mount Gerizim.

This worship and system was accepted by our Lord. Under it He was circumcised, presented in the temple ; from childhood He went up to the temple on the great feasts of the law ; His last day was given to the fulfilment of one of its observances, the eating of the Paschal Lamb.

His Apostles continued to go up to the temple ; one of them was slain within its precincts ; St. Paul went up there to fulfil a vow by sacrifice ; he conferred circumcision on Timothy, that he too might fulfil its requirements.

To be logical, Protestants, taking the Scriptures as their only guide, ought to follow this example. Here is a public worship of God, prescribed by God, practiced by our Lord and His disciples, and nowhere forbidden or superseded.

That there should be no public worship instituted by God, and

required by Him to be offered as a fulfilment of the First Commandment, is repugnant to reason. If Protestants admit that they have none, they must, as a logical sequence of their principles, return to that of the Mosaic law.

But that has ceased. Centuries and centuries have rolled away since the altar in the temple of Jerusalem smoked with the blood of victims, since the holocaust or the specified parts were consumed by fire on the appointed altar, offered by the sons of Aaron. It is, therefore, plainly impossible to return to it, and were it possible, the return would be a cry, "*Erravimus!*" All Christianity has been a mistake. We should have followed Christ under the Mosaic rites!"

Is there no public worship then of God? What if the unproved principle of the innovators is false? Not only is it nowhere laid down, but the whole scheme of Christ is at variance with it. He gave no commission to any man such as was given to Moses, to write down in detail the plan of the Church, its worship, its rites, its doctrines: He appointed twelve apostles, giving one power as the chief or head; to them He gave oral instructions before and after His death and resurrection; them He sent to teach the nations. And what were they to teach mankind? "To observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." The form of public divine worship is not in the written word; therefore it must be in these unwritten instructions to the Apostles, and it becomes a question of tradition, that is to say of historical evidence, what the Apostles taught the nations to do as a fulfilment of the obligation of rendering public worship, *latreia*, to Almighty God. Protestantism has nothing that possesses any *latreutic* element; the worship of the temple of Jerusalem, hallowed though it was by the Redeemer's actual attendance, is gone,—what then has been, what is the public worship ordained of God, acceptable to Him?

Worship is the payment by man of a measureless debt to his Creator; a debt that of himself he is utterly powerless to pay; it is for the Almighty to fix the terms, and ordain how and when the payment shall be made; the debtor cannot pay what he deems an equivalent; he can only bow in gratitude to any decision of his Creator, and feel that all he can give, his life, his existence, his means, are all utterly inadequate, and can possess a value only from the mercy of God.

If we go back to the Apostolic churches, those founded in Syria, Egypt, Greece, Asia Minor, Italy, in the days of the Apostles and by them, and ask them what is the *latreutic* worship of Almighty God, there is only one answer,—the Mass. Heresies arose in the very days of the Apostles, and in every century bodies of Christians cut themselves away from the unity of the Church, but they

all retained the *Leitourgia*, the Mass, as the sole and only act of public worship of Almighty God under the new law. Jerusalem had the liturgy of St. James, the brother of our Lord; Alexandria that of St. Mark the Evangelist; the Greek Church still uses that of St. James as modified by St. Basil and St. Chrysostom; the Church of Rome the liturgy of St. Peter and St. Paul as edited by Popes Gelasius and St. Gregory. Wherever found, among the Christians of St. Thomas in India, the Nestorians, Armenians, Chaldees, Copts or Abyssinians, Syrian, Greek, or Roman, the liturgy or the Mass is the same in its essential character, identical in its idea, as the great solemn act of divine worship, and so uniform in its whole form and substance that it is unmistakable and cannot be confounded with or mistaken for any other rite or ceremony. The most ignorant person belonging to one rite, if in a church where Mass is offered, though the language be utterly unfamiliar to his ears, the vestments strange, recognizes at once that it is the Mass. It is the supreme act of public worship, distinct and clearly defined from all other services and rites.

The Nestorians and Eutychians date back to the fifth century; they have the Mass,—a Mass older than the founders of their sects, with modifications introduced by the heresiarchs who founded them, and these Masses, in all essential parts, and especially in the *Anaphora* or Canon, harmonize completely with the orthodox liturgies.

In itself the Mass shows in its language that it arose from the devotions and scriptures of the Jewish Church, from forms of prayer that were familiar to the Apostles, and which can be traced in unmistakable echoes in the synagogue of the modern Jew; while not a line, a thought, an act can be traced to the classic writings of Greece and Rome.

The Canon was nowhere committed to writing till the fifth century; it was committed to memory by the bishops and priests, and handed down orally, as a sacred trust, a "sound form of words," so great was the fear that it might be exposed to the derision and blasphemy of infidels. When at last written down in the different countries, the fact that it was found to be everywhere the same in substance, is in itself a marvel, attesting the unity of its origin, the unity of the faith, and controlling influence of the Spirit of God.

St. John the Evangelist, in his Apocalypse, pictures a scene of worship in the heavenly Jerusalem, where a venerable pontiff is seated on a throne, in sacred robe and girdle, with assistant ancients or priests, with an altar, a choir, candlesticks of gold, censers with incense, and Jesus Christ, the "Lamb that was slain," at once victim and God, to whom the victim is offered; and from beneath the altar the prayers of martyrs ascending in union with the great

sacrifice. It is a vision of heaven, indeed, not a picture of earth, but Saint Irenæus, disciple of the Apostles, writing in 167, little more than a century after the establishment of the Church on earth, says: "Either Saint John, in order to shadow forth the glory and the splendor of the adoration, which all the choirs of angels and the saints are continually exhibiting to God within His sanctuary of heaven, must have used an imagery and language descriptive of the ceremonial practiced by the Christians of his time in their assemblies on the Lord's day; or else the liturgy of the holy sacrifice, or the Mass, must have been modelled according to the vision of that favorite disciple of our Lord."

We may well believe, indeed, that the worship in the heavenly Jerusalem, the type of that on earth, was seen by all the Apostles, and that they instituted the worship of the new law according to the pattern shown them as Moses did of old.

Here, then, is a public worship, with a heavenly type, traced back to the Apostles, redolent of Jewish prayer and scripture, coeval and coextensive with Christendom, standing alone, without a rival, without a competitor. There was no other public worship of God known in Syria or Egypt, in Spain or the British Isles, in Italy or Numidia. Churches were reared for its oblation as soon as Christianity was free, and it was the only great act of worship offered or known by a Gregory, a Clement, a Basil, a Chrysostom, an Augustine, an Ambrose, an Isidore, a Martin, a Boniface, by all the holy men who, drawn nearer to God by deep and earnest love, saw by new light that all but transcended faith.

But is this worship adequate? Is it worthy of a God of infinite majesty? It is so divine that no human mind could have conceived it; it is so divine that God himself can institute nothing greater than a sacrifice in which the high priest is God, the victim is God, the object of the adoration is God.

And is this the Mass? Every Catholic knows that it is.

The Holy Eucharist, instituted by our divine Lord on the day of his death—for so it really was in Jewish reckoning, evening and morning making the day—blends with his passion and death on the cross as one. St. Paul declares this by saying that in the Eucharist we "show the death of the Lord until he come;" and the words of the institution make it mark the shedding of the life-blood, death.

In the new law we have an altar, and eat of the victim offered upon it (Heb. xiii. 10); the victim offered on the altar in the heavenly Jerusalem, and on the cross, "the lamb standing as it were slain" (Apoc. v. 6); slain as man yet adored as God (13); and we have him also as a high priest according to the order of Melchisedec (Heb. vi. 20), offering bread and wine, yet in his "everlasting priesthood" making "the sacrifice of himself" (vii. 24; ix. 26).

The Catholic kneels before the altar. A man like to himself is the minister of the eternal high priest, offering bread and wine, which by the words of Christ and by His act as priest forever become as He declares, His body and blood, His death shown by the separation. Then the awful mystery is accomplished. Christ, true God and true man, offers Himself to His Eternal Father. Descending to us by His humanity, He enables us to join in the sacrifice, conscious of our own utter nothingness.

We adore Him, and implore Him to wash us white in the sacred blood, and to offer the sacrifice of the cross as a propitiatory sacrifice, that God may look down on us in mercy; to offer it as a sacrifice of adoration, for He alone knows the honor that is due to God, blessing, praising, thanking Him for His great glory; for all the graces and glory bestowed on His own sacred humanity; for all that through it have flowed on the angels and saints in heaven or awaiting their entrance; for all the graces given and to be given to mankind to the end of time and for the glory offered to them if they persevere to the end; to offer it for obtaining all spiritual and temporal graces for ourselves and others. And as in the old law, we consummate the sacrifice by eating of the altar, by partaking of the victim.

What can be more worthy of God? The high priest is Christ Jesus, true God and true man; His body and blood are the victims offered, and the victim is offered to the one true and only God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

And this great divine act of worship of the Most High God, the innovators of the sixteenth century swept ruthlessly away. There were countries in Europe where it ceased as utterly as it did in Northern Africa under the tramp of the hordes of the Moslem. They had nothing to set up in place of it. They could gather their followers and harangue them, they could pray in their name, they might take the discarded missal and try to frame a form of prayer, but the idea of any act of public worship, instituted by God, established by the Apostles under His authority, to be continued through the ages, was lost.

In all the records of time, it was the most terrible act of rebellion against Almighty God that is recorded, this sweeping away, this abolition, this suppression of the public worship of God.

Protestantism was thus as a religious system, the greatest anomaly that had ever yet appeared on earth. Every system, even of paganism and the most savage and barbarous races, recognized some deity, and had some service, some distinctive act of worship, which it claimed was appointed by the divinity it recognized; every one had a class of men whom it believed appointed from above to offer the oblation that was to appease, at least for a time, the offended deity, to return him thanks, to secure his aid in peril.

When men after the flood first fell away the honors paid to false gods closely resembled in form and character those already offered to the true God, and even in the lapse of ages all likeness was not lost. The sacrifices of early Greece, as described in her ancient poets, are not much unlike those offered to the true God under the law of Moses. Thus the idea of divine worship was universal, and was apparently deeply rooted in the human mind. Protestantism swept it wholly away, and it is one of the most amazing facts of the great religious revolution of the sixteenth century. An idea that seemed interwoven with every fibre of humanity was at once cast out; a whole swarm of new religions appeared, not one of which had any essential act of public divine worship, some keeping up a kind of hollow form, but resulting logically in Fox's system, in which church, ministry, and service were alike rejected.

His system was too bold, too cold, too repulsive to meet with general acceptance. Each denomination kept up some Sunday service, but gradually the part of their services which was at all addressed to God, became less and less important. To a Protestant mind, by a strange confusion, preaching to men is supposed to be offering worship to God! And now the preaching is drifting further away from the things of God, and in many cases is a vehicle for uprooting what little faith is left in the hearts of men.

Protestantism swept away the Mass, and cannot restore it. She rejected a public worship of Almighty God, and cannot replace it. Her children have grown up in ignorance of the nature of public worship. Yet among them comes that yearning for something which shall fill up what the heart tells man ought to offer. Little as we Catholics think it, there are often mingled among us at Mass, men like Rev. Dr. Woods, like Fitzgreen Halleck, who come to kneel and join in what they feel is a real act of worship to Almighty God: kneeling like proselytes of the gate, with the veil yet over their hearts.

Some think to fill again the deserted churches of Protestantism by borrowing from Catholicity her altars, her candles, her chants, her vestments; but though Catholics cling to these as time-honored, as associated from time immemorial with the great sacrifice, they are not in themselves the essence of divine worship, and a service with them alone is but a hollow form, a lifeless body, a dream and vision of the night. "The Lamb that was slain" must be upon the altar, then all that human genius can devise, or art achieve, all human eloquence and harmony, shrink into utter insignificance in their endeavor to invest the worship of the living God with the grandeur that the devout heart craves, but will crave in vain till it bows in the heavenly Jerusalem at the altar that stands before the throne of God.

"NEARING THE TRUE POLE."

THE explorations of the Arctic Ocean bear a striking resemblance to explorations carried on in another sphere, the sphere of religion. In the one case our times witnessed a marked and steady increase of the interest taken in the search for the open Polar Sea, which some pretend to have seen, while others just as stanchly deny its existence. "Reaching the North Pole" seems to possess a singular fascination. Within our century expedition after expedition has been fitted out and left friendly shores for the purpose of returning with the glad tidings that the secret is no longer a secret. Yet the problem whether sea or land stretches out around the Pole still remains a mystery. On the other hand, the true religious pole has in its way attracted also a growing and deep, not to say a universal interest, and justly so. Again, while to those somewhat conversant with the elementary principles of geography it is pretty well known *that* and *where* the geographical North Pole exists, so it is well known likewise to a portion of the Christian world, namely, to Catholics, that true religion is no phantom, but a reality. The search in the inhospitable regions of the far North called for heavy sacrifices. Yet apparently these sacrifices did not exercise any discouraging effect. For the failure or loss of one expedition stimulated forthwith other men of determination and energy to risk in turn their lives in a struggle with boundless ice-fields, with mountains of water in its most rigid form, with tempest and cold and blinding snow, and with dangers and hardships which probably only an Arctic navigator can fully appreciate. To unveil a mystery, to penetrate what others failed to penetrate, to reach that much-coveted spot beyond the inhabitable regions, these attractions proved sufficiently strong for others to venture upon exploits for which many paid with their lives a heavy penalty, while others had to abandon their vessels, crushed in by ice-fields, some perishing on the perilous homeward passage, and none returning with more than scanty fragments of that for which they staked so much. And so with the explorers of the religious Polar basin. They tried various routes. They approached the problem of man's destiny from all sides. Some also perished completely in the attempt of formulating an answer, others had to leave the craft they had embarked on, and were lost on the way to the friendly shore, or reached shelter and refuge there only after most trying ordeals. The fate of a good many founders of religions, or discoverers of a true religious Pole, has been no less sad than that of Sir John Franklin and his unfortunate companions.

But while the practical value of the solution of the geographical problem will never be more than a questionable quantity at best, every step nearer to the true religious centre of rotation is of great moment, not only to individuals, but to society at large. For, in the one case, comparatively little is gained,—apart from the value which attaches itself to a correct knowledge of the ocean-currents and their direction in those high latitudes; apart from the intrinsic value of this knowledge on account of its bearing upon navigation and ocean-currents in more southerly waters; apart from what meteorology, geology, mineralogy, geography and kindred branches may reap from continued observations and from collections; apart from all this—it is very doubtful whether any, not to say certain that no discovery of any practical importance to the world can or will be made. Neither commerce nor trade would be benefited by the verification of an open Polar Sea, nor would there accrue any advantages to mankind at large if one explorer should some day return and be able to say that the spot on this globe, round which the daily rotation takes place, is no longer clad in inaccessible virginity. Still, the geographer's interest is, nevertheless, perfectly legitimate, nor does the attitude of society, its keen sympathy with and for North Pole expeditions, deserve unfavorable comment or condemnation. But that other set of facts in the religious sphere should be not less familiar to society, since its import involves the gravest questions and issues to every one and to all alike. As it has been reserved for our times, that is to say for the nineteenth century, to produce explorers of great prominence regarding the geographical North Pole, so it has been likewise reserved to the same period to bring forth eminent discoverers in the sea of religion. It is but necessary to think of Herbert Spencer, whom the newness of his course, no less than his persevering energy, mark as a typical figure. He stands out in bold relief, for he opened up a hitherto untrodden territory. And besides him, in the recent past, men of less individual renown have struck out on a course which brought them to a point much nearer the true goal than any reached by their predecessors. In fact, what has been accomplished lately seems to warrant the assertion that the religious question has entered upon a new stage, and that new stage one far in advance of the preceding ones. Still, it would be rash to infer from this remark that the problem of religion rests now under a clear sky. *That* time has not yet arrived, and probably never will arrive. The day has not yet dawned on which a blue firmament's serene azure will delight a human race free from doubt on that subject. Much of what has been said and written within the last fifty years, added fresh density rather to the clouds than helped to disperse them. But the mists

form no longer an unbroken mass of gray woven into gray. Rays of light begin to pierce here and there, and the soil upon which these streaks of light fell proved by no means sterile.

Herbert Spencer and the school of advanced thought, as the exponent of which he must be considered, announced to the thinking world two facts, or, to be more explicit, made two statements which were claimed to be borne out by facts. In the first place, search for a true religious Pole, it was asserted, can yield no result, for the simple reason that no such Pole exists. And, in the second place, granting it did exist, the road to it was said to be such that human attempts to reach it would have of necessity to fail. Perceiving, however, the imperative necessity of a central point round which the religious cravings of the human being may revolve, Herbert Spencer, with inventive genius, furnished a magnetic Pole. Of this latter he maintained that it could, and in a near future would, be reached, and thus sociology was substituted in the *Data of Ethics* for religion. There is no gainsaying the fact that this speculative scheme is systematized with wonderful ingenuity; nevertheless, the work has been left unfinished. Later discoveries in the sea of religion upset completely the sociological theorem of the magnetic Pole, and invalidate thereby the whole arduous labor of the projector of this hypothesis. They turn the current away from the magnetic and towards the true Pole, for they assert the existence of it, they prove it as a reality, and prove it, moreover, as not beyond access, howsoever difficult the voyage to it may be. It is, therefore, a plain matter of justice to verify the compass, before giving full credence to the one side or to the other.

The truths recently unearthed are, as far as science and even as far as a large portion of Christian society is concerned, really and truly new discoveries. Not so, however, in regard to Catholicity. To that Church they are not new, but precisely what they were ever since they have been rescued from among the smoking ruins of Paganism. There they have been kept and treasured, and hence survived the general shipwreck of the sixteenth century. The dust and the ashes of the many collapsing religio-philosophical systems, which were called into life by disowning the true religious Pole, namely, by the so-called Reformation, covered up these truths so thoroughly that for all practical purposes they were lost. At that time the inauguration of expeditions into the religious Arctic took place. What preceded this movement sunk into oblivion. Funeral chants were sung over their grave; they were no more. And now these children of truth, believed dead, because buried *in effigie*, have been recalled into life, and this by a mother popular, as well as highly respectable. Science applied to

religion in shape of Positivism and in shape of Humanism, gave them to the world again. And this forms a weighty reason for the belief that the rediscovered old truths will obtain a hearing—a favorable hearing—and acquire a certain currency. For whatever comes from this quarter in our days is not apt to be discredited and laid aside without careful scrutiny.

The first observation to be made has reference to the true meaning of religion. Religion, in order to be religion, must furnish a complete synthesis of life. To take only firm hold of our reasoning faculties is not enough. Religion must do more; it must appeal likewise to that other agency of human actions which often shows itself much more potent than reason, namely, the human heart. The abstract truths of mathematics may challenge our admiration; the vastness of space and time, as opened up by astronomy, may make us bow in reverential silence; we may be steeped in wonder over the order and harmony which, so every department of science tells us, prevails everywhere; in short, we may, as we ought to, pay just tribute to the greatness of the powers of human intellect, and more than that even, we may feel proud and rejoice over the certainty which has been kindly vouchsafed to so many results of scientific research; we may do all this, and yet we will still be far, very far, from generating within us any feeling akin to love or love itself. And why so? Because science remains as powerless to stir our hearts as abstract truths are to engender feelings, and hence it is that religion cannot be built upon the intellect alone. To presume that it can be done is a fatal folly, and at last it is being recognized as such. To have religion does not only mean to *believe*, but it also means to *love*. Love must step in, love must send a thrill over the chords of human action, love must vivify faith, love must make the dictates of the heart the pivot of the system which, with its precepts and regulations and ordinances, is to sway and govern our conduct through life—else we have no true religion. Sociology, the creed of science, examined in this respect, is declared impotent to fill that mission by the leaders of thought; themselves and the same men examining the various Protestant creeds in the same respect, declare them wanting likewise. For this reason Christianity at large was charged of being inadequate to the wants of human nature. Catholicity, be it remarked in parenthesis, was looked upon as a perversion of Christianity much more than any of the Protestant sects. Therefore, if inspected at all, the Church of Rome was inspected with prejudice and suspicion, and after a superficial glance at that proud mistress, which claimed nothing less, indeed, than Infallibility, the world turned indignantly away from her. The situation has undergone a very great and a very

significant change. For Catholicity to-day possesses an ally in Skepticism and an ally in Humanism. Nobody dreams of accusing Mr. Frederic Harrison, the acknowledged apostle of Humanism and perhaps the ablest follower of Auguste Comte, of writing for the purpose of advancing the cause of Rome. Nor is it well possible to impute such a tendency to Mr. Mallock, who avowed himself openly a skeptic. Yet the one and the other, though on entirely different roads, did arrive at the same point and express identically the same views as regards the true meaning of religion. Both are known to be earnest and sincere; both bring to their work undeniable great gifts; to the utterances of both their unquestioned ability and character secures the attention of cultured society. They are both engaged in helping others, who are less astute observers, to discover the true Pole and the road to it. If one may be compared not unfitly to Count Wilczeck, who established provision stores on Novaja Semblja for the crew of the Arctic expedition on board the "Tegethoff," under command of Payer and Weyprecht, the other may be likened to the English explorer, Leigh Smith, whose fate and the fate of whose *Eira* gives so much anxious suspense and deep concern to the world at this day.

Herbert Spencer deserves more than a passing notice. He does not fail to recognize the necessity of religion; he describes it as a crying want of human nature. But where he and his followers fail is this: they do not take cognizance of the fact that religion is more than a mere matter of the intellect. H. Spencer, Huxley, Darwin, etc., would prefer to see "nations rather deprived of the knowledge of reading and writing than of religion." But they do not gauge religion properly. W. D. Le Sueur, in his criticism of the *Data of Ethics*, takes a very correct estimate of the services rendered by Herbert Spencer to society. He surveys his sociological system in a very comprehensive and just manner, but he likewise fails at the very point whose omission vitiates the whole system. And so it is with the whole school of thought which follow in their train. Nor does this shortsightedness end there. Theists and Protestants, nay, even some Catholics, suffered shipwreck on that selfsame rock. And yet the revolving light placed by a kind Providence on this rock shines so bright and appears so conspicuous from whichever point of the compass it is looked at, that it is really astonishing to note how many navigators passed it unseen, and more so that it is not clearly mapped out on the charts of many so-called standard religions. Still, the fact remains all the same, though it does reflect little credit upon the keenness of sight of those who took no bearings, and hence run aground. If it were true that religion depends solely upon the verdict of reason, then

no arguments of any weight could be brought forward against those which Le Sueur, for instance, advances in regard to the change of the basis of morality. But the quickeyed sanctity of Dr. Newman is as incapable of emanating merely from an intelligent use of the mental faculties as it is, on the other hand, that noble, heroic deeds of self-sacrifice will ever be inspired by the consciousness that natural morality does not necessarily withdraw itself from the theory of evolution. The heart in these cases forms a factor which ought not to be overlooked in the analysis of the transaction. Faith, the genuine article, has never been found divorced from love, also the genuine article and love's seat, surely, is not that portion of our intellect which goes by the name of reason. If there is one thing evident, beyond all contradiction, it is this, that the heart constitutes a motive power in man which overcomes not unfrequently the strongest reasoning, which invalidates often the most peremptory dictates of common-sense, and which, in spite of all this, yet succeeds in gaining our full moral assent,—nay, more than that, which succeeds even in enlisting our sympathy, in capturing our admiration, and in calling forth bursts of unqualified applause.

The highest moral actions and the most unquestioned virtues belong to that category, while they violate, at the same time, most flagrantly the definitions of right and wrong as laid down by Herbert Spencer and adopted after him. *Right* and *wrong*, the *Data of Ethics* informs the reader, are terms applied according as the adjustment of acts to ends are or are not efficient. The conduct which achieves each kind of end, is relatively good or it is relatively bad if it fails to achieve it. As regards the ends to which actions may be adjusted, they may be summarized as the welfare of man's self, the welfare of his offspring, and the welfare of his fellow-citizens. In other words, the definitions of right and wrong offered for acceptance by sociology are: right, are those actions which are lineal descendants of those by which life in the past has been preserved and improved; wrong, those which claim their paternity in whatever in the past has tended to disintegration and death. And the ultimate test of the morality of actions, that is to say, whether they are good or bad actions, lies, according to Herbert Spencer, in the effects, whether these are "pleasure-giving" or "pains-giving." It is well worth while to apply these definitions to deeds so noble and illustrious, that their greatness is reverberated from age to age by an undying echo of highest praise, in order to see how immoral these very deeds become if measured by this standard.

There was a time in the early days of Christianity when persecution raged with a blind fury, and did its best to root out true religion. And there are many cases on record in those days where

virgins preferred death to the sacrifice of virtue. To test their faiths, they had to choose between being thrown into Roman amphitheatres, there to be torn to pieces by wild beasts, and between going into houses of prostitution, there to lose that priceless pearl "chastity." Well, many without a moment's hesitation chose death, and in making that choice they have performed acts of sublime virtue. Centuries have elapsed since, and yet they have not silenced the plaudits of mankind. These acts will ever remain grand prototypes of highest morality. These acts appear, however, in a very different light if analyzed from the standpoint of sociology. The effect of their choice was, in the first place, decidedly pains-giving, for it may be taken for granted that the teeth of a tiger, a leopard, etc., tearing flesh off the bones of a living being until life at last ebbs away do not produce pleasure-giving sensations. Their choice under this head was, therefore, bad, decidedly bad. Nor is this all. The adjustment of acts to ends in their case was neither promotive of their own nor of anybody else's welfare. They brought death prematurely upon themselves, thus working injury, the greatest conceivable injury to their own selves. Consequently, under this head also, sociology cannot approve of them, they were wrong and, taken all in all, they are highly immoral. Now these are acts for the performance of which it was not only necessary to prefer decidedly pains-giving sensations to their opposite, but it was also necessary to overcome that wonderful tenacity with which every human being clings to life. Calm reason, it is plain, can offer no sufficient explanation. Sociology cannot explain how such and similar actions become possible at all. And for no other reason than this, that they were not acts of calm deliberations of the brain. They sprung from an irresistible impulse of the heart, so mighty as to set at naught and defy all else. They were acts of a heart, filled with love for the author of life and for Him who preached virtue and chastity; acts of a heart not even thinking of pain when it is a question of obeying a generous impulse of grace. These acts, therefore, confront us with that element without which true morality, like true religion, become absolutely impossible, namely, the supernatural element with its abode in the human heart.

Where, indeed, is morality if pleasure-giving and pains-giving effects test the intrinsic merit of human conduct? The thief acquires a sacred right to steal, for, if he but adjusts his actions properly so as to avoid being caught, he secures, through the contents of a well-filled purse of rich people, the means of purchasing for himself perhaps many and many pleasure-giving sensations. Doing that is good, and adjusting successfully acts to ends is right, hence a thief never caught is a righteous and a good man. The debauchee ceases to be a profligate sinner, for, if he uses wise dis-

cretion and does not exhaust his animalism by overindulgence, he may cater legitimately to all his lower appetites, since by doing so he secures to himself pleasure-giving sensations. The gratification of his passions need not in any way affect unfavorably his or anybody else's welfare, so that he also would be turned into a highly moral and quite respect-worthy member of human society, all existing notions to the contrary notwithstanding. And the instances could be endlessly multiplied to show how in the common walks of every day's life, morality, as it now still exists, would have to disappear, if the tenets of sociology were to replace the teachings of Christianity on the subject. The fault of the system lies in the exclusion of the supernatural element. The principles of self-preservation, of preservation of the progeny, etc., must not be believed non-active in human beings. As can be seen readily in the animal world, they do evolve a set of rules of conduct. But if what governs the animal world is called a code of ethics, *that* code is not the one by which human morality stands or falls. Man and man alone can defy that code with impunity without becoming immoral, nay by defying it he may perform acts of the highest order of morality. There is a vast deal of most valuable knowledge contained in sober biological observations. The reversion to primitive types, the development of rudimentary organs, the unity of structure of the sensiferous organs, the struggle for existence, ancestral prejudice, sexual selection, all these phenomena form part of the grand sequence of events which the Creator ordained for the universe. We have a sacred right to trace these up and to verify them, we have, further, the right to take a just pride in doing so. But we ought to distinguish carefully a hypothesis from a certified fact. It is wrong to adopt an attitude of jealousy and suspicion towards scientific discoveries, but it is no less wrong, certainly, to form rash conclusions from them to the detriment of religious belief. And this is precisely what has been done on a very liberal scale. Sociology, it seems to us, has not yet passed out of that early stage when workers were still too busy in the various branches of the subject to spare much time for the comparison of the results of their labor. Fresh contributions are pouring in too fast to be placed upon the proper shelves in the storehouse of knowledge. Sociology as a science has forgotten that religion precedes it, and that it grows out of religion in the attempt to fathom and illustrate its truths. Sociology, like philosophy, will always strand on a shore from which the tide of faith has ebbed away.

Sociology, like evolution, seems to forget something else with a happy accommodation to circumstances. The groundwork of all religious creeds, without exception, consists in the idea of atone-

ment. Whether sun worship or cultus of moon and stars, whether the Hellenic form in the variegated mythology of Greece or the Latin mode of adoring superhuman powers are inspected, they are one and all expressions of the consciousness of the human race of its dependence upon a higher power. As such, Polytheism and Pantheism, and every known form of religious worship are simply corollaries of Christianity. But this is not all. They are one and all embodiments also of another consciousness of the human race, namely, of the necessity of sacrifice. The idea of sacrifice pervades all pre-Christian and all non-Christian forms of worship, and is virtually the fulcrum round which rites and the whole specific code of religion groups itself. If the primitive tradition of the fall of man which Christianity offers is rejected, if it is denied that the human race on its course onward lost the same partially, disfigured it, and that the only surviving relic of it presents itself in the idea of sacrifice, then some other explanation ought to be given. If man is a product of evolution, if dead, inert matter without reason became at last possessed of life, and of intellect, and of consciousness, then it must be explained how the idea of sacrifice, universally subsisting as it is found to be, became engrafted upon man, and how it is that the race from the time consciousness placed it above the level of the brute creation, never could rid itself from an inborn wish to right, so to speak, its own cause by offerings. Protoplasm does not explain it, nor does indefinite perfectibility. The idea of sacrifice, though it pervades antiquity and forms the corner-stone of the Catholic religion, has been, however, modified through the rise of Protestantism. At first it did only away with the perpetual renewal of the sacrifice, disowning "mass;" but gradually the hold of it upon the congregations began to loosen, and it exists in some denominations now only as a tenet, to be believed or disbelieved as individuals may choose. This may account to some extent for the strange phenomenon that no attempt is made in what Herbert Spencer says about ceremonial institutions, to explain away, as it were, this inborn consciousness of human beings. And the loss of this primary element of religion among so many Christian sects furnishes a solution to that other no less strange phenomenon, that modern Christianity is more Pagan than the Paganism of old. Burying out of sight a principle from which the spirit of devotion, of self-sacrifice, and a long train of virtues issue forth, it withdraws the very basis of religion and puts us, therefore, farther back than Brahminism or Buddhism. The faith of modern civilization, resting upon and embodying many Christian principles, excludes that which makes by comparison the Paganism of old, truly Christian in character and spirit. The frivolous levity and the reckless reckoning with the mysterious "hereafter" has not come down to us

as a bequest of past generations, but is essentially ours to boast or to mourn over.

These observations lead one to presume that sociologists, by ignoring the Church of Rome, where religion is to-day what it was when the Founder's death infused immortal life into her veins, came to look upon the influence of Christianity upon human society in about the following manner. And let it be remarked, there is much in it suggesting reflection and giving material for deep thought. They divided the Christian era into three phases, clearly distinct from each other and historically established. A few plain words, spoken to a few men in the far East, supplied the world with a new and, they willingly grant, more perfect code of ethics than existed before. The times were then reeking with vice. The advent of a purifying element was, therefore, hailed as the advent of all advents, and very naturally those in whom the germs of virtue had not irrevocably and irretrievably decayed, turned with all the more eagerness and zeal towards the refreshing dews of the high moral law which Christianity presented. There was courage needed proportionate to the dangers with which society surrounded the profession of the new belief. The new code addressed itself principally to what is noblest and highest in human nature, and thus it raised the early Christians to the summit of perfection which is attainable here on earth. By elevating and sanctifying their highest gifts and aspirations, Christianity converted human beings then into martyrs and saints. Gradually, however, persecution lessened. The new religion spread from nation to nation. The circumstances surrounding its propagation, acceptance and profession, grew less adverse than they had been in the first few centuries. The more common qualities of human nature, for which there had been no room before in any individual, could now assert themselves. They did so, they entered into the composition and partly absorbed the influx of religious life. They coexisted with motives, still good, true, noble, and moral in every sense, as well as in accord with the precepts of religion, but the unmixed purity of old ceased to prevail among the generality of believers. And hence it is, that the mediæval times present to us neither martyr nor saint as the typical figures of the period. They present in their stead the age of chivalry, with "Faith, Love, and Charity," as watchwords descriptive of the drift of the spirit of the age. From that time on, Christianity has been diffused far and wide over the world, and by diffusion it seems as if the strength of the essence had been impaired. The representative of modern Christianity confronts us in the "*gentilhomme*," mis-translated into "gentleman" in English, and, alas, much more frequently misapplied than not. It is true the modern gentleman still retains some of the ideas and principles which in more concentrated

form, gave the world the martyr and the knight. The code of honor, and Mrs. Grundy and a thousand other proprieties and conventionalities of society still exhale the perfume which Christian morality imparted to the world. But it is like the residue of a second or third filtration. Excepting perhaps Catholics, it is hardly to be gainsaid that man to-day is primarily and essentially a social, and not a religious being. The crystallized form of Christianity, if it has not entirely disappeared, is very rarely visible to the naked eye. The amorph shape has survived, and that amorph shape is the one with which scientists and unbelievers are alone familiar. Adding to it an observation, which is as true as it is sad, namely, that even Catholics show frequently little, if any belief at all, the contempt in which Christianity is held in certain quarters, ceases to appear inexplicable. There was a time when men cared first for eternity, and next for time. But it is so no longer. The order has been reversed. *Time* is now with many the object of life, in which the timelessness of the hereafter seldom looms up as a warning meteor. Enjoyments, pleasures, positions, strife for wealth, for influence, for name, and for what not in way of perishable phantoms, all this *bric-à-brac* of life has taken the place of that solid basis which begins with faith, which carries out the embodiments of religion through life, and which ends with a happy smile on the lips of those, who, dying, press a kiss upon eternity, knowing that death means only the transition into a better state. Our age sips a drop from every spring, but stops at none long enough for a refreshing drink. Liquids of the most unharmonious composition are brought together and obstruct the sound digestion of the substantial nourishment which is picked up here and there on the roadside. Inebriated by a seeming success in material prosperity, proud of having pressed so many new forces into the service of mankind, our age became forgetful of the past, and ignores that it is taking beverages from a bottle, marked by Providence "poison," while the flask containing the true elixir of life remains untouched, or is rejected because of its bitter taste. The beguiling theories of our times must be laid aside. We must learn again that true religion, besides giving a full, comprehensive and exhaustive meaning to life, must and does give also an illumination to death. And this discovery, humanist and skeptic have made alike. Their announcement is at once the loving tribute of an ardent and trusted disciple of truth, the dispassionate view of a reflecting explorer, and the measured estimate of a keen and observing critic. From such sources, sources that are acknowledged to be evenly judicious and well-balanced and impartial, the world must learn again that to reject true religion, that is, true Christianity, means to act against the enlightened dictates of conscience,

and in direct opposition to those universally adopted maxims of prudence which are the guide of all reasonable men in secular affairs of life.

Besides, the doctrine of scientific ethics is helplessly cold. It chills all finer and subtler emotions of the heart by the selfish frigidity with which it must needs interpret all that is truly good, and truly noble in human actions. Had it been possible to focalize sociology into anything like a real motive power, it is almost certain it would have been done. For there is no lack of gifts in the make-up of the expostulators of the new system. They command unusual talent coupled to unusual learning; to it is joined boldness, determination of purpose and perseverance. Yet with all these energies combined, sociology has failed to offer even as much as an acceptable apology for the godless and heartless creed of science. Modern advanced thought resembles the librarian, who seeing that Napoleon I was not tall enough to reach a book on an upper shelf, volunteered his services with the remark: "Sire, je suis plus grand." "Plus long, mais pas plus grand," was the answer of the victorious leader of armies, and it is also the answer of religion to science. The effects the pretended new basis of morality produces, furnish another criterion for judging about its intrinsic correctness or falseness. Divorce, free-love theories, women's rights movements, these are the excrescences as seen in the society of to-day. The notions of right and wrong are upset, true morality has been perverted. What could more eloquently tell the tale whither society is drifting if deprived of that higher life which was bestowed upon mankind at the price of life? There is no comparison-possible between that and what Christianity has done, and still continues to do for the human race. The one, the morality of sociology, gave less even than the much-derided Khoran. The other, Christian religion, gave that which does not verge, but in reality is infinite in value, in scope, in end. It is therefore difficult to see how the verdict can be avoided, that the bases of true religion are so wide and so deep, its proofs so multitudinous, and taken altogether, so overwhelming, that reason in the order of thought, and common prudence in the practical order, compels men to accept it in spite of the difficulties which its mysteries involve. To this point, it seems a good portion of society is veering round, and that in all earnestness, is an advance of no little import.

No age has witnessed a stranger conjunction of elements. The counterfeit of religion came to us silvered and stamped like genuine money, while the genuine coin, bruised and bent on its passage from hand to hand, was hardly taken for money at all. Glittering falsehood and dulled truth lay together in one heap for a long time, and in that singular commingling of influences, it seemed for

a while as if in proportion to the growth of a cultivated reason, the dogmatic standards of past ages became less and less adequate as authoritative charts of human belief. Stray rays of light begin, however, to converge lately and promise to give society the much-needed focus. The marble statue "religion" remains lifeless until the supernatural element infuses into her veins the life-blood which ebbs to and from the heart. How faith enters into individuals will probably never be fully accounted for. The doctrine of grace explains much of the fact, but it states at the same time that faith is a divine gift. Beyond this we probably never will go, and the minutiae of the process will ever defy minute analysis. But what is known regarding belief, and known moreover, beyond dispute, is this, that faith neither enters through a familiar knowledge of the tenets of Christianity alone, nor through any channel furnished by reason or learning. It enters the hallowed precincts of the heart with a Cæsarian, "*veni, vidi, vici*;" it is there, and once there, takes full possession of the individual, and rules and sways through the subtle agency of love. And, again, it is also known that only through love are men able to rise to that intuitive certainty of belief which far surpasses all certainties which the exact sciences ever offer. The object of that all-ruling affection wherein religion centres and culminates, cannot be furnished save by a personal Deity, such as the Godman of Christianity. We know that religion must not only supply the foundation, but must likewise determine the superstructure of human actions.

Scientists for a long time claimed to stand on unassailable ground. It was supposed a vast amount of special knowledge was required for entering the field of discussion. But this is not the case, and the erroneous supposition loses ground rapidly. For the ethics of religion form a subject on which men of general education are perfectly well qualified to express their views, because the subject is one where the exercise of reasoning and reflecting powers, rather than special and technical knowledge, is principally called for. Average intelligence cannot well fail to see that the code of Christian ethics has been the predominant force in the life of mankind since its first proclamation. It is obviously true that its grasp upon the whole of human conduct is nowhere ephemeral. The sense of a Divine Power is one of the strongest convictions in the human breast, though our knowledge as to its source may be dim and vague. What reason does therefore exist to presume that this code will be superseded? Religion is not a something which man follows blindly as a current of irrepressible impulse without finding a loving will at the source. As there is in nature a claim for allegiance, so there is in true religion that which answers for this allegiance, an object imparting fervor to faith by

being also the object of love. Such is the conception of religion which obtains more and more ground, since, without it life and history are turned into a dreary, sad, meaningless imbroglio, full of delusions and barren of all instructive lessons.

Through this fuller comprehension of the true meaning of religion, a nearer approach to the true Pole has been made also in another direction. The field of those systems which lay claim to the name "religion," has been narrowed down. The whole principle on which Protestant creeds are built, proceeds, it is seen, by immense and arbitrary assumptions. Worked out in detail, they are found wanting in many and essential points. The primary intuitions of equity, which are operative and intelligible in all human beings, they, and not the doctrines of Protestantism, furnish the key to the question how it is that among the adherents of radically defective religious systems, there are nevertheless so many really good, really noble, really moral men and women. This result is not due to any inherent intrinsic value of sectarian creeds, but owing to the fact, that "the light which enlighteneth every man that comes into the world," prolonged their lease of life beyond the term of legitimate existence. Mallock, the skeptic, and Harrison, the humanist, still doubting, still questioning whether the supernatural element is real, admit nevertheless, that the problem to-day is virtually this: Must and will Catholicity crumble to pieces or not? Religion and Catholicity are treated by them as synonyms almost. If the Church of Rome is doomed, then adieu religion; for all else is fiction, dreamland, hallucination. Whoever possesses sobriety of judgment can hardly fail to be struck by the complete harmony in every strain that comes from the sobbing heart which hides its sorest grief in the polished rhetoric of the unbelieving skeptic. There is no faltering on this point, whether we take, "is life worth living," or any other production. And the self-introspection of the hero of the "Romance of the Nineteenth Century," rings with the tone of genuine enthusiasm. As regards the humanist, the substitution of but one word, namely, Catholicity for humanity turns most of his able essays on religious subjects into the very strongest apology which a human pen could produce. In several of his papers he assails Protestantism most unsparingly, and his statements are all the more damaging because they are so very true and so very much to the point. For these, Mr. Francis Peek tried to arraign Mr. Harrison in a paper, "The Layman's Protest" (*Contemporary Review*, 1881.) But it hardly covers the ground. The writer proves that his individual conception of the essence of Protestantism is far superior to what Protestantism itself claims to be; but no more thankless task can be conceived, than an attempt to substitute one's own lofty ideas

for much inferior stuff. It produces an effect exactly the opposite of what it was meant to produce. We do not in the least differ with him, that "the life of Christ is in very truth the mighty power, which appeals to our noblest affections and sympathies, on which we can look with veneration, and attachment, and gratitude, so that our devotional instincts grow to be the dominant motives of our lives." We fully agree with him that "Christ's life is the sole illumination of the dark mystery of existence, without which life is a mysterious tragedy, death a horrible catastrophe, and eternity a blank." But we do not stop there. We go farther, far enough to beware of a shadowy idea, of an ideal of a transfigured humanity, whose teaching every one is free to interpret so as to suit his own case. We go far enough to assert without hesitancy, that the efficacy of true religion depends upon the establishment of direct, personal, real intercourse between the individual finite personal reality, which believes, that is to say, "man," and between the infinite personal reality, who is believed in, that is to say, "God." Any religion failing to do that is a failure, and that direct intercourse, where is it found outside of the Catholic Church? Where the power lies in a great many Protestant churches, may be inferred from the following passage, taken from a paper on "The Lay-Element in England and America :—" "The pews are the source of power ; it is the first duty of the pulpit to please and to fill the pews, and if the preacher don't do that, he ought to quit." This is given, let it be remarked, as the opinion of a "large American element" in the Episcopal Church. Whilst this state of affairs may not be applicable indiscriminately, that much, at least, appears to be certain, that in many instances religious teaching has to subserve the beneplacitum of the congregations. Worship of God is converted into worship of that which is pleasing to the church members, or into worship of some popular divine, who has succeeded in acquiring a certain reputation. How far these facts fit Mr. Peek's ideal conception need not be drawn out. The evidence bears, at all events, a character of a decidedly corrosive nature.

Dispassionate, sober analysis of the essential ingredients of true religion has done, therefore, much towards verifying the compass and bringing the society nearer to a solution of the grave enigma than it has been long before. For a time the progress of science blinded the views completely. Some sciences made gigantic strides, others were lifted out of the cradle and marched in quick succession through the stages of infancy, and childhood, and youth, until they grew, apparently at least, into a massive, firm manhood. Witnessing an almost phenomenal advance in these departments, the human mind forgot that there is a precocious manhood in contradistinction from real manhood, and running wild with fanaticism

of success, it overlooked the partly paralyzed condition of the giant. The new ideas insinuated, flattered, suggested, captivated, but provided no material to build with a firm edifice; nor did they furnish well-drawn maps of the structure of the future. They led to Utopian schemes and to little else. The much-extolled freedom of the human intellect was lost out of sight. Now that treasure is being recovered again. For where is the liberty of the human mind, if prejudice cannot be laid aside for the short space of an impartial disquisition? Where is it, if reform is excluded from the programme, which liberal ideas engraft upon men? Where are the broad, comprehensive, lofty views, about which one hears so much, if a slight skimming of the surface of a grave question suffices, nay, if thoroughness and fulness of investigation are prohibited? Skepticism and humanism pilot the age again into those channels which are alone safe for intellectual navigation. They show the insufficiency of much that science in too great a haste had declared all-sufficient, and demonstrate the helplessness of any religion short of the one delivered by the Godman himself. A scientific religion can never be more than a soap-bubble. It may show brilliant hues indeed, but it is surrounded by a "noli me tangere." At the touch of a bold hand, brilliancy and soap-bubble disappear alike.

Nor can a co-ordination of two things, which stand in the relation of subordination, be fraught with success. Fecundity by an inviolable law of nature is vouchsafed only to unions which do not violate the fundamental principles which underlie propagation. All unnatural unions are either directly sterile, or indirectly in their offspring. Science attempted to wed religion. It courted her mother at first, but the courtship was rejected with indignation and scorn. It tried to assume a paternal attitude. But this also failed. At last it resorted to violence, and tried to drag the own mother to the altar. But the mother's strength proved too great. Religion willingly and lovingly fosters and nurtures her children, but she never can quit the place which has been assigned to her by a kind Providence. Sociology, therefore, had to succumb in measuring arms with religion. As a new-born infant it was hailed with delight by the world, and with a rapturous "*Εὐρηκα*" it was pressed to a beating bosom. But the infant did not remain long an infant. It grew up, its features, its physiognomy were studied, its nature and character marked the pretender in its development. And the miraculous child is being laid back into the cradle from whence its first cries came, to rest and to sleep there in the solitude of the religious Arctic.

THE DECLINE OF PAINTING AS A FINE ART.

————— Art no more
Surprises e'en herself with triumphs new,
Sculptures and paints as in the days of yore,
Alike to nature and to genius true.

E so in qual guisa
L'amante nell'amato si trasforme.—*Petrarca.*

PLINY speaks of a picture by the Theban Aristides. The scene, near the wall of a besieged city, shows a woman in the agonies of death from a wound in her breast, and making an effort to prevent her starving infant from sucking the blood which oozes out of the open wound. The character of mingled love and fear, shown in the mother's affectionate anxiety for her child, together with her own sufferings are so vividly portrayed, that, says the historian, this artist was considered the first who had painted the soul.¹

What conscientious observer passing through the galleries of any of our international or domestic exposition halls of contemporary art, is not impressed with the fact of how very little of real soul there is in our pictures. Life there is in abundance, life indeed so perfectly portrayed as frequently to recall the "birds of Apelles," but pictures with living soul in them are rare enough. And surely it is not encouraging to see that with all our vaunted progress we should not be any further on in this respect than the old pagans were; nay, should moreover have receded, and that very notably, from heights which had since then been reached but were again abandoned, until now we have almost lost sight of them.

When nearly half a century ago Overbeck and Cornelius seemed to have caught anew the noble impulses that long ago had informed the ideals of Angelico and Angelo, and when Turner in England produced effects in landscape which realized the expectations of even those, who, whilst conscious of the object and high aim of fine art were ill satisfied even with the attainments of the old masters; men, who understood and valued the refining influences of true art hailed these manifestations of reawaking intelligence and earnestness as symptoms of an era, which would likely eclipse the golden days of Raphael and Leonardo. And why should it not have been? Had we not all the experience of the past to profit by, together with facilities for reaching technical perfection of which the Umbrian painters could have no conception,

¹ "Quod Græci vocant ψυχή."

and the want of which in their works is the only obstacle to absolute faultlessness? The Pre-Raphaelite movement under Holman Hunt, which soon followed, seemed to conspire with the rest of signs to sustain the lofty expectations of the friends of pure and elevated art. But the holy fire was doomed to die away, and whithersoever we turn to-day, we see the glowing embers being smothered by the cold and heavy atmosphere of modern society. And perhaps no one bears more eloquent witness to the truth of this statement than Mr. Millais, who, twenty years ago, the enthusiastic apostle of Pre-Raphaelitism, is to-day the admired portrait painter of English society. Elsewhere we meet the same phenomena. Italy, which once, when the bright sun of Christianity began to turn its vivifying rays upon it, developed the buds and blossoms of pagan beauty into fairest flowers, reflecting in a thousand ways the new light that shone upon them, has not only forgotten her ancient beauty but has fairly prostituted it in our day. Modern Italian art, at least that art which enjoys the popular favor, has become an empty pretence of power and freedom. It makes upon you, says a recent critic, an impression similar to that produced by the sight of an actor's gaudy robes flung over a dissecting-room table. Will any true lover of art ever forgive the present government their wanton destruction, by a dull and unintelligent restoration, of those matchless frescoes in the Campo Santo at Pisa? With Spanish art it is much the same. In the first place there appears to be no distinct school of the day, and what Madrazo, Cano, Becquer, or Fortuny have done, hardly promises to last *hunc in annum et plures*. As for the so-called German school, the complaint is, that it is deficient in taste as well as grace, though full of power. Whether this latter quality be a fruit of the militarism which pervades every other department of human activity, at least in the German Empire, we would not venture to decide; but the amount of red and Prussian blue on the canvasses of the German art department at our Centennial Exhibition was simply painful to a peacefully disposed citizen to notice. In France things look if possible even worse than in Italy. For several years past the best artists who choose to live at home have refused to exhibit in the annual salons, the standard of competition, it is said, being too low. And Belgium, though still retaining more than might have been expected under the circumstances of the old Flemish spirit, is likely to succumb under the influence of the aggressive French tendency in art. We in America can hardly speak of any pronouncedly national school, though Allston and Vanderlyn seemed at one time to have pointed out a track. As in other things pertaining to higher life we follow in the wake of England. And although even there, as we mentioned before,

little enough can be found to boast of, our English brethren seem to have no great opinion either of our attainments or of our aspirations.¹

Such is on the whole the present outlook in the world of art, and though we could point out many noble exceptions the tendency is, as we have indicated, downward. And so far at least Mr. Spencer's theory of the development of æsthetic pleasure seems at fault with the facts in the history of fine arts. Some, indeed, have strenuously denied that we were ever in a better condition, holding that a biassed and falsely supported tradition had established views about the old masters which would never stand the test of unprejudiced criticism. Thus Mr. Ruskin, probably the most popular if not the most consistent of art critics, tells us that true art has never been practiced, that the era of its birth had only just begun, when, forty years ago, "those bright Turnerian imageries, and those calm Pre-Raphaelite studies," began to form "the first foundation that has ever been laid for true sacred art." But Mr. Ruskin has lived to see what became of the imageries even in Turner's own hands ere he died.

How to account for all this in the face of advanced thought and perfectible matter is a question that has vexed many minds. Much has been and is constantly being written and said on the subject, yet whilst all agree to the presumption that the evil lies in the existing social circumstances, each finds it in a particular phase of modern habits of thought, and thus the causes assigned are as multiform as are the philosophical creeds of teachers in æsthetics. Some base them on artistic, others on purely moral grounds.

The root of the evil, say the former, is the exclusive cultivation of the imitative powers, for simple imitation of nature, however faithful, is insufficient by itself to bring art to its highest perfection. The same is to be said of the exclusive study of the old masters. Artistic genius is essentially a creative, not an imitative faculty, and man's ideals are of the present not of the past; hence it boots nothing to draw upon the past for inspiration. Others again blame the neglect of sufficient study both of nature and of the old master-works. We cannot, these argue, afford to be original in this unchivalrous and mechanical age. A third class of critics tell us that there is in our day too much education. The mind of the young artist is overburdened with a multiplicity of ideas, which, naturally entering into his conceptions, oppose the essential unity and simplicity of high art. Taine says that the old Italian artists had an immense advantage over the men of to-day, by not

¹ A recent number of the *Athenæum*, speaking of the simultaneous failure of several art-publications in this country, remarks: "They addressed a public not possessing sufficient knowledge and sympathy for art to appreciate the value of criticism."

being overburdened with ideas. The counterpart of this theory is vindicated in a recent French work,¹ whose writer sums up the whole matter by pointing out that the true reason lies in the want of sufficient education. And it is but just to add that by education he means the full development of the intellectual, moral, and social qualities of the artist. But besides the fact that painters have always done very well in their art without any particular intellectual or even social training, neither quality seems to be neglected in the education of the artist in our day, and if it were, the schooling of the heart, if taken hold of in the proper way, would necessarily and amply supply both deficiencies, as we shall presently see.

Others, and among them the large aggregate of social reformers, see the cause of deterioration in the materialistic and utilitarian tendency of our age. It was Schiller's constant complaint of Madame de Staël's taste, that she would always ask, "*Quel en est le but ?*" She had no idea, said he, that the Beautiful could be its own end. Utilitarianism is certainly the most decided enemy to true art, for, however much men may differ as to the legitimate scope of the æsthetic theory, all will agree that the distinctive difference between mechanical and fine art lies in this, that the latter proposes to itself to be useful only in proportion as it is beautiful. Perhaps the fallacy by which we consider that which pleases as the beautiful, has much to account for in this connection. If a picture attracts admirers to our halls it matters little to us what the reason be. And yet the pleasure it produces may lie in some ulterior motive, which has no direct connection with the picture itself. That the latter should elevate, lift us into a higher sphere, not merely as the occasion but as the cause, and that a picture which fails to do this has no *raison d'être*, is hardly a requisite for consideration in our critique.

A word remains to be said with regard to those writers who have erred so far from fairness in dealing with facts as to cast the blame of the decadence in high art upon the Catholic Church, who, ever since she begot the heaven-born child, has nourished and guarded it with a solicitude which stands out clear and unmistakable in the annals of entire history. The Roman Church, say they, has persistently refused to keep pace with the progress of the age, and since the artist must be of his time, must, in order to be successful in his realization, speak the language of his day and of his people, she, by the control she has exercised over many otherwise great souls, has hampered their utterance and caused the production of those anachronisms which clothe modern science in the Byzantine garb of ignorance and superstition. We have nothing to say to such

¹ L'éducation de l'artiste. Ernest Chesneau, Paris.

argument beyond the recording of it, for it is no less discreditable to them that make it, from the manifest insincerity with which it ignores facts, than from its absence of sound logic. A writer in a late number of the *Nineteenth Century* produces the following: "She," the Church, "is held accountable for the decadence of art in this way, that she neglects the distinctly Christian principle of human sympathy, and which thus became the sole possession of philosophy. In this way natural religion became antagonistic to revealed religion, which never need have been but for the Church's neglect. This antagonism has had the fatal result of developing a materialistic tendency, which seems to have sapped all chivalry and beauty out of modern social habits."

If by the neglect of the "distinctly Christian principle of human sympathy" is meant her unvarying persistence in allowing men to exercise their free will in seceding from her instead of opening her gates to every wind of doctrine, then the proposition errs in supposing that the seceders had on their side natural religion. Revealed religion is based upon natural religion, and the Church could never have disowned the one without losing the other, nor can both be antagonistic unless the one be false. The fact is, she has retained the one and the other; hence, in her we still find true art as well as true philosophy. And to say that she is responsible for the loss of art in Protestantism, or among the philosophical sects of to-day, is to say something like: The army is responsible for the poverty of its deserters, inasmuch as it insists on strict observance of martial law.

It is plain that in all this theorizing about the decline of the Fine Arts there is much partiality and more confusion between cause and effect. If we were asked, Where, then, lies the true cause? we would make the answer: Simply where lies the cause of all our acknowledged social and moral evils, namely, in the dechristianization of modern society. And our only hope is to be found in a step backward, and so far only as we shall be able to rechristianize modern thought and modern taste. Of this there is among us little hope. Our art, like Wagner's music, may be fitly styled the art of the future; it harmonizes with the sounds of *progress*, but otherwise is transitory in its effects, leaving no impression on either mind or heart. Without Christianity there can be no ideal worthy of man's best powers of aspiration, and without ideal there can be no high art. And is there any religion, outside of the Catholic Church, that as a matter of fact fosters the ideal in man? So long and so far as she has exercised her influence over society, so long we have had true art. And it ceased when and where she was ignored. So true is this that noble souls outside of her fold, who aimed at what is truest and

best in art, have ever found themselves irresistibly drawn to enter her pale, and there in her light they found themselves enabled to reflect that true beauty of soul which constitutes the highest aim of Fine Art, inasmuch as it involves the noblest passions of which man is capable, exerted for interests surpassing all transitory gain by the infinite. This kind of art, first in rank, begins to disappear with the dawn of the religious revolution in the sixteenth century. What there remained of it was partly ignored, because it remained with her, or else was borrowed light, echoes of not wholly forgotten sounds in souls that were meant for truer and greater things.

The relation historically which art bears to religion and precisely to the Catholic Church, is a most interesting study for the æsthetic philosopher. It will show that the decadence of Fine Art is due to no other cause than to the diminution of the influence which the Catholic Church formerly exercised over society.

True, it will be hard for even the fairminded non-Catholic to acknowledge, perhaps to understand it. We are not surprised. Catholic truth and all the effects produced by the charm it exercises upon the intelligent mind may be compared to the beautiful flowers we place at our windows on winter days. Those who from without look at them can hardly judge of their beauty or of the happy atmosphere they create by their fragrance; and why? Because other flowers on the glass dim the sight; they, too, are chaste to look upon, and fair in their delicate tracery, yet as they are begotten in darkness, in the chill atmosphere of night, so they vanish with the first glad ray of the sun; they are at the mercy of an infant's breath. How different the heavenward growth of the hyacinth within! Light is its life and warmth its strength, and the crimson texture grows deeper as the day advances. In the same way, those alien to our holy religion often fail to appreciate its influences, and attribute to other causes what is due to it, simply because they personally have no sympathy with the source whence these influences emanate.

And what has been the effect of this want of candor? It has brought about, as the only alternative left to the non-Catholic philosopher, a revolution in the æsthetic theory. To righten facts they had to reverse their terminology. For, unwilling to admit, as had hitherto been understood, that the good and the true alone could be the legitimate object of Fine Art, and seeing that thereby the greater part of the spurious high art of their time would have to be ruled out by the force of definition, the critics agreed to change the canons of our craft. Whilst at first it was the exclusive domain of art to represent beauty of the highest order, that is, supersensible beauty, they have come to regard as the only necessary requisite of Fine Art that it represent visible beauty, and aim at the

production of pleasure by informing the imagination. Nay, less than this would suffice. "Fine Art," says Sidney Colvin, "is a faculty which man possesses for taking keen and permanent delight in the contemplation and the imagination of many kinds of things, including some not strictly to be called beautiful, such as grotesqueness, comicality, even ugliness itself, when they are presented in typical form." The definition is, it appears, not founded on the essence of the thing, but on what the author seemed to feel the public would condescend to admit as compatible with their mode of action.

The Catholic Church, on the other hand, has ever kept in view the old aim, has always fostered inspiration as she has ever protected true art. She is not of the past, but ever of to-day, living, though unchanged and immutable. And whatever her children may be of their own worth, she offers them the same as eight centuries ago, the highest ideals for aspiration and points to the noblest ends. Nor does this apply exclusively to religious art. As she teaches noble thoughts and actions to all, as she guards the commoner movements of every heart freely subject to her, and raises men from what they are by nature or education to a more elevated position, so the feelings that do not harmonize with the sublime heights of religious and heroic art may be portrayed in charming way in the catching beauties of landscape, or *genre*, or still-life. There are many ways to her mansions, and for them who have not pinions for seraphic flight, she points a way through smiling meadows or gay fields. All things, indeed, to be good or true, must in some way point to and subserve the end for which man is created, must reflect the Creator in the creature. Hence all relative beauty must bear the impress of the eternal Beauty, its source and origin. And in this sense the relation of art to religion is an absolute one. For the legitimate object of Fine Art is the Beautiful alone.

To judge of the perfection of a painting we must keep in mind the two elements, its component parts, namely, the conception and its expression. A beautiful idea in beautiful form. And the pleasure produced by both must not merely affect the senses, but must touch in the soul of the beholder a chord, striking harmony at once, so that he may carry on the strain within. Like the songs that our mother used to sing, which carry us back to childhood's days, and make us feel again her love and our own innocence, feelings far above us now, and which we could not communicate had we the tongue of a Chrysostom, so true art raises us above our normal selves, touches heart-strings and recalls past harmonies, or forebodes celestial music, which, like kind prophecies, warn us of happy days to come.

But to bring about this effect, art necessarily excludes whatever is purely realistic, sensational, or low. Not that these elements may not be skilfully introduced to heighten the effect of what is truly beautiful and noble, but they can never be the object of Fine Art for their own sake. And in painting, as in sculpture, these digressions can never be ventured upon except at the extreme peril of art. The truth that the Beautiful is absolutely free from all low desire in the pleasure it bestows is as old as Aristotle. The proper object of art, as we have said, is the Beautiful, but the Beautiful cannot be but good. The Angelic Doctor tells us that the Good and the Beautiful are in reality the same,—*idem re, differunt ratione*. Indeed, the very name of Art should have been a safeguard against any abuse of the term. The Greeks used ἀρετή to signify virtue, beauty, nobility of soul, and goodness of heart.¹

In this way art is to appeal to the finest feelings and to produce the loftiest emotions. This is the test of true art, that it elevate, that it touch the soul as only a soul can do. And this brings us to the artist.

He who wishes to awaken noble feelings must himself possess them. Truth may work powerfully even when it comes from an evil source; not so with real beauty. Like the air that conducts the sunbeam, it is itself the warming element. Reason and imagination combine to conceive an ideal of what is good and true, and frail as we are, to be true unswervingly to both these qualities for any length of time, we must be in love with the conception. This love of the ideal, which we might call enthusiasm, must animate the artist ever whilst he paints, so that we recognize it in the canvas. It was such recognition, together with an intense sympathy with the ideal of Raphael's St. Cecilia, which made Correggio, enraptured at the sight of the picture, cry out: *Anch io son pittore!* Thus the strokes of his brush reveal the heart of the artist, even as the gentle pressure of the hand betokens a friend.

And the old masters for the most part understood this. We are quite reconciled with Agostino Carracci, when we hear of him on his deathbed shedding tears for having drawn those licentious pictures in the galleries of the Duke of Parma. True, there is a great deal of freedom in the manner in which they imitated classic forms, and it is often adduced as an argument for proving the licentiousness prevailing in the Middle Ages, more especially in Italy. As to this we must remember that, in the first place, the true value of paintings, unless we speak of their technical perfection, cannot be rightly estimated except in the light of the times in which they were painted. We have no idea of what posterity might think about our fashions of dress; we only know that the

¹ Only among the Attic writers do we find it applied to corporal substances.

Pompadour style of a past day appears to us extremely ridiculous, and the more primitive fashions in the East rather disgusting. The old Florentines were a sturdier race, and did not catch fire as readily as this weakly generation of ours does. Moreover, the faith that inspired the painter with his ideal had preserved in him the same simplicity which made him forget as insignificant what we consider gross and shocking. We can no more argue from these things to the immorality of either artist or the people of his times, than philanthropic English ladies have a right to conclude to a low ebb of morality among the Irish costerwomen in London (whose singular purity of life, together with intense faith, has lately become the perplexing miracle among British statisticians), because they are daily scandalized by the primitive appearance of the little urchins in the narrow alleys of the great metropolis.

As a matter of fact, none of these pictures make upon us the impression as if painted with a purpose of glorifying viler passions. If to the fact of their habits of thought we add the enthusiasm which the newly revived study of pagan art had generated, it will not be difficult to account for the digressions of the old masters. We do not at all approve of their taste in this direction, much less would we encourage its imitation in our day, when it would do so much more harm. We simply wish to justify artists whose works with all such imperfections bear unmistakable marks of having been designed to elevate the soul to nobler heights than are its normal, and in this effect precisely the non-Catholic artists of later times failed. "No Scripture subject by Rubens or Van-dyke, or produced in any of the later schools, will stand comparison for purity of style and feeling with the works of the early masters." Who that has ever looked upon a picture, or even a good copy of the Gentle Monk of Fiesole, has not felt the influence of that angelic purity breathing forth from those old frescoed walls like the odor of sweet-scenting lilies? How those pictures speak, in spite of all their technical shortcomings! "As often as I look upon his Coronation of the Blessed Virgin,"¹ says Vasari, who himself was of a very different school, "I am fascinated. It appears to me as if I had never seen it before, and I cannot grow weary of gazing upon that canvas." The translucent purity of soul of the familiar friend of St. Antonine appears in his very coloring. Speaking on this subject in one of his Oxford lectures, Mr. Poynter, after having stated that purity is desirable in all elevated art, says: "When once this notion of purity had taken possession of the mind of the old painters, it was applied to the different elements of the picture, to color among the rest, and that in a very peculiar way."

¹ Now in the Louvre.

Thus all the qualities, all the peculiar manifestation, of the soul, as childlike innocence, noble womanly purity, devotion intensified and illumined by heavenly joy, the manly impulses of the human heart, man's consolation after keenest sorrows, all these were developed in the Church, and under her tutelage found truest expression upon the canvas of saintly men, who painted "not for time, but for eternity." And nature, with its infinite variety of images, proffered fitting support to the lessons of mystical theology by a touching symbolism. Nor was the intellect neglected. The old allegorical paintings frequently embodied ideals that gave scope to the more intellectual bent of the age, when the energy of philosophical speculation was at its height. Painters of history did not purpose simply to copy what was of long-ago, to help the memory for the retaining of facts as such, but their aim was to rouse their fellow-men to valiant action by vividly placing before them the deeds of their ancestors. When they attempted landscape—and this is true even of the so-called naturalists in the sixteenth century—it was not mere likeness-taking of nature, in fact, it was not that at all; but it represented a sentiment expressed in the language of natural objects. The meadow, with its quiet cattle reposing in the evening sun, makes upon us the impression of peace and harmony; the dusky autumn scene on the mountain-top that of loneliness or desolation, according as the artist has been successful in throwing his feelings into his work. These latter constitute, as it were, the ideal of his picture. The same may be said of *genre*, still-life, even portrait painting. These can have no claim to the title of Fine Art, unless they are typical of some excellence of character or of form. Otherwise, they may have highest artistic merit, but are of no æsthetic value; they may be good for the promotion of certain industries, but they neither educate nor refine the tastes of men.

From all that we have said thus far, it must be plain that the deterioration of high art has, to put it in another form, its root in the deterioration of the motives of our artists. And as these motives are created and determined by the society that surrounds us, there is very little hope for art unless we can change the moral atmosphere in which we live. Delicacy of feeling is not enough to supplant a healthy morality; boldness might pass for power, if it did not betray itself in the choice of sickly subjects. As it is there are two prevalent and powerful motives to the production of Fine Art, viz., lucre and glory. To dispense both is in the hands of the public, and more particularly in the hands of the fashionable society, which affects to patronize the liberal arts. As that society is much more numerous now than it was in the days of our sires, when the line of demarcation between the noblesse and the bour-

geoisie was by no means as doubtful as with us, the demand for art-pieces is proportionately greater than it has been in the past. This has two principal effects. It increases the rapidity of the current downward by the increased number of laborers and admirers in that direction; but it further, and this is perhaps still more deplorable, prevents the right-minded and highly-gifted artist from gaining that popularity which is necessary to sustain him in pursuing his aim.

As to the first of these effects, we repeat it, there seems little hope of its being reversed even in a slight degree as long as we are powerless to rechristianize society, which means "the world," in which our Lord Himself appeared to have no confidence. Let those that belong to it pursue their course. The artist will find it pay him to flatter the depraved passions or the vanity of his patrons, but in thus bartering his birthright he will not elevate his rank above that of the modiste who disputes with him the title; his art may be called *fine*, but it counts as nothing beside the true old art with soul-beauty in it, and which outlives the whimsical fancy of a day. Mr. Mallock, who deserves at least the credit of understanding his age, says:¹ "As for our painting, that reflects even more clearly than our literature, our hideous and hopeless degradation. The work of the painter becomes essentially vile as soon as it becomes essentially venal. The work of the modern painter is vile from its very beginning, in its conception and execution alike."

In regard, however, to encouraging the Christian artist, who, because out of sympathy with the world and content to let it alone, finds the world hostile and aggressive, something more than is done might be done by those who are interested in the revival, not only of art, but of truth and of virtue. If the spirit of the age has at all times had a decided influence upon the forming of the artist, he in turn has exercised a most powerful reflex influence upon his generation. Recall but to mind the enthusiasm into which a single picture by Duccio, or Giotto, or Gozzoli threw a whole population; how no other cause but the streaming crowds of Florentines eager to see the newly painted Madonna by their fellow-citizen came to give the name of Borgho Allegro, the joyful town, to a part of the fair city. And the artists knew their power and directed it accordingly. Going back to the earlier days of Christian art we find a St. Methodius paint the Last Judgment, that he might convert the Bulgarian King, and with him a large part of the nation. We see a sainted Archbishop Thimo, of Salzburgh, an Anastasius (Bibliothecarius) unite painting with writing, to teach the Christian doctrine, and thus create that singular tendency towards the mystic allegorical expo-

¹ Mr. Herbert in "The New Republic."

sition of holy Scripture which took so effective a hold upon men as to last several centuries.

Nor are we entirely without such men among us. There always were and always will be true artists where the Catholic Church holds sway. Two, whom we mentioned at the beginning of our article, and who have now gone, God grant, to their reward in heaven, are perhaps the closest approach to what the old masters were, in their faith, their purity of life, the grandeur of their conceptions, and in the disinterested love of the art to which they devoted themselves. The one with his pure unruffled soul, the other with the giant strength of Buonarrotti. Whatever may be thought of the former's drawings in point of technique, few will agree with Mr. Ruskin in denying that he did not realize the sublimity of his ideals. If his coloring be less transparent than that of Fra Angelico, whom he made his model, well, there are more painters who have taken it, that spiritual emotions are best expressed by neutral tones; among them is conspicuous Ary Scheffer, who never failed, with their aid, to produce "an intensely poetic charm."

A gentleman, whom we believe alien to our holy faith, yet who seems to have understood the workings of the artist's soul, speaks of Overbeck and his works as follows:¹ "Here is a man, the very type not only of what history tells us the spiritual painter was, but also the personal realization of that which the mind conceives the Christian artist should be. It has been our privilege not unfrequently to visit the studio of this venerable man; to listen to his hushed voice, solemn in earnestness of purpose and touched with the pathetic tones which rise from sympathy; to look upon that head gently bowed upon the shoulders, the face furrowed with thoughts which for eighty years have worn deep channels, the forehead and higher regions of the brain rising to a saint-like crown; and never have we left those rooms where Christian art found purest examples, without feeling towards the artist himself gratitude and affection. The world indeed owes to such a man no ordinary debt. His work was the building up of the ruined structure of Christian art." Of his pictures the same writer says: "Each line is sensitive, each form seems begotten in realms removed from this lower sphere; the figures belong to worlds untainted by sin; in placid concord of sweet forms, in an inward peace, which makes the rugged paths of the world smooth and the current of life to flow in music, the compositions of Overbeck are unsurpassed, save, perhaps, by the designs of Angelico."

And his was a labor of love; for the greatest of his religious works he accepted no remuneration; "*Domine dilexi decorem domus tuæ*," was the secret of his impulses. It is said of him that

¹ "Masterpieces of European Art." Gebbie & Barry, Philadelphia.

he could not paint a Madonna until he had become a Catholic. Would that our Catholic artists realized their advantages! And could not educated Catholics as well as Catholic educators do a great deal more than they do to form and foster correct views and tastes in this direction? If we must decorate our halls and drawing-rooms, why persist in choosing nymphs and heathen deities, or even those doubtful copies of Christian Renaissance which make up the worst part of the "golden period" of art, and have, moreover, a very different meaning in the eyes of our precocious generation than they had in olden times? It may be the fashion or a personal preference, but it is no more good taste than the predilection some persons evince for Egyptian or Chinese decorations. There is in man indeed a strange propensity for worshipping the faults of great or good people, but whilst it betokens a certain narrowness of intellect, it often makes us blind to the real merits of those whom we thus worship. We frequently treat the old painters in this manner. Imitating their extravagances, we neglect their more valuable and permanent qualities, and thus gradually come to underrate these. It is one of the surest signs against us that art criticism within the last thirty years has not shrunk from laying sacrilegious hand upon the laurels which centuries of unbiassed judgment had placed and guarded upon the brow of the old masters.

But there is another thing we would say in this connection, and in truth it has been the main cause if not the object of this paper. We consider that as it is the office of a reviewer to point out the currents and tendencies of contemporary thought and activity, it cannot but be with a view of showing forth remedies as far as they may be practically applied.

Whilst, as we have indicated, there is a deflection from the true standard of criticism, the subject itself of art is constantly increasing in popularity. With special chairs at most of our universities, numbers of academies in every considerable city, frequent exhibitions, schools of design and free lectures on art, with the technical facilities that have made it possible to introduce painting as a branch of study in nearly every select school of any pretension, an opportunity is given for the development of talent which our ancestors could not have imagined.

Catholics in this country have a not inconsiderable share of the material to this development in their hands. If we have little power in a direct way to create a much greater demand for Christian or noble art than there is at present in society, educators in our superior schools might vastly improve their system in the art classes and make it harmonize with the rest of their teaching. We take all possible care to instil into the mind of our youth the sublime virtues of the Virgin Queen of heaven, purity of life and un-

failing devotion to their duties; we place before them the noble grandeur of the Catholic Church and the high end of our earthly pilgrimage,—yet in the drawing-classes, where sense and heart alike might be engaged to the formation of pure and elevated taste, we find subjects of a most trivial character. Outside of landscape and marine our highest ambition is to copy dogs after Landseer or cattle after Rosa Bonheur. Now considering the amount of love spent in the labor, and which is naturally transferred to the subject, furthermore the deep impression made and the lasting character of such work in the mind of the young, the effect must be a very serious one in as far as it actually tends to unfit the pupil's mind for anything serious. And being powerful, as this influence is, it probably undoes a great deal of our religious teaching and accounts to some extent at least for the frivolity that surprises us in persons who have been reared in the piety-breathing atmosphere of a convent school.

It is given as Mirabeau's thought that men, like rabbits, are most conveniently laid hold of by the ears. We doubt the perfect truth of the comparison. You might get at the soul, or what stands in its place, of a rabbit by way of his ears, but the avenue to man's soul, as well as its mirror, seems to be the eye. Every educator knows how much more readily impressions are made permanent through image and illustration. And this was what the old masters meant to do by their pictures. They wanted to teach, and they succeeded, as far as it went, for good. "Our object," says Giotto's pupil, Buffalmacco, "in painting is to make saints."¹

Moreover we must have in this branch, as in all our education, some further motive than that our pupils should simply imitate. We teach a language, not that our youth may parade a perfect pronunciation, but rather that they may be able to inform their minds more readily in the obtaining and discriminating of truth. So in art. We teach it, not that our scholars may be able to distinguish a straight line from a curve, but that they may discriminate between true and false beauty, and thus attain to purity of taste, helping them in the choice of what is good and true. Faithful imitation is a great help, but it is not all; nor, taken by itself, is it art. In the same way perfect drawing, coloring, perspective, things in which we easily surpass even masters like Guercino, whom the Italians used to call the magician, owing to his mastery in the art of relief, are mere mechanical acquisitions, and hardly worthy as sole aim of a more refined nature.

What we must call attention to, and this even at the very begin-

¹ "Non attendiamo mai ad altro che a far santi e sante per le mura e per le tavole ed a far perciò con dispetto dei demonj gli uomini piu divoti e migliori."—*Vasari*.

ning, as soon as any definite subject is handled by the pupil, is the soul of the picture. Hence the necessity of insisting on noble subjects. Let us call attention to the ideal contained in it. Nor does this involve the necessity of selecting grand subjects. Even a flower has its beautiful meaning in poetry, why not in painting? The child may see in the lily before it an emblem of purity, in the rose disinterested love, and so forth. Thus a group of flowers will speak to the student, and the thought, as we said before, generally affects the execution. And if attention to this portion of our teaching had no further result than to initiate the young in the manner of viewing subjects of art it would be ample success to repay every effort we could make in this direction. There would be consequently less groping in the dark about the decline of Fine Art.

Neither perfection of detail nor the grandeur of the subject by itself, unless it has become our own in feeling as in understanding, are any guarantee to success. A notable example in contemporary art is Mr. Munkacsy's latest picture, "Christ before Pilate," by all accounts one of the most important creations of modern times. The ablest of his critics allow his mastery of detail, "yet the genius of the painter," says one of them, "was unable to raise itself to the lofty character of Christ; it is a noble, elevated being; a courageous defender of the truth, but not the Redeemer divine." The painter brought knowledge and skill to his task, but insufficient sympathy for his principal subject.

Much more might be said on this matter. If we have not over-rated its importance it is likely to find its champions when the time for it comes. Yet we could not help thinking that whilst contemporary literature occupies itself so largely with a question to which we alone have the solution it would not be inopportune to point in the direction of some good, in the hope that others better able for the task will take it up more readily to open the way. Surely Catholic educators, and indeed all loyal children of our holy mother Church, must have at heart the clearing away of so much rubbish which impedes the vision of the stranger whom we would fain call friend, as well as our own progress.

Never was there less reason for deserting a position such as a correct appreciation of the fine arts affords us for making Catholic truth known and loved, than there is to-day, when sense is preferred to reason and to conscience, as a means in the search after truth.

"What boots it at one gate to make defence,
And at another to let in the foe?"

THE DEISTIC REVELATION OF SPIRITISM.

Modern American Spiritualism. A Twenty Years' Record of the Communion between Earth and the World of Spirits, by Emma Hardinge. New York. 1870.

On Miracles and Modern Spiritualism. Three Essays, by Alfred Russel Wallace. James Burns. London. 1875.

Der Spiritismus und das Christenthum. By Dr. J. Wieser, S. J. Zeitschrift fuer Katholische Theologie. Innsbruck. Felician Rauch. 1880 and 1881.

IN order to facilitate the examination of the Spiritist Revelation it will be well to lay down the philosophy of revelation in general, so as to fix once for all the unalterable canons of reason, according to which every investigation of this kind should be conducted.¹

The word *revelation*, according to the force of its Latin composition, means the removal of a veil, and thus comes to signify the manifestation of something that was hidden. Taking the word in this wide sense, it is evident that a revelation may be made by men, by spirits, or by God.

To begin with the revelation that comes from God, reason tells us that He can make a revelation naturally or supernaturally. He has actually made an enduring natural revelation of Himself and His attributes by means of created nature, that mighty work which bears upon its face the unmistakable vestige of the wisdom, goodness, beauty, and omnipotence of its Maker. But He can also reveal unknown things by means which transcend that created nature, by means that are in no wise due to created nature, and which are therefore supernatural. The truths which God can reveal in this supernatural way, may be either natural or supernatural in themselves. God can reveal, and in point of fact has so revealed for the greater good of mankind, truths which man can naturally get to know, as for instance the commandments revealed from the top of Sinai. But there are other truths of which a created intellect could have no idea, not only as to their nature but even their very existence unless God revealed them. No created, and therefore limited mind, could ever comprehend God's infinite nature; for all eternity there would be truths in that nature wholly unknown to it, infinitely beyond its reach, absolute mysteries, which God alone, as He alone comprehends Himself, can know,

¹ V. Mazzella, *De Religione et Ecclesia*, Disput. i., Art. v. et viii.; *Liberatore*, Jus Individuale, C. ii., Art. 3.

and alone can reveal. This is the highest kind of supernatural revelation; it is supernatural not only as to the manner of manifestation, but also as to the very truth manifested. Since God is Almighty it stands to reason that He can make known His revelation to angels or men, by giving them either in person or mediately through an angel or a man; and since He has absolute dominion over His creatures, it is equally incontrovertible that He can make faith in revelation law, and sanction it with His "qui non crediderit condemnabitur."

Passing now from theory to fact, from possible to actual revelation, how can we prove that revelation was actually made? Evidently not by an examination of the revealed truths themselves as Rationalists fancy. In case those truths are divine mysteries, reason can at the worst vainly strive to prove their repugnance, or at the best successfully demonstrate their non-repugnance, but never show from the nature of the mysteries alone that they are existing facts. If the truths are natural in themselves, that fact cannot of itself prove or disprove their divine revelation in a given case. It is evident that Rationalists, with all their fancied unlimited powers of reason, have mistaken the very state of the question. The present inquiry does not at all concern the nature of the truths revealed; it is a question of fact, how, namely, we are to establish the historical fact that a revelation was made. Everybody knows that a historical fact cannot be proved *a priori*, notwithstanding the unscrupulous practice of historians to the contrary. Hence the fact that a revelation was actually made, rests wholly on the knowledge and veracity of the witnesses to the fact; given their knowledge and truthfulness, there can remain no reasonable doubt as to the fact that a revelation of some kind has been made.

But how can we determine whether that revelation comes from God? Evidently again not by the Rationalistic method of scrutinizing the truths revealed. For the reasons above given, the truths themselves could not of themselves justify the conclusion that they descend from God; they might come from a created spirit. The Rationalistic test is at the very best only negative, that is, it may in the case of certain actual revelations overthrow their claims to divine authority, by proving to evidence that the revealed doctrines or mysteries are repugnant to reason,¹ that is to say, *contra-dict* other truths that are indisputable to the human mind. But such a test, well as it may and shall serve our purpose in the examination of revelations other than divine, cannot possibly be applied to the word of God, which, howsoever it transcends our comprehension, cannot but be unchanging truth. But how can it

¹ To be repugnant to reason, it is not enough that revealed doctrines be *beyond* the comprehension of reason; they must be *against* its principles.

be ascertained that it was God who spoke in that given revelation? By examining whether God gave an evident proof that it was He Himself, and not a creature that spoke, and such a proof would be an unmistakable manifestation of his omnipotence or omniscience in a divine miracle or prophecy.¹ The Almighty Creator alone can suspend and set aside the laws of created nature, alone can accomplish a work that transcends the power of all created nature, alone can work a miracle of omnipotence. The omniscient God alone, to whose eternal now the past, present and future are ever present, foreknows the events that depend on His own free will or on that of His creature, alone can with infallible certainty foretell them, alone can be the author of a prophecy of omniscience. An actual revelation, therefore, which comes corroborated by an undoubted divine miracle or prophecy, cannot but have God for its author, must be His infallible word.

The certitude which a divine revelation brings home to a created mind is not directly the effect of the miracle or prophecy that supports it; these directly evince that it is God who has spoken, and it is from His infallible authority that faith springs, stronger in its certitude than the evidence of the senses or of the mind.² For man or angel, therefore, the irrefragable force of divine revelation comes from the unfailing veracity of God, "who can neither deceive nor be deceived." The same infinite veracity can never allow Him to lend this power of miracles or prophecy to a creature, when that creature proposes to use them in order to confirm a falsehood.

To sum up, reason teaches that God can reveal natural or supernatural truths in a supernatural way; that He can prove by divine miracles or prophecies that it is He and no other that speaks; that such a revelation rests on His infinite veracity, and is therefore in value worth the infallible word of God.

These dictates of reason concerning Divine Revelation form the rational basis upon which Christian Revelation stands through the ages, leading captive, with God's grace, the generations of the humble and the great, the ignorant and the wisest of the sons of men. To-day comes a revelation that claims to be its complement and perfection, the Spiritist Revelation, and upon what is it built? Evidently not on God, not on God's word, even remotely; in fact it sets up no such claims. It is the acknowledged and avowed revelation of created spirits, of spirits that pretend to no divine inspiration or commission, but rather deny that they have either, telling us that God takes no heed of the doings of His creatures, much less enters into communication with them. Drawn by the cords of sympathy the spirits come and volunteer what information they can give

¹ V. Mazzella, *ibid.*, Art. x. et xi.

² V. Liberatore, *Logicæ Pars Altera*, C. I., Art. iii., Prop. 5a.

about earth-life and spirit-life. Their revelation is entirely their own work, and is therefore worth no more than their word. That word is owned on all hands to be fallible, nay, it is so written in the fourth clause of the Spiritist Gospel, "but, as follows from clause second, their (the spiritists) communications will be *fallible*, and must be *judged* and *tested*, just as we do those of our fellow-men." Here then is a revelation made by fallible creatures in order to complete and perfect the revelation of the infallible God. The reasonableness of such an undertaking needs no discussion, no comment, at least for a Christian. Spiritists, however, deny the supposition that God ever made a revelation, and claiming Christian Revelation for the spirits, reduce all revelation ever given to mankind to Spirit Revelation. This is not the place to argue the point with them, and therefore leaving it for fuller treatment later on, our business at present must be to take their revelation of created fallible spirits, and inquire by what philosophy it must be judged.

It is easy to understand the philosophy of revelation which is made by spirits or by men, purely and simply out of their own resources and on their own responsibility. A revelation of this kind, notwithstanding its high-sounding name, amounts to nothing more than the testimony of spirits or men to something hidden or unknown, and the criterion by which its value must be ascertained is the very same that is applied to the depositions of any witness whatsoever. That test, as everybody is aware, is the examination of the *knowledge* and *veracity* of the witnesses, and justly so.¹ As created and consequently finite beings, spirits and men are necessarily limited in their knowledge and truthfulness, and as they are liable to fail in both, the existence of both must be proved before their testimony can challenge belief. How such an examination should be conducted may easily be gathered from the usual practice that obtains in our courts of justice. The testimony of a man of objectionable character is questionable; that of a criminal, and above all of a convicted perjurer, would hardly count for anything; and this, even when truthfulness is as it were forced upon them by the solemnity of an oath. In one word the truthfulness or untruthfulness of a witness is measured by his good or bad character.

Supposing that no objection can be raised against the character of the witness, his knowledge of the facts alleged is put to the crucial test of a cross-examination. If it be proved that he could not possibly get to know the facts, his testimony falls to the ground; if he contradicts himself, now denying what he affirmed before, or *vice versa*, his evidence is again worthless; if his statement is on

¹ V. Hill's Elements of Philosophy, Logic, Part ii., Art. 7; *Literatore, Logicæ Pars Altera*, c. iii., Art. iii. De Criterio Externo.

the face of it absurd, it is rejected without ceremony. Here again the Rationalistic method of examining the truth of the statements cannot be applied *positively*, for as there is question of unknown facts, reason can only show that they *might* be true, but not that they *are* true. The only effectual application of that principle is *negative*, inasmuch as it may serve to show that the allegations, no matter how or by whom they be made, are in themselves false and untenable. In brief, the law that presides over the examination of witnesses is this: if neither their truthfulness nor their knowledge can be impeached, their testimony is reliable; if either their truthfulness or their knowledge be found wanting, their evidence is worthless.

Were it not for the extraordinary manner of reasoning, or rather not reasoning, in vogue among Spiritists, it would hardly occur to the mind of a sensible man to ask himself whether a created witness can prove the truth of his testimony by a brilliant display of his personal gifts. It is easy to see how God can vindicate His revelation by showing in signs and wonders that it is He who speaks; but neither miracle nor prophecy are given by Him as direct proof of the truth of His word, for that needs no proof. But in the case of a creature we know who it is that speaks; that point needs no proof; we demand proof of its truthfulness, and common sense tells us that the most astounding feats of physical or intellectual strength cannot furnish such proof. How a Milo of Crete could prove his veracity by carrying an ox around the amphitheatre, or how a spirit could do so by dissolving the furniture of a room into invisible atoms, or by reading the shifting panorama of a man's imagination, or in an instant coming across the Atlantic to announce the latest European events, baffles the understanding. Such marvels of created power only prove that their owners exist and are very strong. They cannot prove their veracity; nay, if they could prove anything in the moral order, might prove their mendacity just as well.

To sum up: the revelation of a spirit or a man is nothing else than their testimony to an unknown fact; that testimony rests entirely on their knowledge of the fact and their truthfulness to state it as it is or as they know it; hence their knowledge and veracity must, as they are liable to go astray, be tested by an examination of their character and their statements; in case either be found wanting, the testimony is worthless; if both pass muster, the evidence is reliable. In a word, just as divine revelation is in value worth the infallible word of God, so the revelation of a spirit or a man is worth the fallible word of that spirit or that man.

Such is the philosophy of the revelation made by a fallible creature, and the only one that can be applied to the Spiritist Reve-

lation. Fortunately the application is not difficult. The character and communications of the spirits have been published by Spiritists themselves, and they surely will not object if their own depositions are accepted as perfectly reliable and made the basis of our argument.

The examination must begin with the *character of the spirits*.¹ Spiritist annals depict the spirits as beings more remarkable for their unintelligible and foolish than their clear and reasonable answers, more given to mischievous and troublesome than to kind and charitable conduct, more distinguished for coarse buffoonery and ribald scoffing than dignified gravity and edifying piety, more notorious for wickedness and immorality than virtue and purity, more famous for duplicity and mendacity than frankness and veracity, more devoted to blasphemy than to the worship of God.

This is their moral portrait as taken by their votaries in the séances. In particular their disregard of truth extends to such a degree that Spiritists have laid it down as a law of their nature that they accommodate themselves in their communications entirely to the whims, prejudices, preconceived notions, and errors, whether scientific, religious, or moral, of their earthly devotees. They will reveal Pantheism to the Pantheist, Deism to the Deist, Mahometanism to the Mahometan, recklessly and shamelessly even in one and the same séance. These are very damaging charges, but Spiritists themselves have written them fairly out. Without an attempt at denying the true character of the spirits, without even a serious effort to gloss it over, the leaders of Spiritism have merely offered an explanation of the fact, the mere why and wherefore of the evil dispositions and vices of the spirits. By way of explanation of the low character of the spirits they remind us, and that quite logically, of the third clause of the *Moral Teaching of Spiritism*, that "the knowledge, attainments, and experience of earth-life form the basis of spirit-life," and they bid us remember the vast number of half-witted, foolish, mischievous, wicked, immoral, lying, and ungodly men who have died, and have taken their characteristics with them, for as is written in the second clause, "death effects no change in the spirit, morally or intellectually." Since the majority of men upon earth is made up of incarnate spirits of the same stamp it is easy to understand that the multitudes of visiting spirits are of the same low character, for it is again written in the fourth clause that the spirits "are attracted to those they love or sympathize with." This is the explanation of Spiritists, and, as appears from their fundamental doctrines, it is logical and consistent.

¹ V. Spiritism *versus* Christianity, Part i., in the Quarterly for April.

As it may, however, seem almost incredible to those who have not read much about Spiritism, that Spiritists should make so damaging a confession without wincing, the following utterances of the celebrated German Spiritist, *Reimers*, may serve as an illustration:

"Although the spirits give the most striking proofs of their identity with the departed, the majority of them are nevertheless not honest (*ehrlich*), nay often maliciously lead to error and ruin, especially when the precipitate fanatical assumption *that the spirits must know everything* comes to their assistance. Great wretchedness has already been caused by such folly. Death does not do away with the law (of nature), nature does not allow of abnormal strides, and many spirits appear even more degraded after death, since life had given them only an appearance of education, which crumbles away with the dust of the body. Since the spirits easily enter into private opinions of the members of the circles, the first phases of their manifestations are in their intellectual utterances mostly nothing more than the reflex of the circle, taken individually or collectively. Since on account of materialism all mankind has become degenerate, it is easy to explain the fact, that by opening the sluices of the spirit-world, an impure flood is conjured up. Only private circles, actuated by religiousness free from hypocrisy, lead to such results as harmonize the beauty of the new revelation with the unadulterated essence of Christianity and other religions."

Thus in the great German Spiritist organ, *Licht, Mehr Licht*, 1879, p. 81, one of the chief representatives of Spiritism publishes to the world that "the majority of the spirits are not honest," that "they maliciously lead men into error and to ruin," and that "by opening the sluices of the spirit-world we have conjured up an impure flood." This last utterance could not have been welded into more crushing language by the bitterest opponent of Spiritism; and coming, as it does, frankly and spontaneously from the pen of one of its foremost advocates, it falls like a withering curse upon the multitudes of the spirit authors of the new revelation. Thus Spiritism itself reprobates the character of the majority of the authors of its revelation; what then can that revelation be worth?

The minority of spirits that remains is described by Spiritists to be of a somewhat higher order, but is in reality nothing better than the white crests of the impure flood that has broken loose from the Stygian pool against our fair earth. Spiritists not only tell us that these nobler spirits are often prevented by their wicked companions from approaching their friends on earth, but that those malicious goblins also designedly pass themselves off before men as of the better sort, in order the more effectually to work out

their evil plans. These confessions are alone sufficient to shake all confidence, not only in the communications but in the very character of higher spirits. To make the case still worse Spiritists frankly own that the higher spirits are themselves not free from the sins of the rabble; that they are only of a higher intellectual order, but ignorant, notwithstanding, on many points, subject to error, and given to deceiving others. They too, not less than the lower class, follow the law of accommodating themselves to the vices and errors of their "incarnate" friends without the least regard for virtue or truth; their wickedness and deception are only of a more educated sort, a perfect counterpart of the splendid villainy of high life. The astounding recklessness with which these spirits contradicted one another produced such confusion that the most sanguine Spiritists for a period relinquished all hopes of ever seeing anything like order brought into the chaos of Spiritism. Miss Hardinge, celebrated as an actress and a medium of the highest order, and perhaps the most enthusiastic and extravagant among the historians of Spiritism, was compelled to acknowledge in as many words that Spiritism "has from the beginning resisted every attempt at organization." That organization, however, was accomplished, but only by the heroic labors of human genius. With the single exception of Dixon, who dictated his gospel from personal revelation, all the other evangelists of Spiritism, Kardec, Wallace, Zöllner, had to undergo the herculean labor of examining, comparing, and rejecting volumes upon volumes of spirit contradictions, before they could find coherent elements sufficient for framing the new revelation. And be it remembered that though the spirits found it an easy matter to say the same thing with their friends on the all-important subjects, and thus come to an agreement with the common wishes and thoughts of millions, they still continued, even in the grand revelation, to drive their mad game of puzzling contradictions, and what, with their inveterate habit of suiting themselves to private differences of opinion, what with their inborn or ingrained love of contradiction, they hurled even the revelation into almost hopeless confusion. The fact is too well known to need confirmation that the revelation has all along had its heresies, its heretical spirits, spiritists, tenets, and practices. Famous among these, and strong in its following, was the heresy published by Dr. and Mrs. Spence, to the effect that none would be immortal save those who had survived on earth to the age of seventy.¹ There is hardly a single point of doctrine in the Deistic

¹ Miss Hardinge writes of the effects produced by this heresy of Professor and Mrs. Spence: "Their doctrines were received with profound dismay, and in some instances with agonizing despair . . . in fact, the promulgation of this repulsive theory, . . . coming as it did just when the cherished facts on which the whole spiritual superstructure was founded had to undergo the severe trial which a tide of recantations and

revelation which had not at one time or another been contradicted and decried by the higher spirits, so that the organization of that revelation as given to the world is rather the work of Kardec and his followers than of the spirits themselves. The revelations of the spirits are in themselves nothing more than an endless chaos of contradictions. This fact is confessed on all hands, and has wrung from Spiritists the most disagreeable confessions. Kardec repeatedly gives signs of annoyance and impatience at the endless difficulties that obstruct his path;¹ Zöllner is perfectly happy amid the confusion, as he loves nothing better than the opportunity of showing how he can thrice confound a confusion;² Wallace, with imperturbable serenity, characterizes the communications of the spirits as fallible, and calls upon wise men to test and judge them; but B. C. v. Rappard surpasses them all in the grandeur with which he rises to the very height of the difficulty. In the periodical, *Licht, Mehr Licht*, in the same number in which his colleague, Reimers, wrote his terrible condemnation of Spiritism, Rappard delivers himself of this peculiarly majestic appeal to the German world (p. 11):

"We advise the reflecting reading-world of Germany, from which nothing may or can be concealed, for to it alone belongs the judicial authority *to solve the contradictions in the utterances of the spirits*, to subject them to a careful test, to wit, to the highest criterion,—that of *Logic*."

It is strange that these gentlemen never once call upon wise men in general, or German logicians in particular, to bring the high criterion of Logic to bear upon the very character of the spirits; very strange that they give such bad characters to those spirits, and in the same breath impose it as a duty on all mankind, and on the German nation in particular, to solve their contradictions. How this solving of contradictions can or is to be accomplished we are not instructed; presumably, it is by the old principle of private interpretation, which means, that every man should take what suits him in particular, and let his neighbor look out for himself. A *bona fide* examination of the contradictions of the spirits, even without the further investigation of their other sins,

exposures necessarily put upon it, seemed to fill the cup of feverish doubt and incertitude to the very brim." Modern American Spiritualism, a Twenty Years' Record of the Communion between Earth and the World of Spirits, p. 248.

¹ Kardec complains also of the difficulty of obtaining reliable statements from mediums. This admission shows how unreliable the whole revelation is even on its human side. According to the courtesy of debate, however, it is better charitably to suppose, for argument's sake, that the evangelists of Spiritism have taken and given only the reliable depositions of mediums.

² V. Dr. Wieser's remarks on Zöllner's hypothesis of "four-dimensional space," l. c. iv., p. 691.

would inevitably lead to the unmasking of their untruthful character. That alone proves them to be wholly unreliable witnesses, alone overthrows their testimony. Their character needs no further scrutiny; it is before the world; he that will may see it; he that after seeing it will believe, believes wicked, lying, deceiving spirits.

This examination of the character of the spirits, showing as it does the utter worthlessness of their word, is all-sufficient in itself to overthrow their revelation. Everything, and this point cannot be insisted upon too often, everything in that revelation rests on the veracity of the spirits; destroy that, and you with one blow shatter the foundations, dislodge the corner-stones, and knock the keystones out of every arch in the lofty dome of the proud Spiritist temple. This work is done. There is no truth in those spirits, and their revelation has no greater weight in the balance of truth than their word. It matters now very little whether their knowledge is beyond objection or not; no reasonable man can believe those spirits on their mere word, indeed he were a fool if he did.

Spiritists object, that it is impossible to believe that the whole race of spirits should conspire to deceive mankind in matters of such tremendous import; that like all intelligent beings they must have a natural inborn love of truth and truthfulness; that, therefore, to speak the truth would be the rule, to deceive, the exception; that, in fine, their very agreement upon the main points of the revelation argues the unity and strength of truth.

This objection would be unanswerable from the Spiritist standpoint, to wit, their gratuitous assumption that the spirits are *friendly* to "their brethren in the flesh." In that supposition it cannot be denied that a universal conspiracy on the part of those intelligent beings to lead men into error and all its consequences would be impossible, because wholly unnatural. But the friendliness of the spirits is precisely the point that is waiting for proof, and more, it cannot be substantiated by Spiritists. If Spiritists rejoin that a universal hostility is also unnatural, the answer is, certainly, provided there is no reason to account for it. Surely the character of the spirits cannot entitle them to the holy name of friendship; the presumption is altogether against their friendliness. Nay, their very conduct points to a universal hostility; as a body they ply the hellish work of leading men into error and vice, and such agents have always been accounted the greatest enemies of man. It is needless to repeat the dark description Spiritists give of the spirits; one needs but to recall the picture to be forced to exclaim, "These are hostile to man, they are fiends!" With the palpable fact of a universal hostility in the spirits, the whole objection falls to the ground. That fact explains how these

intelligent beings can conspire, one and all, to deceive men, and for that purpose agree upon the main points of a new revelation. Spiritists, however, notwithstanding that the facts are against them, persist in denying the hostility of the spirits, throwing the burden of the proof upon their opponents.

Before furnishing a convincing proof, let it be borne in mind that such proof is only *ad abundantiam*, and for a more complete refutation of the tenets of Spiritism. The authority of the spirits has been conclusively proved to be null and void upon the evidence of Spiritists themselves, and no amount of abstract reasoning can avail to prove its value against fact. This premised, the hostility of the spirits to mankind may be demonstrated, not only from a Christian standpoint, but from the very principles of Spiritism itself.

The Christian argument is simply the revealed truth, that there is a portion of the spirit-world leagued in deadly hostility against man. This proof Spiritists of course reject along with Christian revelation, but if the logic to which they appeal is of any weight with them, they shall have to admit both as logical consequences of their own tenets. They certainly must grant that the revelations given by the higher spirits are of greater value than those of the lower, and should be preferred in reasonable belief. Now it so happens that they claim Christ for Spiritism, maintaining, as they consistently must, that He was the noblest spirit that ever became incarnate, so surpassingly great, indeed, that He needed no medium beyond His own body wherewithal to work His wonders. His revelation, therefore, which is the Christian, is tantamount in value with His greatness, and stands as high above all other revelations as He is exalted above all the spirits that have become known to men. If, then, Spiritists claim belief in the revelations of spirits, and if that belief, according to the dictates of reason, must be given to the better and wiser spirit, Spiritism, if it would be at all logical, should hold fast to the revelation of Christ, until at least His equal appear in the world, either in the flesh or in a séance. And this conclusion is backed by the Spiritist claims upon the prophets of the old law and the saints of the new law, as the most extraordinary mediums the earth has seen. Surely modern Spiritism has not been able to produce mediums like Moses, Isaias, Jeremiah, David, Daniel, the Apostles, the Holy Fathers, the Theresas, and the Xaviers. By the laws of Spiritism, the spirits that ministered to mediums so extraordinary must have been of a much higher order than those that visit the séances to-day. Yet all those *supposed* mediums, without one dissenting voice, without a shadow of contradiction, bore testimony to the truth of the revelation of Jesus Christ, and all their *supposed* magnificent minister-

ing spirits must, in the supposition of Spiritists, have with one accord proclaimed the same truth. Therefore, on Spiritist grounds, there is no higher or more reliable revelation under heaven than that of our Lord Jesus Christ. Who asks, Why, then, do Spiritists not take it? Let him ask them, let him ask their fleshly hearts. Our point is, that in that revelation of Christ there is the doctrine concerning the fallen angels, who have sworn perpetual enmity to every man that is born into the world; this Spiritists are bound to admit at the hands of logic, for logic is inexorable, and must convince the mind, though it cannot persuade a perverse will. What more does that revelation of Christ tell of those wicked spirits? It says that they are enemies of God and of man, rebels that were stricken down by the Almighty, who now in impotent rage wreak their vengeance upon God's image in man, seeking to compass his destruction by means of error and vice, spirits that possess men and make them speak many languages and do other wonderful things, spirits that can work marvels, spirits of untruth, whose great leader is the Father of lies, deceitful and deceiving spirits, that have permission to tempt man to break his allegiance to the Most High, in one word, they are the demons of hell.

Does it not look as if these are the very spirits of Spiritism? They are the same. Christ, the God of the Christian, Christ, *hypothetically* the greatest oracle of Spiritism, has revealed it,—the spirits of Modern Spiritism are the lying demons of hell. That is their character in a nutshell.

The conclusion just arrived at receives still further confirmation from a close inspection of the *statements* of the spirits. This examination will show whether they speak the truth like friends.

In the first place, those spirits claim to be *the blessed souls of the departed*. But think of it! The grand, liberated, proud souls of men are constrained to be the slaves of the nervous excitability, or animal magnetism, or whatever animal stuff they choose to call it, of the cataleptic mediums! If this were one of the torments of damned souls, one could understand it; but we are told that it is a part of man's future happiness. If those poor spirits were obliged to come at the bidding of great genius or heroic virtue, one might possibly be able to imagine such subservience; but we are told that they must obey the animal magnetism of the mediums. If only a few of the departed spirits were doomed to such degradation, one might be satisfied with the hope of escaping their sad lot; but we are assured that all spirits must obey the call of mediums, all without exception. This is part of the natural destiny of man. The souls of all men, of great men, of warriors, conquerors, statesmen, philosophers, and kings, all must obey the mediums, and come—how?—as very ghouls, as most undignified

hobgoblins, that take to moving furniture, to pinching and cuffing the spectators, unbuttoning their coats, and even to playing the inevitable organ-grinder. Hamlet might well recoil from suicide if such be our allotted avocations in the unknown country, and we could weep over the departed glory of Calhoun, if, as Spiritists assure us, his colossal spirit was constrained to revisit the city of Washington, the very arena of his ancient triumphs, there with his iron hand to play upon a guitar.¹ Our whole being revolts against such a belief; man's soul, godlike even amid the ruins of insanity, scorns such degradation, spurns such a destiny. If such be the eternity that awaits us, then, Reason cries out with all its might, let men be lunatics, and ween themselves angels or gods, that so they may play at least a dignified rôle with childish, senseless, but everlasting satisfaction. This were man's highest wisdom, this his loftiest aspiration and greatest good fortune, to be a glory-dreaming lunatic,—if the revelation of Spiritism were the truth, and not its libel.

Thus speaks reason. The revelation of Christ, which Spiritists must admit as Spiritist evidence, says something more. It does not deny the possibility of departed souls returning to visit their friends on earth, but admitting it, enables man to judge whether those souls come from heaven or hell.² Faultless perfection is the halo that invariably must surround the spirits of the blessed adopted sons of God; moral and intellectual depravity, on the contrary, are inseparable from the souls that are enemies of God and man. Wicked, lying, blaspheming, destroying spirits, as are those of Spiritism, if they are at all departed souls, which cannot be proved, must be lost souls, the *fili diaboli*, as Christ calls them, and, therefore, can only do the devil's work. Christians as a rule do not believe that the poor lost souls are detailed for that work; however, they will not quarrel with Spiritists on that score, for to their minds to prefer the sons of devils to the devils themselves is only a matter of choice, the disastrous consequences still remaining the same.

The cynical mockery with which the spirits endeavor to drag down the godlike soul of man to the condition of an ignoble slave,

¹ This actually occurred in 1853. Governor Tallmadge, of Wisconsin, records that Calhoun was cited by name. The first phenomena were certainly in keeping with the character of the man whom Miss Martineau described as "the cast-iron man, who looks as if he had never been born, and could never die," for they were exceedingly stormy and tumultuous. But then the phenomena changed. Bells and a guitar played soft music, and these words were rapped out: "It was my hand that touched you [Tallmadge] and the guitar,—CALHOUN."

² Most Catholic philosophers and theologians hold that the souls of the dead cannot in a *natural manner* get to know what is happening upon earth, or exercise any active influence over material substances. In this they follow St. Thomas, who bases the doctrine on the properties of the soul itself. V. S. Th., I, p. q. 89, a. 8, et I, p. q. 117, a. 4.

cannot be palliated by their doctrine of *constant progressive evolution*, saying (clause 3): "*Progressive evolution of the intellectual and moral nature is the destiny of individuals; the knowledge, attainments, and experiences of earth-life forming the basis of spirit-life.*"¹ This principle rests, as the whole revelation does, solely on the authority of the lying spirits; in truth, it is at first sight a falsehood. If the spirit-world be graded into higher and yet higher classes, according to the intellectual and moral perfections of its denizens, if those inhabitants are dead men's ghosts, and if, as is taught in clause 3, "death effects no change in the spirit," to which class do intellectual monsters, high-bred villains, the learned wicked men of ancient and modern times, belong? Presumably to two at the same time, haply by bilocation, intellectually on the fifth floor of the spirit-house, morally in the cellar. Again, how comes it to pass that the higher spirits are not a whit less wicked and treacherous than the lower castes, nay seem to be villains of a deeper dye, Pecksniffs, Varneys, Iagos, Fausts, or more ignoble than these? According to all accounts there is no such difference in intellectual and moral depravity among the spirits of the séances as would warrant the assumption of distinct classes; yet, mankind is expected to accept the gratuitous assertion of a constant *post-mortem* evolution as an article of faith on the word of those monsters. But the theory of constant evolution is completely overthrown by facts. The progress of the spirits must be accomplished by means of repeated "incarnations," earth-life being the school of perfection in which they must work their way upward from class to class unto the highest. Constant progressive evolution is, therefore, the inexorable law that must have governed the human race from the beginning; the spirit-world and the human-world must have been rising unceasingly together towards the acme of perfection. This is nothing but the wild theory of Progressionists, to which history gives the lie. The rise, progress, culmination, and falling away of nations show that no human progress is constant. However, there is no call for historical argument against the Spiritist theory of perpetual progress; Spiritists themselves contradict it. They account for the "impure flood that has been conjured up" from the spirit-world, by the fact that mankind has *degenerated* by falling into Materialism. This admission is suicidal. If constant progressive evolution is an inexorable law of earth-life, how can it

¹ It will be remembered that Mr. Koons, of Ohio, found a full spirit-revelation in his locked up spirit-room. "Ceaseless progression, by which every living soul becomes a participant in the divine glory," is the spiritual destiny of man. In the plan of the grades of heaven that was drawn by a member of Koon's family in a state of clairvoyance, its centre is described as "the ancient pit or hell, the place of second death, the lowest and darkest sphere of probation, but by no means a final state."

come to pass that the "incarnate spirits" should degenerate at all, let alone sink into the mire of Materialism? Evidently Spiritists themselves destroy the whole law of evolution; they assert it in theory and deny it in fact.

The revelation of Christ, which Spiritists must accept as more reliable than their own, denies their constant progressive evolution theory pointblank. Heaven and hell are the immovable goals where man's spirit, after the brief span of a single earth-life, must come to a full stop forever. To advance in perfection is man's allotted task during life, a law, but one that he is free to set at defiance under the forfeit of eternal happiness. Beyond the grave there is no such thing as an evolution from iniquity to virtue, from damnation to salvation; *there is no redemption out of hell.*

To prop up their scientific theory of constant progressive evolution, the malevolent spirits with shrewd cunning flatter the Buddhistic tendencies of their votaries, by revealing the old pagan error of the *Transmigration of souls*, under the innocent names of *Incar-nation* or *Pure carnation*. . . . This doctrine embraces the tenets of the *pre-existence of souls*, the *duality of man*, and the *successive incar-nation of one and the same soul*, all of them exploded theories of pagan philosophy.

Man is instructed, in the first clause of the *Moral Teaching of Spiritism*, that he "is a duality, consisting of an *organized spiritual form*, evolved coincidently with and permeating the physical body, and having corresponding *organs* and development." This astounding absurdity is a revelation indeed. A spiritual form, organized and having organs, is a contradiction in terms, organs necessarily requiring matter and material organization.¹ But what wonder! Contradictions must be perfectly natural to spirits of contradiction, and as for men, it is not their reason, but their disorderly passions that must be humored and pandered to. Therefore, in the onward march of constant progress the Christian is invited to step back into the disconsolate sensuous earth-life of ancient Paganism, and the refined European is politely requested to learn civilization from the semi-barbarous Buddhist of the Orient. The enlightened man of the nineteenth century is informed that his body and soul do not constitute one nature and person, as his common-sense persists in telling him, but that they are two complete substances, one im-

¹ The ethereal body, or *peri-spirit*, as German Spiritists have called it, with which the spirits are said to be united, and which is called the real body of the spirits, is the cause of the unheard of manner in which not only Spiritists, but the spirits themselves, use the terms *spirit* and *spiritual*. Not only the ideas of things, but the very words used to express them, are thus distorted into monstrous obscurities. In argument, the *peri-spirit hypothesis* is as gratuitous and worthless as Leibnitz's dream of the little corpuscles in which souls are created, and by means of which they are united to the body. V. Liberatore, *Psychologia*, C. iii., Art. iv.

prisoned within the other, making of him a duality. The consciousness of his individual unity is set aside without ceremony; he knows nothing about it; he is not one, but two. The hourly recurring fact that the undeveloped soul is united with a body to be its principle of life and being, and to be developed together with it, is completely ignored; and instead, man is told *to live by faith*, to believe the lying spirits that it is the veteran century-old spirit which ever and anon is thrust into the human animal to re-enact the serio-comic tragedy of life. Poor spirit! Ever and ever again must it drag that loathsome animal through the vicissitudes of life, ever and ever again drag its own weary self through the helplessness of childhood, the follies of youth, the bitter disappointments of manhood, the misery of old age, and the horrors of death, and why? It is in order to do penance for unknown crimes, to atone for sins it cannot remember. The poor wretch has lost all recollections of former existences, all consciousness of the sins committed erewhile in a spirit-land, and so completely that neither its imagination, nor its memory, nor its reason, can reach the first link of memory's chain that has fallen from its grasp into the gulf of oblivion. To its past history the spirit is buried in the gross body as under a sea; no murmur from the upper world penetrates to the depths where it lies pinioned down by the nightmare of life. What then is man? An idiot tortured for crimes he wots not of. What is mankind? Millions and billions of such idiots. And why do they not rid themselves of such degradation, why do they cling to such a life, and not hunt after death, day and night, for death must be sweet as sleep is to the weary to such wretches? Monstrous compounds of misery, the only foul stains upon God's fair creation, why do men not call upon their Creator to exterminate them from the face of the earth? Is it because they are cowards, or idiots, or because their reason tells them, with the voice of experience, that all this is a lie?¹ Yet this is the new gospel, the glad tidings of salvation, that promises to deliver the unchristian world from the demon of despair that is possessing it to-day. This is what the pre-existence and transmigration of souls, and the duality of man signify; they mean *raving Buddhism*.

¹ V. Liberatore, *Psychologia*, *ibid.* He argues: Hypothesis illa (præviæ animarum existentia) omnino gratis et arbitrarie asseritur. . . . Deinde unitatem humani compositi, contra experientiam et rationem, omnino pessumdat. . . . Præterea, in ea hypothesi non compositum quoddam naturale sed violentum et præposterum oriretur. . . . Tertio, si illa opinatio vera esset, homo mortem non horreret vi naturæ, sed appeteret potius. . . . Quarto, ridicula prorsus est illa obliuio, quæ fingitur, omnium anteactarum idearum et mutationum, quas anima sentiit; nec quomodo ideæ illæ oblitterentur et sepeliantur, intelligi congruenter potest. . . . Denique illud etiam absurdum est, poenas sceleris emendatrices dari ob crimen, quod quale fuerit nec ratione nec revelatione sciatur. . . . De Leibnitii opinione nil addimus, quia mera fabella est, nullo probabili fundamento firmata.

These pagan doctrines the revelation of Christ denies point-blank. It teaches that souls are *created*, even as was that of Adam, when God unites them to the body; that the soul is the informing principle, the *form* of the body, and constitutes together with it, one nature, one person, the unit—man; that “it is ordained for all men to die *once, semel*, and after death judgment,” and then eternal life in heaven or in hell. There shall be only one reincarnation, when on the last day every man shall rise again in his own flesh, to meet his judge.¹ Thus man comes from the hand of God, innocent of personal faults, though tainted in his nature with the original sin of his first parent. He is a free, responsible being, destined for eternal glory in the beatific vision, the end he must reach by the help of God, or be forever damned. The grace of God is always ready at his call; if he fails, if he makes shipwreck of his soul, it is his own fault. In the next world, the day is past, and the night is come wherein no man can work. Then a great change comes over the souls of men. In heaven, the souls enter into the ocean of the beatific vision of God, are deified, are made like God, *quia*, as St. John touchingly says, *videbimus cum sicuti est*. The lost souls in hell are stricken in every faculty, and forever. Such is Christ’s revelation concerning the present and future life of man’s soul.

Thus far we have reviewed the Spiritist Revelation in as far as it touches upon the origin, nature, and destiny of man and spirits. Before examining the little it has to say about God, it will be profitable to cast a glance backward at the hideous character and statements of the spirits. Out of both rises the naked reality of the terrible fact that those spirits are arch-enemies, that they labor to dethrone not only the faith but also the reason of man; that they undermine not only the moral but even the physical nobility of man; that, in one word, their revelation is made for the revolt of the worst passions, and not for the peace and quiet of unsettled reason. After this, one can measure the folly that must have dictated the *fourth clause* of the Moral Teaching, in which the *kindness, charity, and friendliness* of the spirits are held up to universal admiration. Were they ever so kind, ever so servile to man’s least wish, their character and their revelations make friendship an impossibility to a sane man, whose reason must cry out all the while against their objectionable proffered friendship, *magis amica veritas*. Nor can the provision of the fourth clause, “that their fallible communications must be tested by man,” save them from this condemnation. The real meaning of that proviso is, that the grand jury of men are to find the revelations true, not false; a request which would be harmless and ridiculous were it not so cunning

¹ For a full treatment of these points see the respective articles in Father Mazzella’s *De Deo Creante*.

and arrogant. Nobody will deny, indeed it has been taken for granted all through this argument, that man's reason is fully able to analyze the character and communications of the spirits so as to demonstrate that both are false and utterly worthless. But it is quite another matter to ask man to corroborate the assurances of the spirits. In the Spiritist hypothesis such an undertaking is impossible. The theory of common origin, nature and destiny for spirits and men, hurls men down into the same slough of fraud and mendacity in which the spirits are at home; and in that common debasement it would be intolerable arrogance and stupid pride on the part of men to constitute themselves judges of spirits that are their equals, if not their betters. However, even allowing men the honor of judging, the difficulty which they are called in to obviate only returns in another way. They, too, are fallible; their decision, also, is impeachable; and who is to come in next to adjudicate its merits in turn? Spiritists cannot possibly extricate themselves from this vicious circle of their own creation. To make matters worse, reason denies their supposition, viz., that man could ever demonstrate those revelations to be true. Some of them are repugnant to reason; the rest lie beyond the reach of reason and experience, and must be taken on faith. No amount of reasoning can vindicate the doctrines concerning the duality of man and the transmigration of souls, for they are false. The pre-existence of souls, the grades of spirit-land, the constant progress of the spirits, and the first article of the Spiritist creed, that the spirits of the séances are dead men's ghosts, man cannot verify by actual experience, by memory, or by argument. Above all as a Spiritist would he be an utterly incompetent judge. What does he know, what can he know, of those alleged facts? His spirit can have no recollection of them; the memories of ages of spirit-life are shut out by the human skull, and the man is all his life as innocent of the past as a new-born babe. Reason cannot come to his assistance. The reality of the facts depends entirely on the veracity of the spirits, and that veracity his reason cannot, at its utter need, prove; rather must, if rightly used, disprove, and instead prove their mendacity. It will not be amiss to call attention once more to the unreasonableness of appealing to the Rationalistic criterion of revelation in order to save Spiritism from the anathemas of merciless logic. That criterion, as applied to the revelations made by creatures, is one-sided. The examination of the hidden things may well serve to show that their assertion is absurd; and, in this wise, it makes sad havoc of the revelations of the spirits. But, when reason cannot brand a falsehood in the statements, it yet cannot substantiate the facts stated, for they are *hidden* from it, and must be taken on the word of the creature that reveals them.

Proceeding now to review the revelations of the spirits concerning the Godhead, one remembers at the very outset the significant fact that those guilty beings could not be brought near this subject without manifesting an aversion bordering on abhorrence, and that in their utterances they preserved a studied ambiguity and reserve, indicative of a better knowledge than they chose to communicate. Their dread of the topic evidently shows that they know far more about God than is comfortable for them; the sudden cessation of their interminable loquacity, and the short, impatient, but guarded answers that are given, as though under compulsion, betray that they know much more than they care to reveal, very much that they are determined never to reveal. Thus, from the very start, the revelations of the spirits concerning God are testimony wrung from witnesses who evidently know the truth, but are determined not to tell it,—testimony, therefore, which, so far forth, must be rejected as wholly unreliable. And with this we might bring the examination of the Spiritist Revelation to a close; but the prime importance of the matter under consideration demands a full investigation; here, if anywhere, the spirits must be unmasked. Their behavior is so unreasonably inconsistent as to be at first sight unaccountable. After striking judgment, heaven, and hell from the tablets of conscience, after making God perfectly harmless to guilty souls, there is no reason why they should not tell the whole truth about Him. If their revelations as to the nature and destiny of intelligent responsible creatures have any truth in them, there should be no contradictions in their doctrines about God; there can no longer be any excuse for such contradiction, no longer any reason, save that of hatred, and in that event the examination of their revelation must end with an anathema,—a curse upon them,—as the arch-enemies of God and of man. And this is, in fact, “the be all and end all” of those spirits. Their consummate wickedness and mendacity culminate in their revelations concerning God. At one time they protest that they know nothing about God; at another, they acknowledge that they do know something, but not a whit more than those who ask them. However, as they are further importuned and challenged by more stubborn men, they reveal that God created the world out of nothing, and left it to shift for itself, and thus they perfectly satisfy the Deist; but, as Pantheists look sour, they reveal for their special delectation that God is the “Absolute Being,” the *eo ego purum*, the only existing substance, evolved and spread out into what men call the universe.

After these portentous contradictions the advocates of the spirits can adopt, in the last resort, no other line of defence than that of a lost cause, the desperate plea of insanity. That course, how-

ever, no Spiritist can or will adopt, and if he still persists in believing those spirits, his neighbors can only shrug their shoulders and say, in their politest way, "*magna est fides tua.*"

Since the spirits are certainly not insane (and how could they be, having no material brain to cloud the mind?); since they knowingly and intentionally reveal contradictory doctrines about God, and thus lead men into error in a matter that involves the eternal lot of their souls; since they thus set at naught the highest rights of God and of the creature, without assigning any reason, nay, without any assignable excuse, for they have none, what remains but that they act through malice aforethought, but that they are actuated by no other motive than hatred, and have sworn an undying enmity against both God and man? Guilty of the deepest treachery against their fellow-creatures, branded with high treason against their God, the anathema of man and of God must be upon them forever. If, then, these smiling fiends go on in their revelations about God, denying that he has anything to do with his creatures, or they with Him, denying that He in his justice will reward or punish in heaven or in hell responsible intelligent creatures, if they deny every Christian dogma, it is the word of the arch-enemies of man and of God, and whoso believes it in his heart shall be made like unto them.

Spiritists need not be told how the Christian Revelation, which they are bound to accept as the highest authority even on Spiritist grounds, contradicts every statement made by the spirits about God, with the single exception of the dogma of creation. They know it; or if some of them are so lamentably ignorant of Christianity as their views upon it would lead one to suspect, they can get the much-to-be-desired information from their Catholic neighbors.

The condemnation which reason pronounces upon the spirits for their revelations with regard to God, must, without more ado, for the same reasons, be extended to their teachings concerning the God-man. With what show of reason Spiritists claim Christ for themselves will appear in the next review of their claims and promises; at present justice spurns all claims of the spirit-villains to brotherhood with the Son of God. And so closes the trial of their character and of their revelation with the sentence that they are vile impostors.

Looking back, and surveying the ground we have passed over, it is clear that the study of the Spiritist Revelation, according to purely rational principles, appealing not to the ultimate authority of Divine Revelation but to the logic of common-sense, has, at every step, forced upon the mind the evident conclusion that the spirits are sworn enemies of God and of man, revealing doctrines that are not only false, but all of them ruinous to man, and many

of them blasphemous against God, thus making the revelation a wholesale diabolical mockery of God and of man, worthy of him who, for claiming to be equal to the Most High, had his pride brought down even unto hell, and is doomed to be forever the *simia Dei*, the ape of God.

Alas for Spiritists! If such spirits come to them, drawn by the cords of sympathy to fellowship and friendship, if such spirits befriend them because they are like to themselves, what is the world to think of Spiritists themselves?

Nothing abashed Spiritists only cry the louder, "If you will not believe their words, believe their works, for they give testimony of them." Vain challenge! They give testimony of what? It must be of their mendacity, their false doctrines, their blasphemies, which are undoubtedly theirs; these are corroborated by their marvels, if marvels can corroborate any such thing, for in reality the marvellous works of the fiends prove nothing but their dangerous strength, and from that we pray the Lord to deliver us.

The ultimate conclusion of our examination is that the spirits, their revelations and their marvels, are the most extensive and revolting manifestation of the powers of darkness that the world has ever beheld. Yet it is upon such foundations that Spiritists, not in the least daunted by the horrid pandemonium in their midst, have built up their magnificent claims and promises, in order to lure men more effectually into the demon-worship of Spiritism. But here they found Christianity standing in their way. They dare not lay violent hands upon the beautiful spouse of Christ; an open attack upon the beloved Mother of Christian peoples could only end in certain and disgraceful defeat. Hence the smiling mask of friendship must continue to hide the false face of treachery, and the great confidence-game must be played to the end upon a world that wants to be gulled. Therefore the word went out from the séances, the antechambers of hell: "Go forth, and lay your hand upon the shoulder of the meek spouse of Christ, and say, *You belong to us*. Good Christians will be scandalized, but do not take heed of them; the world, which admires 'brass' only a little less than gold, will applaud your daring. Then open your lips, and preach to the world that Christianity has been nothing but the past growth of Spiritism, of which modern Spiritism is the bud, blossom, and ripe fruit. The world will be willing enough to believe it; but as reason is the Cerberus that warns men against the entrance to hell, you must throw it a bone. Therefore solemnly announce to reason that the miracles of Christ and of the saints are nothing but Spiritist marvels, and it will be dazed; show it the miracles and marvels side by side, and it will be puzzled; prove the perfect parallelism as far as sophistry and rhetoric can prove it,

and reason will begin to doubt the old creed, and from doubt pass to unbelief, and from unbelief to denial, until it admits that Christianity has been a form of Spiritism, and that Spiritism is the only rational religion in the world. Do this, and all the rest will follow without more trouble than the waiting until causes work out their effects." The order of the pandemonium was obeyed. During the last few years Spiritists have indefatigably urged their grand claims to Christ and Christianity, and it is, therefore, an imperative duty for every Christian to arm himself against their rhetoric and sophistry by fully realizing the falsehoods and injustice that characterized both. For this purpose it is necessary to examine how Spiritism is the complement and perfection of Christianity.

With the picture of its revelation fresh before our minds, it is evident at first sight that Spiritism cannot be the complement of Christianity, as the direct *development or outgrowth* of Christian Revelation. Everybody knows, or at least should know, that the treasure of Christian Revelation was delivered over to the Church entire and complete by Christ and the Apostles, that it cannot admit of a change or an innovation, of addition or subtraction, its only progress consisting in the more effective exposition and defence of its dogmas by the definitions of the Church.

To that immutability of revealed truth, which all who believe in the divinity of Christ are bound to defend, the Spiritist Revelation stands opposed not only as an innovation and an essential change, but as an open enemy. So true is this, that the wiser sort of Spiritists have abandoned the claim that Spiritism is the outgrowth of Christianity, and fallen back to a higher and stronger position, maintaining that Spiritism furnishes the complement of Christianity by at last giving it a correct and satisfactory explanation.

Spiritism furnishes *no explanation* of Christian Revelation. As was shown in the discussion of the Spiritist Revelation, a greater or more irreconcilable opposition could not be imagined than that which actually obtains between it and the Christian Revelation. It would be difficult to present this opposition more briefly and forcibly than in the splendid summing up of Dr. Wieser (l. c., p. 89).

"Christianity has its starting-point and its end in God, whilst Spiritism begins and ends with man; we can characterize the former with the modern qualification, theocentric; the latter, anthropocentric. Christianity comes to meet man as the revelation of God, the gift of His grace, and the manifestation of His will, and demands of man, faith, obedience, and self-conquest, promising him salvation and beatitude,—all this with entire subordination to the absolutely highest and last objective end, the honor and glory of God; Spiritism, on the contrary, is an overflow of man's self-love, an attempt at helping himself out of his own resources; it

aims in a direct line at self-gratification, is therefore essentially eu-daimonistic, and determines its end according to the promptings of its own inclinations. Christianity seeks to elevate man to God; Spiritism conversely draws down the godlike to man. Spiritism knows only of a beginningless and an endless development, which in a natural way runs through ever higher phases, and furnishes neither a finishing of universal human history upon earth, nor a last end of the career of the individual hereafter. How entirely different the Christian order of the world presents itself to our view,—the creation in time with a fixed end; the elevation of the natural beyond its, to itself, insurmountable confines to the supernatural (nature and grace); the unified drama of man's history, with its two turning-points of salvation and judgment, with the struggles and triumphs of the Kingdom of God, with its first and second Adam! In short, we can say in general that just as the formal principle of Spiritism is totally different from that of Christianity, in that it adopts the principle of modern positivism in place of faith in revelation, so also the entire view of the world is not only more or less different, but diametrically opposite to that taken by Christianity."

Spiritism cannot, therefore, be in any sense of the word the complement of Christianity in point of revealed doctrines. Fully alive to this fact, Spiritists concentrate their arguments against the miracles of Christianity, and endeavor to prove that they are marvels of Spiritism. The dangerous nature of this attack calls for separate and careful examination.

MICHAEL DAVITT'S SCHEME FOR "NATIONALIZING THE LAND."

GREAT popular movements sometimes resemble the beating of the surf upon the ocean's shore. A billow forms at sea and rushes towards the beach, but, as it nears it, breaks into foam, recedes, and some minutes elapse before another billow can gather volume and sweep forward. What occupies only a few moments of time in the motion of the sea often requires decades of years, and sometimes centuries in the movements of human history.

It has become a question whether the present movement in Ireland for relief from the effects of seven centuries of misrule and oppression shall resemble the futile dashing of the surf, or shall be as a mighty current which with continuing onward flow will carry the Irish nation out of desolation and misery into the contentment and peace of a prosperous and free people.

Excepting the removal of political disabilities on account of their religion from the Catholics of Ireland, no movement more fraught with important consequences, direct and indirect, has ever enlisted the energies of the Irish people than that which aims at the abrogation of the present system of Irish land-tenure, and is now known by the name of the Land League movement. It has gathered strength as it has advanced, strength due both to increased clearness and correctness of ideas, and to enlarged support, moral and material, given to it in America and Australia, as well as in Ireland itself. It has won for itself converts even in England. It has compelled the British Crown and Parliament to give it reluctant yet serious consideration. It has enlisted on its side the public opinion of the civilized world. The change in this respect is wonderful and almost incredible. It can scarcely be realized, even by those who have watched it most closely, except by contrasting the quite recent past with the immediate present. Even three years ago it was difficult to obtain a patient hearing, much less serious consideration of what, for the sake of brevity, we may call the Irish question. Public opinion seemed wedded, without possibility of separation, to the idea that the miseries of the people of Ireland, their poverty, approaching to absolute destitution of what is necessary to a decent livelihood, their recurring famines, their rags and wretched cabins, were all their own fault, due to inherent defects in their own character, or else due to their bigoted adherence to the Catholic religion, to which three hundred years of persecution had only bound them more closely, and which

tended to foster ignorance, to repress energy and enterprise, and oppose progress, industrial and intellectual. Even in 1879 and 1880, when the first accounts of the impending Irish famine reached our shores, they were received with indifference, and it was difficult to turn public attention to the subject, though, after it was so directed, generous contributions were swiftly sent to relieve the famine-stricken sufferers.

All this has been changed, and immensely, wonderfully changed. How, and why, and by what means, we shall not stop to describe. No one now denies that right and justice are on the side of the Irish people. The Irish question is now referred to and discussed by almost every influential newspaper, not only in America and Australia, where persons of Irish birth or descent form a large if not the largest part of the population, but in England itself, in France, and Germany, and Italy. It is regarded, too, as an admitted truth, and is assumed as a starting-point, an undeniable premise, in almost every discussion of the condition of Ireland, that the Land Question, in the order of time, if not of logic, is the first that must be solved.

In all this the movement of the people of Ireland has gained an immense advantage, a real moral victory. But it is now a question whether the fruits of this victory shall be gathered in by an advance upon predetermined well-considered lines of action, or be lost by an abandonment of those lines, by total changes of plan, by what will be equivalent to retrocession, by hesitation and delay at a critical moment, and by differences of opinion and diversity of action on the part of the leaders of the movement and their respective followers.

Just here a serious danger threatens the success of the Irish cause. "In union there is strength," "United we stand, divided we fall," are homely maxims, but not the less true on that account, nor the less important to be remembered. Disunion, differences of opinion as to immediate plans of action, even though union of sentiment as to the ultimate object might continue, would be ruinous to the success of the Irish cause for many a year to come, as it often has been to other causes equally just.

The danger has showed itself in most serious form in the ideas and change of plan now proposed by Mr. Michael Davitt under the phrase, "Nationalizing the Land." Rumors of differences of opinion, and fears of serious dissensions among the leaders of the Land League movement were recently telegraphed to this country from England, and created equally serious apprehensions here among those who are aiding the movement. Mr. Davitt came to this country for the declared primary purpose of allaying these

fears, but his visit has had the effect of deepening them, contrary to his own expressed desire and intention.

Mr. Davitt personally we hold in high esteem. No one can read the sad and instructive history of his life, shut out in childhood and youth from all opportunities of education, conquering the disadvantages of his circumstances and position by the power of indomitable resolution; a self-made, self-educated man; imprisoned as a felon, after an unfair trial, and subjected to almost indescribable cruelty while imprisoned; hating injustice and oppression, as well he might, yet cherishing no bitterness of spirit nor desire for vengeance against his oppressors,—no one can read his history without a feeling of admiration, and a conviction that he is a man of exceptional force of character and honest adherence to his convictions of right. Yet all this increases the danger. Self-education develops self-reliance and strength of character, but fails to deepen and widen intellectual perceptions. It rather tends to narrow them. It tends to intensify personal convictions and to develop a tenacity of purpose, which easily runs into obstinacy and disregard of the opinions of others equally or more competent to form a correct judgment. In considering a subject, "self-educated" persons seldom take in the whole field of view. They may grasp a principle or idea firmly and bring to its advocacy great eloquence and intellectual vigor, but, confining their attention to it, they rarely give due importance to other collateral ideas, inseparably connected with what they hold.

Thus, we fear, it is with Mr. Davitt. His sincerity we do not question. All his intentions, doubtless, are well meant. But however sincere an individual may be in motive and intention, his course of action may be erroneous and productive of mischievous consequences. Mr. Davitt declares his willingness to follow Mr. Parnell in the line of action marked out two years ago in the Land League Convention in Dublin, and since then and up to this time strictly adhered to by Mr. Parnell and the other leaders of the Land League, yet Mr. Davitt's plan though irreconcilably opposed to that of the Land League and to the chief immediate purpose and object of the Land League movement,—peasant proprietorship,—is winning adherents and supporters. If this continues one of two results will inevitably follow: either the Land League, and all who are enlisted in its support, must radically change their purposes, aims, and matured plans, must give up the ground which has been won, must retrace their steps as having moved in the wrong direction, and take up with Mr. Davitt's scheme,¹ or else the strength of the Irish

¹ Mr. Parnell plainly foresees these consequences. In an interview with the London correspondent of the *New York Herald* he is reported to have said: "The conversion of any tenant into an owner is, according to the views of the Nationalization-

people and the support they are receiving from others will be divided between two antagonistic plans and parties.

With this belief we propose to criticise, not Mr. Davitt, but his scheme.

As first proposed, Mr. Davitt's scheme for solving the Irish land question seemingly involved no gross violations of natural right and justice. It simply proposed that the existing (English) government¹ should purchase the landlords' interest in the land of Ireland, and instead of allowing the tenants to become owners of it by making certain annual payments for a term of years, they should continue tenants, not of the landlords, but of the government, subject to a perpetual annual rent-charge, sufficient not only to pay the annual interest on the money required to buy out the landlords, but also to pay all the expenses (general and local) of governing Ireland, and promoting the public interests of the people (general and local), such as the "county-cess," police and court expenses, road taxes, improvement of rivers and harbors, poor-rates, etc.

The scheme in this form is chiefly objectionable on account of its impolicy, its unadaptedness to the circumstances and needs of the people of Ireland, and, we may add, of any civilized country,

of-the-land party, a step in the wrong direction,—a step which will have to be retraced hereafter. If their views are to obtain, we should incur the imputation of not knowing our own minds; if, after two years of successful agitation toward an occupying proprietary, we start an entirely different theory, I recognize to the fullest extent the right of anybody to formulate his own views and to influence the people to follow him in the direction of those opinions; but, having regard to all the circumstances of the case, the great risk of a division in America, and the serious evils which have always attended a division in the ranks of our people, "*I cannot view the step lately taken in formulating this new plan as one likely to be justified by successful results.*" In answer to the inquiry of the correspondent: "Then I may take it that *you intend to adhere strictly to the original programme of the Land League and recommend no alteration?*" Mr. Parnell replied, "*Most certainly.*"

Mr. Healy has also expressed himself with regard to Mr. Davitt's scheme, and the bad effects of his presenting it to the public. Apart from many grave objections he makes to the scheme itself, he says: "The raising of any new issue at present would be most impolitic. By operating on the old lines of the Land League the neck of Irish landlordism has been nearly broken, and to embark on any new scheme, which must undoubtedly create divergence of opinion among men who are at present agreed, might wreck the whole movement." He then says, referring to the tenant farmers of Ireland: "I do not believe any one of them would lift a finger to advance it (the scheme)."

Justin McCarthy, among other things, says: "The effect on Ireland of sudden changes in our political and commercial programme could not be anything but hurtful just now, and I, for myself, trust that Irishmen, as a rule, . . . will keep firmly to the actual business of those great domestic reforms, to which so many of us have pledged ourselves."

¹ As regards this, Mr. Davitt has changed his scheme, and now proposes that it shall only be carried into effect after an Irish national government shall be established in Ireland. This would leave the land tenures unchanged, and the tenants subject to the mercy of their landlords for an unknown undeterminable period.

and its virtual impracticability. So far as natural right is concerned and authority of government, it is an admitted truth that government possesses paramount authority over the property of its citizens, whether that property consists of land or of movable goods. For the sake of the common good government may tax that property to such extent as the common good requires; and, when the public good requires it, may deprive individuals of property, paying them a just compensation.

Government may, and does, limit individual ownership of property to such uses and modes of enjoyment as will not interfere with the rights of other individuals, nor with public interests. As regards land, the government is the acknowledged paramount landlord; or, in other words, has the "right of eminent domain;" the individual's ownership, possession, and use of land being subordinate to and limited by this right and authority of government.

Therefore, *if* the public interests, the common good, required that the present occupiers or tenants of land in Ireland, instead of becoming owners of the land in *fee-simple*, should become tenants of the government, paying a perpetual rent-charge to the government, instead of remaining tenants of individual landlords, there would be nothing contrary to established social order in the arrangement, and, provided the landlords were compensated according to the demands of justice in each case, nothing contrary to natural right and justice.

But when the scheme is looked at from the points of expediency, policy, and practicability, it is open to grave objections.

I. The attempt, even, to win over the people of Ireland to the support of this scheme would divide them into two opposite camps arrayed against each other in irreconcilable antagonism. It would require them to retrace all the steps they have taken, and give up all the advantages they have gained in their advance toward peasant proprietorship. It is not reasonable to suppose they would generally do this. Indeed it is as plain as anything well can be that they would not universally or generally do this. Mr. Parnell has already declared this in unmistakable language, and also declared that he is resolved to adhere to the original plan of the Land League, which aims at an immediate reduction of rents and opening the way for the tenants of the land becoming its proprietors. The result, therefore, of attempting to carry Mr. Davitt's scheme into practical operation would inevitably be to produce division and antagonism of sentiment and of action among the people of Ireland, should he succeed in winning over any considerable number to his views. Of the disastrous consequences of this we need not speak. They are self-evident.

II. Strategically and in its relation to the conflict in which the

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Irish people are now engaged with the English government, it would be a fatal blunder. It would lay them open to the charge that they "did not know their own mind;" that after having for years demanded individual ownership of land for the occupants, they now desired an entirely opposite system. They would, moreover, cut themselves off from the sympathy and support, material and moral, of the Irish people who have emigrated to other countries, and of those of other races who now sympathize with them. It cannot be expected that the Irish people of America or Australia, whose ambition it is to be owners of land, would warmly support a scheme which would leave their relatives in Ireland mere tenants of land. And as for public opinion, generally, in all countries, the scheme is directly opposed to it. As regards the English government the wildest imagination could not expect it to adopt such a scheme, until compelled by a total revolution of English opinion as regards proprietary rights in land. Therefore Mr. Davitt could not expect his plan to go into practical operation. It would be necessary to revolutionize English and Scotch sentiment, as well as that of Ireland. It would virtually relegate to the distant future the land question of Ireland. It would place greater difficulties in the way of overcoming the reluctance of the English government to granting self-government to Ireland.

III. When the *practical results*, supposing it were practicable, are studied, it will be found open to objection on every side.

1. Instead of relieving the now overburdened Irish tenants, it would impose heavier burdens upon them. The tenants would not only be loaded down with interest on the money required to buy out the landlords, but with the whole amount of annual taxation. For, Mr. Davitt's scheme being based on the idea that every individual in Ireland, whether a tenant of land or not, shall receive a direct benefit from the land, he proposes to compensate all who are not tenants by relieving them from the burdens of taxation and by placing those burdens entirely upon the tenants. This would subject them to a heavier load than they now are compelled to carry.

2. Moreover, it would be unjust. For, as government is for the protection of all, and the promotion of the general welfare, taxation should be so distributed as to press as lightly as possible upon the people, and so that those persons and pursuits which are best able to bear the burden should be most heavily taxed. But all these principles are reversed in Mr. Davitt's plan. It is precisely that pursuit which is least remunerative and least able to bear heavy burdens, that of tilling the land, which he proposes to load with the weight of taxation, while other pursuits much more

remunerative, and much abler to bear the larger part of the burden, are to be entirely relieved from it.

The lawyers, the doctors, the bankers and money-lenders, the brewers and distillers, the merchants and shopkeepers, and every class of persons except tenants of land, are to go scot-free of taxes. It would be just of this class of persons—of non-taxpayers—that the Irish legislature would consist. For, in representative governments, the legislators and officers of government generally do not, as a rule, consist of farmers, but of lawyers and persons who make politics a business or profession. This is the case in the United States, in France, and in every country where elective legislative bodies exist. It would be the case all the more certainly in Ireland, because the farms, being usually of small extent and tilled chiefly by the personal labor of the occupiers, the energies of the tenants would be absorbed in the cultivation of their land, and it would be impossible for them to give the time and attention to politics which office-seekers and office-holders must give. The consequence would be that a legislature, largely composed of non-taxpayers, would determine the amount of annual taxation that should be imposed upon the tenants, who are to be the sole and only taxpayers.

Plainly, a more injudicious, ill-advised scheme than this, and one more certain to crush instead of relieve the occupiers and tillers of land in Ireland has never been devised. It stands, too, in direct opposition to the experience of all civilized peoples, which teaches that as nations advance in industrial pursuits, and as those pursuits become more numerous and more various, the land should, if possible, be released from taxation, and the burden of paying taxes placed on those who are engaged in other occupations than those of agriculture. It is only among the rudest peoples, and where industrial pursuits are few in number and precarious as to their profits, that the land or its immediate products constitute the sole or even the chief basis of taxation.

3. Mr. Davitt, in further advocacy of his scheme, estimates that the agricultural products of Ireland will probably double in value through the more careful and thorough cultivation which his plan, if adopted, would induce. But instead of having that effect it would have just the opposite. By confining the possession of land to mere tenancies, it would take away the stimulus to improvement of the land and thorough cultivation which a sense of individual ownership inspires. This is not a mere theoretical assertion, but a statement of the universal experience of nations, and we need go no further than our own country for proof. The whole system of copyholds, manorial rights, perpetual rent-charges, leaseholds, and irredeemable ground-rents, has been swept away as interfer-

ing with and detrimental to the general public welfare, and also as placing serious obstacles to the improvement of land by individual occupants. Moreover, by handicapping the tenants of Ireland at the very outset with the whole load of government taxation (local and general), all hope of bettering their condition will be crushed out, and they will be placed in a far worse condition than they now are.¹

IV. We have said that Mr. Davitt's scheme is *impracticable*. It is so because of reasons which are external to it, and also because of others which are inherent. Mr. Davitt, like other well-intentioned theorists, has sketched out the general features of a plan which he *thinks* would solve all the difficulties of the Irish land question, but like mere theorists generally, he has omitted giving details, without which, the scheme remains a mere speculative idea. On what principle is the land to be divided among present or prospective occupants? Are the present occupants or tenants to continue tenants of the government for precisely the same extent of land as they now occupy? Are the lessees of one hundred or two hundred acres to continue to hold them, and the lessees of one, two, or five acres to be confined to their little patches of land? If yes, then the underlying idea of Mr. Davitt's scheme is violated by the scheme itself. If no, how will the quantity of land be determined which each individual desiring to have land, shall be allowed to occupy? These questions Mr. Davitt has not as yet even referred to in any of his addresses, so far as we have noticed. Perhaps he has not thought of them, but if so, his plan lacks completeness, and should not have been presented to the public. If he has thought of them, why is the public left in the dark as to how he will answer them?

Some of Mr. Davitt's communistic friends, with whom he closely fraternizes, and whom he has eulogized, undertake to answer these questions, by laying down the principle, that each family shall have as much and no more land than it can cultivate without hired labor. But by whom and how shall this be ascertained? One head of a family, robust, systematic, and prompt to plan out his work and execute it, may claim and be able to cultivate a certain number of acres, and another one, equally ambitious and self-confident of his abilities, but slow, procrastinating, and unsystematic, may claim the same amount, and yet be unable to cultivate advantageously one-half of it. Again, a slovenly farmer may be able to "skim over, and skin" double the quantity of land which a careful one could thoroughly cultivate. Again, it is by "tithing" the annual

¹ Mr. Davitt says the tenants would be "in better, very much better condition." But this is merely a theoretical opinion. All the *facts* bearing on the case lead to an opposite conclusion.

products of the land, that the national revenues and all the local and general taxes are to be obtained. The general public will thus have a direct interest in making each farm or tenancy productive to the highest extent of its capability, and the government, as representing and charged with the guardianship of the public interest, will be in duty bound to see that the land of each tenant is properly managed, and made to produce all it can produce. This will require rules and restrictions, and limitations as to how each piece of land shall be worked, and an army of government inspectors and supervisors to see that each tenant faithfully observes the rules, and fulfils the conditions of his tenant-right.

Government agents and inspectors will have to see that tenants do not impair the fertility of the land by injudicious cropping, or by failure to manure it; that they do not "waste" their tenancies; that they do not strip them of wood; that they properly maintain the drains, the fences, and ditches, in good condition; that they keep only a certain proportion of the land in pasture, and maintain a certain rotation of crops. The irritation of tenants at the restrictions in their present leases, as regards these matters, and because of the constant interference with their free actions by energetic, sharp-sighted or arbitrary agents of landlords, is well known. At present a tenant in Ireland cannot pull down and rebuild a fence, or change its location; cannot subdivide a field or throw two fields into one; cannot cut down a tree, or pull a stick from a hedge; cannot dig turf or encroach on a bog or fence in waste land, except by the land-agent's permission.

The government rules to protect the public interest, under Mr. Davitt's scheme, would have to be equally stringent; and in their practical operation would necessarily be even more exasperating and oppressive than under the system of landlord tenancy. Individual landlords may, and often do, from regard to special circumstances, relax their rules, or suspend, for a time, their enforcement, and usually also authorize their agents to do this. Exceptions are frequently made to meet special cases and exigencies. But government rules will, necessarily, have to be universal in their operation, nor can the government officials be allowed to relax them or to suspend their operation at discretion.

Then, too, the question arises, in what form and shape shall the "tithes" be collected by government tithe-proctors? Shall they be collected "in kind," that is, shall a part of everything the tenant raises on his land, a part of his flax and rye, his oats, his hay, and potatoes, his chickens and eggs, his milk and butter, his cows, and sheep, and pigs, be taken; or shall their market value be estimated, and the tithes collected in money? This question is left unanswered by Mr. Davitt. Under either plan a system of government

supervision, practically amounting to espionage of each tenant's management of his farm, and of what he produces from it, would have to be maintained. It is needless to say, it would be irritating beyond endurance. For all this, too, the tenant would have to pay. The cost of the army of government land-agents, supervisors, tithe-collectors, etc., which the system would require, would have to come out of the tenants' pockets.

It is notorious also, that in many instances, land-agents in Ireland are in receipt of large actual revenues, made up of "presents" and "gifts" from tenants to gain their favor, and obtain relaxations of the stringent conditions of their leases. Is it not evident that agents appointed by government would be open to a like system of corruption? that favoritism would be exercised towards those who made gifts to the agents, and harshness towards those who withheld them?

Thus, if the scheme is examined, as to its inevitable practical operation, supposing it could or would be adopted, it is plain that it would be much more objectionable, onerous, and odious, than is the present system of Irish landlordism.

Can any one, in his sober senses, suppose that such a system as this scheme requires to give it practical effect, is what the people of Ireland need or desire? Does any one believe that they will accept it as a satisfactory solution of the land question? Or that if accepted, it would promote agricultural improvement and the general interests of the Irish people?

We have thus far criticised Mr. Davitt's scheme in the simplest and justest aspect it can be made to wear, and in that in which he first brought it before the public. Since then, in almost every address he has made, he has changed his scheme materially, and changed, too, the hypothetical figures upon which he bases it. At first, he plainly proposed to compensate the present Irish landlords, and also proposed that the British government should initiate the scheme, and carry it into effect. Now he proposes that an Irish Parliament shall carry out the plan, and under the pressure, urged upon him by his communistic friends, by whom he says he will not be "run," but with whom he closely fraternizes, compensation of individual owners of land has found fainter expression in his later addresses and almost disappears.

We propose now to examine the scheme in its later forms, and with relation to the general ideas and principles upon which it is based.

The scheme connects itself with a popular cry: "The Land for the People!"

The phrase, properly understood, expresses an important truth, but, like other general statements, and also like texts of Sacred

Scripture, it is capable of being construed in different ways, and of having different meanings attached to it. No one, at least no one in civilized countries, denies the general principle, that land should be owned, occupied, and managed in such way as will best promote the general interests of the people. But the answers to the question, "How shall this be accomplished?" are as numerous and as widely divergent, as are the answers to other questions of national, industrial, or, as it is usually called, political economy.

The maxim, "The Land for the People!" is based by those who have adopted it as a popular cry upon natural right, and also upon the words of sacred Scripture: "He (God) has given the earth to the children of men." They also quote, in support of their ideas, the comment of Rt. Rev. Dr. Nulty, Bishop of Meath, upon this passage of Scripture: "The people of a country, in their public corporate capacity, are, and always must be, the real owners of the land of that country, holding an indisputable title to it, in the fact that they received it as a free gift from its Creator, and as a necessary means for preserving and enjoying the life he has bestowed upon them."¹

But, with regard to all these maxims and declarations, the advocates of the so-styled "nationalization of land" theory are guilty of the sophistical trick of stating as their seeming premises general propositions which no one denies, and then drawing inferences from the special meaning which they themselves attach to the propositions. The real dispute is, not whether those declarations are *true*, but what they *mean*. Here the "nationalization of the land" theorists beg the question at the very outset of their argument. They *assume* that individual ownership of land works injury to the people in their corporate capacity, and is an unjust appropriation by the individual of what God has given to all "the children of men." But the injury and injustice, here *assumed* to be committed, are the *real* points in dispute.

Moreover, the sense attempted to be put upon the words of Scripture quoted by them, if correct, would destroy their doctrine of "nationalization of land." It would not only exclude individual ownership, but also national ownership. For, if God has given land to mankind in general in such way and manner as prohibits any limited exclusive use and enjoyment of it, then the limitation of it to any particular nation, and the exercise, by that nation, of ownership, in its corporate capacity, are in principle just as much a violation of the divine conditions of the gift as individual ownership is. To

¹ An attempt has been made to interpret these words of Bishop Nulty in a communistic sense. He has publicly protested against being so understood. Interpreted in their proper sense, and in connection with their context as he wrote, they are opposed to the communistic idea.

be consistent, therefore, the advocates of this theory of landownership must go further. They must ignore even the broad limitations of peoples and countries, and must insist on land everywhere on earth being owned in common by the entire human race, and used and managed for their common benefit, without distinction of race or country. Their method of interpretation and argument, therefore, drives them to an impossible conclusion. In the special case of Irish land, it would compel them, if consistent, to maintain that the land of Ireland should be owned and managed and controlled, not by any national government (English or Irish), or by any one nation or people, but by all mankind, and for the benefit of all mankind,—English, French, Chinese, and Hottentots, as well as for the people of Ireland.

Again, it is argued, that because land is not a creation of human industry, but, like air and sunlight, is the free gift of God, it should, therefore, be open to the common use and enjoyment of all. But this proposition is full of fallacies. First, men cannot limit and divide among themselves the air and the sunlight as they can the earth. Secondly, the enjoyment of sunlight and air requires no skill or toil, as does that of the land. That the land may produce to the full extent of its capacity those things which are most essential to human sustenance and comfort requires care and forethought, skill and labor; and its productiveness depends more on the skill and labor employed than on the land's inherent qualities. Long-continued skill and industry may convert barren sands and bogs into gardens, and unskillfulness and neglect will turn gardens into wildernesses of noxious weeds or barren wastes. The value of land, therefore, to men is derived rather from what they put into it and on it than from the land itself.

Just here one of the mischievous results of the theory that the land belongs to the people, in such sense as to exclude individual ownership, comes plainly to view. To hold and use the land absolutely in common is an impracticability. Even where it has been held approximately so, as among barbarous or pastoral peoples, no thorough tillage has ever been practiced. Where individual ownership is not allowed, there the skill and forethought, the careful and intelligent, as well as persevering labor which the sense of ownership and the hope of individual profit inspire, are absent, and careless tillage and decreased productiveness mark their absence.¹

¹ There is one exception to the universal truth of this rule. It is that of land held in common, and cultivated by members of Catholic Religious Orders. Yet, strictly speaking, even this is not an exception, but is a fact that is outside of the operation of the rule. For the labor of members of the religious orders results from and is stimulated, not by human, natural motives, but by those which belong to the supernatural order, and which are maintained in action by the grace of a Divine vocation.

On these and other grounds, not necessary here to mention, natural law and divine revelation concur in allowing, and not only allowing, but encouraging individual ownership of land. The question of individual ownership of property in general, and of land in particular, is not a new one, nor are the ideas of the "nationalization of the land" theorists at all novel. The grounds, on which ownership is and may be justly acquired in land and in other property, have long ago been clearly stated, and irrefutably proved. They will be found in numerous treatises on natural law, and are plainly laid down by every Catholic theologian, who treats of the subjects, "*De Legibus*" and "*De Justia et Jure*." It is too late for communists now to attempt to reopen these questions.

If "socialists" and "communists," therefore, instead of despising as folly the accumulated experience of all ages and nations, and the conclusions deduced by as mighty intellects as theirs from the law divinely written in the hearts of men, and more clearly revealed in the sacred Scriptures and sacred tradition, would study those sources of knowledge, they would learn that, to remove the evils they denounce, it is not necessary to destroy the structure of society to its foundations and to deny the principles upon which that structure is based. They would discover that those evils grow up through the wrong action of governments, by whose very form and structure, in some instances, the principles of justice and social order are violated, and, in more numerous instances, by governments which are well framed in intention, but which are derelict as regards the faithful fulfilment of well-known and acknowledged duties and functions. They would discover, too, that the people themselves are at fault in allowing governments to become and continue thus derelict. If, therefore, they would concentrate their efforts upon the arousing and directing of public attention and the public conscience to these derelictions, and to holding secular rulers to a strict account, they would engage in a greatly better and nobler work, and act more wisely, than by preaching a "gospel" of wholesale destruction of established principles and institutions, in place of which, if destroyed, they are prepared to offer nothing but their own speculative theories.

The universal conviction of civilized nations is, "that the land belongs to the people," yet, not in such sense as to exclude individual ownership, but so as to permit it, subject to the general interests of the people in their "public corporate capacity, and that government is the guardian of those interests."

This brings us to another fallacy of the "nationalization of the land" theorists. They argue against individual ownership of land as though it implied *absolute* ownership by the individual, unlimited by any conditions or restrictions. But in no civilized country, no

country on earth, indeed, civilized or uncivilized, is such an idea maintained or such an ownership. God, and God alone, is the absolute owner and Lord of all things, land included; and under God, in the sphere of purely human relations, the state—as representing the people collectively, and charged with the guardianship and promotion of their interests in their public corporate capacity—is ever a supreme or paramount landlord. Individual ownership of land is everywhere qualified and limited by this superior right of the State, or, in other words, of the people in their corporate or public capacity. No individual “landowner” claims or even dreams of claiming ownership in the sense of an absolute, unqualified right to possess and use the land as he pleases. It is universally admitted that he has no right to so use or enjoy his land as to cause injury to others, individually or collectively. He may not so employ it that it will become detrimental to the health of others, or that it will interfere with the general welfare of the public. If he does so employ it he may be stopped by law and punished for the injury he has caused. He may not even continue to hold his land when public interests require him to part with it. If he refuses to give it up it may be taken from him in spite of his refusal. Compensation is allowed him by law for parting with his land, but give it up he must when public interests require it.

Nearly all the fallacies connected with the theories of holding land in common, or dividing it or its products and benefits equally among the people, are thus concealed under general truisms, which no one denies, but to which false and mischievous meanings are attached. These meanings are seldom explained clearly and explicitly. Indeed, they are very often purposely left vague in order to evade the exposure which would swiftly follow clear definitions of the plans which the theories based upon them involve.

If public interests sometimes do suffer and the general good of the people sometimes is not promoted under the ownership of land by individuals, subject to the right of the state as paramount landowner, it is because of defects in the framing or administration of laws, and common-sense tells those who exercise it that the proper way to remove the injury and promote the public interest is to amend the laws, to purify and improve their administration, but not to attempt to lead people back to a semi-savage condition in which, like among our American Indians or among the roving tribes of Tartary, land can be held and employed as common property.

Mr. Davitt speaks of his scheme as a new and untried experiment, but one which possesses such self-evident advantages as make it worthy of trial. It is neither new nor untried. It has been tried often in past times, and is now in actual operation, under different forms and with differences of administration, in Russia,

Egypt, Turkey (especially Asiatic Turkey), Persia, India,¹ and China. His scheme is a going back to the system of land-tenure and taxation adapted to and only possible among rude and semi-civilized peoples, or those held in thralldom by despotic governments. It would produce in Ireland, as it has done and does wherever else it obtains, a condition of things even more intolerable than the present system of Irish landlordism.

We have thus, at some length, criticised the "land nationalization" scheme, not because of fear that its promulgation would do extensive harm in Ireland. It will win no favor or support from the tenants who are striving to become owners of the land they till. But in this country it is doing harm to the cause of the people of Ireland, and will continue to have that effect, unless it is withdrawn from public attention.

Never has the prospect of Ireland's success, in her struggle for industrial and civil freedom, been brighter. Clouds still overhang her, but they are broken and scattered. Nothing is wanting to make that success certain but persistence of effort and union, not merely of sentiment but of action, on the same lines, and those lines the ones which have been already agreed upon and determined—union, not merely among the people of Ireland (our fears are not in that direction), but union, too, among the supporters, in this country, of the cause of Ireland.

The progress which has been made—made in the face of seemingly invincible opposition—during the last two years, is almost incredible. It is only by closely comparing the state of things two years ago with that now existing, that the immense gain can be realized. Then, the condition of Ireland could scarcely obtain a hearing in this country, and much less in England, inside of Parliament, or outside. Now, it is the subject of subjects, occupying the time of Parliament for months, compelling the deferring of other subjects of vital interest to the people of Great Britain, and challenging the consideration, not only of the English public, but

¹ It is reported that Mr. Davitt was recently informed that the system of land tenure and taxation in India was similar in its essential features to that which he proposes for Ireland, and that he replied that he was not aware of it. It is very evident that he is not familiar with the history of land tenures, and their actual results and consequences, as shown in the progress or decadence of different nations. It could scarcely be expected that Mr. Davitt should possess this knowledge. Deprived of educational opportunities during all his youth and early manhood, immured in a prison-cell without books for one-third of his life, it was impossible for him to gather knowledge from books, or learn the lessons taught by history. His ideas necessarily have had (as he himself declares) to be worked out while breaking stone or sitting in his cell, and even during the periods of his release from prison his life has been too active to permit him by study to avail himself of the stores of knowledge comprised in the experiences of other peoples and times with regard to the questions he is attempting to solve.

of public opinion the world over, wherever Irishmen have migrated. To-day, Whigs and Tories, Conservatives and Liberals, acknowledge that something must be done, and something which involves a radical change, to meet the demands of the people of Ireland. This admission forms the starting-point of every argument. Writers of every English party, persons who, by birth, by their relations to the landed gentry and nobility of England, might be supposed to be blinded by prejudice, are now no longer defending or apologizing for landlordism in Ireland, but adopt, as the basis of their discussions, as an admitted fact, that landlordism must be abolished, and, along with that, that concessions of enlarged political rights must be made to the people of Ireland.

The only danger which imperils the success of the cause of Ireland, is that which has so often heretofore blighted her prospects and wrecked her fortunes when they seemed most promising,—that of dissension, disunion.

It should not, it must not, occur now. Yet it will occur—as surely as the established principles of human society and human government, the established principles of right and justice, of real progress both individual and national, are eternal and unchangeable,—if ideas which are opposed to those principles should unhappily obtain credence, not with the people of Ireland (of them, we have little fear), but with their supporters in this country.

CORRESPONDENCE.

RELIGIOUS DISSENSIONS IN ENGLAND—ANGLICANISM—RITUALISM—
SCEPTICISM.

LONDON, June 20th, 1882.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE A. C. Q. REVIEW.

VERY REVEREND AND DEAR SIR: The phenomena of English Protestantism are like the phenomena of the English climate, all four seasons jumbled together in one week. A French writer has said that "an English summer consists of three fine days and a thunderstorm;" at least, then, we have the three fine days, but in stormy Anglicanism we have never three fine days, because three-fourths of the establishments hate the other fourth. As a rule, the more they hate the more they affect to be amiable; and the more they indulge in the pretensions of being in earnest. There was not long since a Church Congress held at Newcastle—one of those pompous yearly meetings which look earnest; but the sole result is to make everybody laugh at "the mountain in labor with a mouse." "How to limit the aberrations of the New Ritualism," "how to apply the principles of the Reformation to such new principles," and "how to increase the spirit of Anglican unity and fellowship," were three of the mightiest subjects which were discussed. Seeing that the Ritualists have no intention of being "limited," and care no more for the Anglican bishops than for the Privy Council, the first subject of discussion was quite futile. As to applying the principles of the Reformation to New Ritualism, you might as well try to apply the principles of the "Salvation Army" to the philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas. The Ritualists simply abhor the Reformation, and disown its paternity or even ancestry. And as to unity or fellowship among Anglicans, the four winds, all blowing together from the four quarters, would constitute a symbol of such harmony.

This is a true picture of the doctrinal muddle of the Establishment, so far as its congeries of opposing sects is always visible. But, of course, in each of these sects there is a vast amount of personal earnestness, and especially in the new sect of the Ritualists. Indeed the Ritualists are at this time the only *dogmatic* Anglican sect, the only sect which shows a front and which makes war. The Evangelical party in the Establishment has died out. Its theology is so thin, its combativeness is so weak, its "organs" and its chief men are so unintellectual, that it has no hold on the mind of the English gentry, nor even on the mind of the humbler classes. Evangelicalism fought a battle with "Puseyism," and was worsted and fatally bruised in the encounter. The new giants of the "Oxford movement" were too strong for it. And when Puseyism developed into Ritualism—which was a quasi-logical, or at least natural development—Evangelicalism could only plead a Christian *sentiment* of pity against the dogmatism and historic claim of Anglo-

Catholicism." Education, and learning, and antiquarianism seemed on the side of the Anglo-Catholic controversialists ; whereas gentleness of sentiment, and a certain softness of Christian temperament, seemed to be all that the Evangelicals could show. The new spring, too, of the Catholic Church in England—begun by the restoration of the Catholic hierarchy—set all men thinking on the subject of authority, and threw mere sentiment and softness into the shade. Unhappily the Catholic authority was not accepted by the nation, but only by a few thousand of individuals, and in its place was set up that abortive sham Catholicity, called "Ritualism," or "Catholicism within Protestantism." This, too, has now proved itself impracticable.

The absurdity of a few clergymen, within the bosom of the establishment, pretending to say Mass and to hear confessions, while yet they disobey their own Bishops, and admit no other authority than themselves, is now palpable to every Englishman, who is capable of thinking, or who does not shut his eyes to common sense. These Ritualists remain in corporate communion with Broad Churchmen, Town Churchmen, and No Churchmen, and even villify the Catholic Church, while they mock their own bishops, and repudiate all connection with Protestantism ! So that the last effort of Decaying Anglicanism has been *fiasco*. And thus Anglicanism being developed into a bundle of contradictions, of which the extremes are further apart than the poles (Broad Churchism, which is mere Rationalism being at one extremity, and "Sham Popery," which is dogmatic Protestantism, being at the other), the general impression on the English mind is that there can be only two logical positions : Catholicism and personal free-thinking. Again, unhappily, this *intellectual* appreciation does not beget corresponding earnestness of will. You hear men of education and of manly character confess to the sole authority of the Catholic Church, but the habit of free-thinking has so seized hold on the English mind, that it is accepted as a sort of necessity of the times. It is not apologetic, but it is maintained on the ground that the varieties of religion render it obligatory. "My dear sir," said an Oxford graduate to me, the other day, "if the greatest thinkers of our time are divided upon every question, what follows but that the *duty* of free-thinking is as dear as is its absolute necessity?" "But you, yourself, admit," I replied to him, "that in the Catholic Church alone is the solution of all the difficulties of free thought ; why, then, do you not become a Catholic?" "Because," he replied, "the Catholic Church takes it for granted that free thought is not permissible in religion, whereas I take it for granted that every religious conviction should be sanctified by conscientious free-thinking." It was easy to reply that the theory of infallibility was twin theory with that of the Church's divinity ; in other words, that, granted a divine religion, you grant the divinity of its authority. But no such reasoning will be accepted by the modern Englishman, who thinks as "freely" about God, as about the Sacraments. The disease of free thought has so permeated the English system, that even the heaven of heavens is not sacred from it. And hence we have a growing-up generation, of young men and young women, boys and girls, who have no more mainstay or anchor-

age, in the shape of positive faith, than the clouds which pass over their heads.

Now the question is, what is to be the issue of this imbroglio of all the English religions? It appears to me—speaking from some thirty years of observation—that all the Anglican developments are now used up; and that the time has at last come, when the grand sham being worked out, scepticism or rationalism has taken its place. When I was an undergraduate—during the height of the Puseyite movement—the characteristic of that movement was earnestness; and, even for many years afterwards, *to search and to find out* were the sole objects of the Puseyite activity. The whole nation for a time appeared in earnest. But when once the nation saw that Puseyism was but hypothesis, that it led only to theories *minus* practice, to aspiration *minus* actual possession, to contention and to disobedience *minus* any sort of unity or any sort of healing of the old schism, the nation cried “Delusion,” and took up in its despair with a mild incredulity and with resignation. This is now the pervading tone of the national mind. Anglicanism, pure and simple, has gone. Protestantism, pure and simple, is exploded. High Churchism has become decorous indifference, and Broad Churchism downright German Rationalism, while Ritualism, having the advantage of being a “State martyr,” is alone able to present an earnest front. If you subtract the really pious simple poor and the enthusiastic young ladies and young gentlemen, who admire the *mise en scène* of the new Ritualism, you have very little left in what was once the Church of England but a throng of easy, speculative nothingarians. I am not presuming to express an opinion of individuals, but of the general pervading tone of English thought. Personal goodness and Church loyalty are different things. Undoubtedly when we enter St. Paul’s Cathedral and listen to the extremely pretty choral music and watch the gestures of the clergy—now markedly Ritualistic, and so decorous as to impress us with *their* earnestness—we recognize that the Church of England has been whitewashed, and that she is anxious to appear most respectable. But all this is simply *mise en scène*, a homage to the “æsthetic” tone of the age; an expressed desire to *look* extremely Catholic, without *possessing* either Sacraments or authority. Inside St. Paul’s Cathedral, and in many an Anglican church, there is all the sentiment of the old Anglican traditions; but *outside* such churches the conversation is either sceptical or a mixture of pious wishes and of despair.

This, then, is the issue of the long imbroglio. It is a last despairing effort to compound for mortal sickness by putting on a robe of lively hue. No thinking, perceptive person is deceived by it. We all see through the trick of the pretty toilet. The end of Church of Englandism has really come. And though the Bishops still have their splendid palaces, and the preachers still preach their clever opinions, and the congregations still enjoy the choral services, the simple truth of the whole matter is that Anglicanism is finished, but the sentiment of religious need still remains.

Your obedient servant,

AN OXFORD GRADUATE.

BOOK NOTICES.

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By *William Edward Hartpole Lecky*. Volumes III. and IV. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1882.

The period of time comprised in these volumes commences with the accession to the throne of Great Britain and Ireland of George III., in 1760, and extends to the close of the century. It was a period of constant political agitation and turmoil in England, involving changes in the relative power of the Crown and Parliament, which, despite the constant opposition of one of the most obstinate sovereigns who ever sat on the throne, reduced the actual power of the Crown to a shadow, and made it simply the representative of authority which, in reality, was exercised by Parliament. It was a period of almost incessant wars between England and foreign powers, during which, notwithstanding distress at home and misfortunes abroad, the power and prestige of Great Britain immensely increased, and perhaps reached the culmination of their greatness; a period of almost indescribable political corruption, yet of almost constant political progress. It witnessed the complete subjugation of India by the combined power of British intrigues and arms, and the consolidation of England's dominion over that vast and populous region. It saw the commencement and the close of the struggle of the thirteen colonies in America for national independence; the formation of an Irish militia for defence against apprehended foreign invasion; the organization of the Irish volunteers; the meeting of their delegates at Dungannon, and their memorable resolutions claiming legislative independence for Ireland; the unanimous adoption by the Irish House of Commons of Grattan's motion declaring that Ireland was a separate kingdom from Great Britain, that her King, Lords, and Commons, alone, had a right to bind her, and the reluctant acknowledgment of that right by the British Crown and Parliament. The careful study of a period such as this, when movements and changes of deepest importance in the industrial and political condition of Great Britain and Ireland, and of their relations to other countries, were constantly going on, a period, too, during which men of exceptional ability and genius as orators, statesmen, and generals, took a leading part in public affairs, cannot but be highly instructive.

To the description of this period in England's history Mr. Lecky has brought a reflective mind, a careful and laborious examination of original authorities and sources of history, the private and official correspondence of men who were at the head of public affairs, official documents and records, diplomatic correspondence, acts of Parliament, the memoirs and biographies of prominent men and their public and private letters. The result is a picture of England during the last forty years of the Eighteenth Century which for clearness of delineation, judicious arrangement of subjects, and of subordinate details, it would be difficult to surpass.

Nearly one-third of Volume III., and one-half of Volume IV. are taken up with subjects closely connected with the condition of the Thirteen Colonies, their growth and progress, and their intellectual and moral, social and political condition previous to the war for independence, and with the history of that war.

On these subjects Mr. Lecky throws a new light, and brings out many important facts which American historians, confining themselves to the

point of view from which Americans naturally regard that struggle, omit to state, or, at least, fail to bring prominently to notice.

The natural tendency of every people is to glorify its past, and deify its great men. The people of the United States are largely under the influence of this tendency. National vanity is a predominant trait of our character as a people, and our historical writers, though aiming to exhibit a spirit of calm, impartial judgment, have taken pains to avoid offending this feeling. Hence a belief has grown up among us, and acquired the force of a tradition whose truth is indisputable, that a clear perception of the questions involved in our controversy with the British Crown and Parliament, and, along with that perception, a firm conviction, that separation from Great Britain was a necessary condition to gaining and maintaining those rights, were clearly in the minds of the people of the thirteen colonies, even in the preliminary stages of that controversy; and also that throughout the war which followed we were firmly united and resolved upon obtaining a complete separation from Great Britain, and national independence. The actual facts of history furnish no foundation for this popular belief, as is well known by those who have read with care the public and private letters of the leading men of that period, and other documents, showing the real feelings and ideas that then prevailed. These facts our more thorough historians do not fail to state, but they do not give them the prominence they deserve in order that a true and not a romantic estimate may be made of the actual sentiments of the people of the thirteen colonies during those times. Mr. Lecky brings out the real facts as regards this point, and places them in a different light from that in which they are usually exhibited. He shows that preceding the war for independence there was irritation of feeling in some of the colonies against the British Government, but no desire for separation, and that this irritation was caused rather by restrictions interfering with the trade of the colonies and their commercial development, than by the political supremacy claimed and exercised by the British Crown and Parliament.

On several other points intimately connected with the war for independence, Mr. Lecky's statements are exceptionally instructive to persons who are interested in tracing the contest through its successive stages and changes. He brings to view much more fully than is done by American testimony generally, the underlying causes of the protraction of the struggle for eight years, and of the uncertainties as to its final result, which characterized it during all its stages up to its closing period; the general dilatoriness of movement which was displayed on both sides, defeats resulting in no discomfiture to the defeated, and victories, the fruits of which were lost, through failure promptly to follow them up. The indecision and inaction at critical moments of the commanders of the British armies, and the results in giving the Colonial forces breathing-time and opportunity to recruit their enfeebled strength, are clearly shown, and also like inaction on the American side, wearing the appearance of undue hesitation and irresolution on the part of our generals, but which was caused by want of arms, ammunition, provisions, and the frequent disbanding of bodies of Continental troops owing to the expiration of their short terms of enlistment.

To thoughtful Americans, concerned in studying our contest for independence of England, in its broader aspects, the most interesting part of Mr. Lecky's account of it will be those chapters in which he dwells upon the relations of different European countries to the struggle, and the support, direct and indirect, which those countries, particularly France, but also Spain, gave to it. It is entirely clear, from the facts

narrated by Mr. Lecky, and supported by proofs which it is impossible to deny or call into question, that the wars of France and Spain with England, and the military necessities of England growing out of those wars, prevented her from employing her whole strength or even a considerable part of it in maintaining her supremacy over the Colonies. He shows, too, that the aid given by France to the Colonies, after their resources had been practically exhausted, and when dissensions were fast doing their fatal work, and despondency was assailing the firmness of the most resolute of the American leaders, alone prevented a collapse of further efforts for effective resistance; and that it was owing to that aid, coming at the gloomiest and seemingly entirely hopeless period of the contest, which secured the final triumph of the American cause.

Scarcely less interesting than these chapters are Mr. Lecky's accounts of the struggles and debates in the British Parliament on the subject of the war, and the questions of civil authority and civil rights, which were fiercely yet exhaustively discussed. The pith of the speeches then made by the master minds of England, the positions taken and the opinions expressed by Pitt, and Fox, and Burke, and other leading statesmen and politicians of England, is carefully stated, and forms, in itself, a treasure of information to those who are interested in those subjects.

The present condition of Ireland, and the questions which that condition has given rise to, are new in the minds of all intelligent Americans, and engross the attention of almost every person of Irish birth or descent among us. The last two chapters, comprising nearly three hundred pages of Volume IV., are occupied with a statement and discussion of these subjects as they were in the latter part of the eighteenth century. His account of them projects upon them a brilliant light, as they now challenge the consideration of the English public on the one hand, and of the friends and sympathizers with the people of Ireland in this and other countries.

The deplorable condition of the Irish tenantry, from 1760 to 1800, the oppression of Irish landlordism, the "abject poverty and misery," and wretchedness which "it was impossible to exceed," the origin of the "Whiteboy" movement, and of the "Oakboys" and "Steelboys;" the futile attempts to repress outrages by means of laws which themselves outraged right and justice; the mockery of justice in judicial proceedings and trials by packed juries; the total denial to Catholics of civil, political, and religious rights, the various changes and struggles during the successive Vice-royalties of Townshend, Harcourt, Buckingham, and Carlisle; the rise and organization of the Irish volunteers; the support given by contributions from Catholics, who themselves were prohibited from bearing arms; the demand for free trade and legislative independence; the volunteer meeting at Dungannon; the adoption by the Irish House of Commons of Grattan's Declaration of Independence; the subsequent concession of the demand by British Crown and Parliament, are described with great clearness.

Interspersed with Mr. Lecky's account of the events he narrates are vividly drawn word portraits of the leading men of the period, their personal characteristics and habits, and also his own reflections and disquisitions on the various political movements of the period comprised in these volumes, and on the principles with which those movements were connected.

Opinions will differ as to the historical accuracy in detail of some of Mr. Lecky's delineations of events and movements, and of the soundness of his speculative ideas, but there is no room for questioning the very great value of his work as an aid to a better understanding of the period embraced in these volumes.

REALITIES OF IRISH LIFE. By *W. Stewart Trench*. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1880.

This volume is made up of a number of separate sketches descriptive of Ireland and Irish life, as seen from a landlord's agent's point of view. They were written fourteen and fifteen years ago, and are intended to describe scenes and incidents occurring between 1843 and 1868. The author abstains from expressing any opinions on the grievances of the Irish people. He says that he does this intentionally, in order that Englishmen, for whom he especially writes and who complain of a want of facts respecting Ireland, may draw their own inferences from the facts he states, unbiassed by the sentiments he himself entertains.

Yet while left in ignorance of the measures in detail by which he thinks the condition of things in Ireland might be improved,—and he thinks there is great room for improvement—the manner in which he groups and states his facts and the relative light and shade he throws around them, leave the reader in no uncertainty whatever as to the general conclusion he has reached, and that with regard to the question between the landlords of Ireland and the people, his sympathies are with the landlords. It is quite natural that this should be the case. The writer was a nephew of the late Lord Ashtown; his father and his older brother were wealthy landlords; he himself from early years had set his heart “upon the profession of an agent,” as being “the most suitable in its higher branches, for his capacities, and as likely to afford the greatest opportunity for being useful in his generation.” Accordingly he “lost no opportunity,” while passing through his course of study in Dublin University, and afterwards at his father's place in the country, “of acquiring information which would qualify him for the office” of landlord's agent.

Mr. Trench's youthful aspirations were speedily realized. In 1843 he was appointed agent of the Shirley estate in County Monahan, and from that time up to 1868, with which year his book closes, he was actively employed as agent of that estate, and successively of the estates of Lord Lansdowne in County Kerry, Lord Digby in Kings County, and Lord Bath in County Monahan. For the space of two years also he was Superintendent of the Board of Public Works for organizing and carrying out in different parts of Ireland works for the drainage and reclamation of waste lands.

Mr. Trench therefore had ample opportunities for observing and studying the workings of the land system from a landlord's and land agent's point of view. From that point of view his sketches are evidently written. They describe Ribbonism and its secret tribunals, its bloody code of assassination, and his own experience in combating it; the general unwillingness of the tenantry to pay their rents, and their hostility to himself, not account of personal motives but as the administrative agent and representative of a system which they irreconcilably opposed. Mr. Trench then describes the methods he pursued, and according to his own accounts very successfully. They were persistent resort to the processes of law, seizure and impounding of cattle, constraining tenants who were in arrears to give up their holdings and consent to emigrate to America at the landlord's expense, and the consolidation of the small holdings into large tenancies or leaseholds, the pulling down of the wretched cabins of the evicted and expatriated tenants, the removal of the fences and hedges and throwing small fields into large ones, and then, after cropping the ground and cleansing and pulverizing the land, and getting it into good heart by heavily manuring it, laying it down to grass, which was fed off with sheep.

In this way Mr. Trench tells us that land in Gopsill Manor, which had been previously difficult to rent at 4 shillings per Irish acre, was made readily to bring from 25 shillings to 30 shillings. He describes at length his visiting Lord Lansdowne, and submitting to him a statement showing that the paupers chargeable against his estate in Kerry would entail a poor-rate to support them of £15,000, while to provide them all with free passages to America would not cost more than £13,000 or £14,000, and submitted to him a plan to rid himself of this mass of pauperism by transportation. Lord Lansdowne approved the plan, and advanced the money necessary to carry it into effect. Mr. Trench organized his system of exportation, and putting the tenants he selected, at the rate of two hundred a week, on shipboard, transported four thousand six hundred of them to this country or Canada from Cork and Liverpool. He represents them as having gone freely, without the slightest pressure having been applied to them, in 1851 and 1852, and congratulates himself on the fact that none of the vessels on which they were embarked was wrecked or foundered at sea.

This is the story from a landlord's agent's point of view. But though it may be true that he did not resort to actual eviction in any instance, as he says he did not, many of these tenants had been already driven by poverty resulting from a system of rack-rents into the workhouses, and the others had plainly before them the fact that they must pay up impossible arrearages or give up their holdings, and then either go to the workhouse or to America. Entire reticence is maintained, too, as to the sufferings and death from ship-fever of the tenants crowded on these transports. If we are not mistaken, it was by tenants exported from this very estate of Lord Lansdowne in Kerry, that one of the islands in the St. Lawrence River was literally covered with graves of the fever-stricken sufferers, who died after they were placed there in hastily constructed huts or hospitals.

The story of the sufferings, and of the oppressions imposed on the tenants by the system which Mr. Trench vigorously carried out, as told by themselves, would present a very different picture. Yet even from Mr. Trench's own account enough may be inferred to force the conclusion on every candid thoughtful mind, that the system of land-tenure and landlordism in Ireland is one under which a decent livelihood, and even a moderate recompense for their toil, are impossible to the tenants and their families.

LIFE OF THE GOOD THIEF. From the French of *Monsieur Gaume*, Protonotary Apostolic. Done into English by *M. De Lisle*. London: Burns & Oates, 1882.

THE penitence, confession, and prayer of the Good Thief, and our Saviour's gracious declaration to him, have a close and intimate connection with the history of the crucifixion. Most important truths and spiritual lessons are comprehended in that memorable transaction. Yet the reference in Sacred Scripture to it is brief and without detail or comment. Nothing is said of the antecedents of the Good Thief; his name is not even given, nor any explanation of the doctrine which unquestionably is wrapped up in the narrative of the holy Evangelist. This, however, is not at all singular or strange. The Evangelist St. John expressly tells us that only a small part of what our Saviour did and said is recorded in the Gospels. On many subjects which form component and essential parts of the Christian religion they are entirely silent. The substitution of Sunday for the Jewish Sabbath is an instance. The validity of baptism by infusion or immersion is another. In like manner,

the Scriptures are entirely silent respecting the close and intimate relation of St. Joseph to our Saviour during His youth and up to the time of St. Joseph's death. Indeed, not a word is said about St. Joseph, his life or death, after our Saviour was found, when twelve years of age, in the temple at Jerusalem. In like manner, the references to the Blessed Virgin are at rare intervals and exceedingly brief. But in this brevity or reticence and these omissions the holy Evangelists were undoubtedly guided by divine wisdom. Sacred tradition, so far as is necessary, supplies what otherwise would seem to be wanting in their narratives. The full and perfect knowledge through the Holy Ghost abiding with them, of all things taught and enjoined by our Saviour, and by them handed down to and ever preserved by their successors in office, have kept unimpaired and intact all that the Christian faith comprehends, and discloses to those who preserve the obedience of faith all that it is necessary for them to believe and know.

In accordance with this, the learned writer of the work before us, has endeavored, by gathering together and digesting the early traditions respecting the Good Thief, the references to him in the early Church Father, and also by sifting the wheat from the chaff in the Apocryphal "Gospels," to throw light, in the first part of his work, upon the history of the Good Thief, and, along with it, upon many other subjects unmentioned in the Sacred Scriptures, but which may form subjects not only of interest, but of profitable meditation to devout Christians, such as the flight from Bethlehem into Egypt and kindred topics.

Referring to the Apocryphal "Gospels" and other like works—many of which have perished forever, but fragments of which have been preserved in the writings of the early ages of the Church—M. De Lisle attaches to them a higher historical value than is usual in this age of skepticism and false criticism, which, in its indiscriminate doubt, rejects what is probable and true and confirmed by other known facts, along with what is false or simply open to question. He says:

"Many of these, it must be confessed, were written with more piety than wisdom. Others, again, were composed by heretics, who tainted them with an admixture of their own special errors. None of them were really composed by those whose names they bear. Hence the Church, in her unerring wisdom, has not suffered them to be incorporated into her sacred canon."

"Yet, although declaring these writings apocryphal, the Church has never pronounced them to be altogether false. Much good grain is there, though not unmixed with chaff. There is one test by which they are easily sifted,—the question whether or not they are in conformity with the authorized versions." When the details they suggest are not contrary to the teachings of the Church, to Faith, or to sound reason, but rather appear probable, from their being in keeping with ancient usages and customs, they may be safely considered as a sort of supplementary tradition, which neither has been nor can be condemned.

Whether, in every instance in which the learned author has had recourse to these apocryphal writings, he has exercised sufficient prudence and discrimination, we will not undertake to assert, but he has unquestionably made, with laborious research, a collection of historical references, more or less reliable, to the Good Thief, which, properly employed, will be highly useful to those who devoutly meditate upon the mystery of his conversion. Incidentally too the author has interwoven into his work a large amount of valuable information respecting the manner and nature of the ignominy, tortures, and crucifixion to which our Divine Lord submitted and the sufferings he endured.

The latter half of the work consists of discussions, or rather meditations, upon "The conversion of the Good Thief; his Faith; his Hope; his Charity; his Prudence and Justice; his Fortitude and Temperance; his Claim to Martyrdom; his Reward: his Glory;" and concludes with a chapter on "Devotion to the Good Thief." They are highly instructive, are pervaded by a spirit of profound devotion, and are replete with edifying thoughts.

LECTURES AND DISCOURSES. By the *Rt. Rev. J. L. Spalding, D.D.* New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1882.

Although the *Lectures and Discourses* go over a wide range of thought and subjects, they have a certain unity which gives the book a remarkable force and coherence of argument. The opening discourse on "Religious Indifference" finds the explanation of that delusion mainly to consist in the idea that "the intellect is the organ of faith, and that the question between religion and indifference is one on which the mental faculties alone are competent to pronounce." Having shown that in religion *as in science*, "what we believe is infinitely more than what we know," the author, in the succeeding discourse, "Religious Faith and Physical Science," has no difficulty in showing that "science is no more certain than faith," and that as our confessed "inability to form a satisfactory theory of the universe has no tendency to make us doubt of its existence, neither should the mental difficulties which inhere in our ideas of God and the soul make us skeptical of their existence." The Right Reverend author treats the question of the relation of physical science to religion, from a strictly intellectual point of view, inasmuch, as he well argues, mind must be the ultimate judge of the value of physical evidence.

The major part of the lectures is taken up with the statement and enforcement of Catholic truth. The thesis is that Christianity is an historical development, and that the Church is Christianity in its objective, organic form. The demonstration is simple yet masterful, and is clothed in language which at times rises to high eloquence, particularly in the treatment of the subject of Catholic worship (p. 184). The sermon on the Virgin Mother is particularly beautiful and felicitously worded. The impression which the book makes upon a thoughtful mind, at all conversant with the current of contemporary thinking is, that its author is fully aware of the difficulties of modern minds on grave questions to which Protestantism gives no response. The concluding lectures carry the historical demonstration full against Protestantism, which is shown to have sought to destroy the organic unity essential to the Church of Christ.

The lecture which will probably attract most attention is that on the "Christian Priesthood." In this, Bishop Spalding makes a plea for the highest intellectual education of the clergy. He says:

"Is it not manifest that it is most desirable that the brightest minds and the healthiest characters among the young theologians who each year are ordained from our seminaries should be directed, not at once to the distracting labors of the ministry, but to some one institution in which a few men of profound thought, of deep research and of liberal cultivation of mind might lift them up to higher and wider views of all things, and at the same time awaken in them a deeper passion for knowledge and a loftier conception of the divine work which the priest is appointed to do? . . . The institution of which I am thinking might be called a high school of philosophy and theology. To it would be sent the best students, who in other respects should be found worthy, at the end of their seminary course, and they would be expected to remain in the col-

lege of philosophical and theological culture from two to six years. . . Why should not a project such as that of which I speak be feasible? Five hundred thousand dollars would be sufficient to secure the buildings and endow chairs enough, at least for a beginning. This is a paltry sum in a country in which a single individual will not unfrequently give a million or several million dollars to establish a centre of education. I make no doubt that if an appeal were made to the six thousand priests now laboring on the missions in the United States, the good of religion and the honor of their order would, in spite of their poverty, suggest to them a way to raise the necessary funds."

BERNADETTE, SISTER MARIE BERNARDE. From the French of M. Henri Lassere. By P. P. S., Graduate of St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1882.

The Catholic public are generally well acquainted with the history of the apparition of the Immaculate, Ever-Blessed Virgin at Lourdes, and with the countless succession of miraculous cures of maladies of every kind that afflict humanity, that have been wrought by employment of the water from the miraculous fountain which issues forth from the hollow scooped by the hand of Bernadette in obedience to the direction of Our Lady in the Grotto of Massabielle. M. Lassere's admirable account of the apparitions, of the efforts of skeptics to throw doubt upon and deny the reality of those apparitions, and of the miracles which immediately followed, and of the manner in which these efforts defeated themselves, has been translated into almost every European language, and has made those who read that account familiar with the wonderful occurrences at Lourdes. The subsequent history of Bernadette, however, is not so well known to the public. After performing the part supernaturally assigned to her in connection with the apparitions, she remained for a time in the quiet discharge of her filial duties to her poor parents, and then, entering a Religious Order, disappeared from public view. Yet a curiosity, which may be regarded not only as pardonable, but as devout, creates the desire to know more about one who was so signally favored as to have been permitted to behold and converse with the Holy Mother of God, and who, a poor, obscure, uneducated peasant girl, in an out-of-the-way region of France, was made instrumental in starting a succession of events which have stamped the seal of truth upon the sublime doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and strengthened the faith of thousands in the divine origin and constitution of Christianity.

This last work of M. Lassere furnishes the desired information. It recapitulates, with fewer details than in his previous book, the history of the apparitions at the Grotto of Massabielle, and of the occurrences connected with them, briefly traces the events which followed in Bernadette's quiet life in her humble home, and follows with an account of Bernadette's (who had become in religion sister Marie Bernarde) life and character as a religious, during the twelve years in which she lived and labored as one of the Sisters of Charity and Christian Instruction in the Mother House of the Order of Nevers. The work closes with an account of her last illness, death and burial.

M. Lassere has done his work well. He has spared no pains or care to arrive at the exact facts and to narrate them with scrupulous accuracy. The result is a clear and distinct portrait of the subject of his biography, free from the slightest taint or tinge of exaggeration and sensationalism. The book thus supplements his previous volume on Our

Lady of Lourdes, and is both valuable and interesting as showing how God dealt with, and employed in an humble and obscure way, yet entirely consistent with his own methods and, for His greater glory, the little child who had been divinely selected as His instrument for proclaiming more loudly the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of His Holy Mother, furnishing additional evidences of its truth and inciting multitudes more devoutly to honor her.

HALF-HOURS WITH THE SAINTS AND SERVANTS OF GOD. Including Biographical Notes and many Translations. By *Charles Kenny*. With a Preface by the Very Rev. W. T. Gordon, Provost of the Oratory, London. London: Burns & Oates. 1882.

The title of this work, as we learn from an introductory notice, was suggested by that of another book on secular subjects, recently published; the contents were suggested by a perusal of Father Houdry's *La Bibliothèque des Prédicateurs*, but the arrangement is entirely different. Instead of the subject-matter of each half-hour being placed in alphabetical order, the contents are arranged and classified according to the topics treated. The author thinks, and in our opinion correctly, that in this way the work has been made more interesting and better adapted for spiritual reading.

Upon the importance of spiritual reading to those who wish to lead a devout life it is hardly necessary to dwell, it is so generally recognized. The increase, however, of periodical literature forms an additional reason for being faithful in frequently resorting to such reading. The variety of subjects brought before readers, the absence of deep thoughts and of real principles concealed by a brilliant style of writing, dissipate the mind and tend to destroy the habit and even the power of serious reflection. It is all the more important, therefore, in these times of much reading and little thinking to spend some portion of the day in reversing this process, with the aid of some book which we read slowly, though but for a short time, and from which we gain matter for after-meditation.

There are now many books available for spiritual reading, and their number is increasing, but the variety, capacity, tastes, etc., and the amount of leisure at command, of different readers, justifies their multiplication. The work before us, too, has some special advantages and merits. The selections are from writings of the most distinguished saints and scholars, and are their best thoughts on an immense variety of subjects, yet all having an immediate practical bearing upon duty to be performed, or sin or approximate occasions of sin to be abstained from or avoided, or on some other subject closely connected with a Christian life. The authors quoted from belong to every age, from that immediately following that of the Apostles to the present time, and many of them are from works which are beyond the reach of all except a very few persons. The selections are brief, so as to be available to persons whose time is so occupied that they can only snatch a few minutes each day for reading them, and are so classified and arranged under general divisions and subdivisions with appropriate titles as to be easily referred to. The editor has added a short account of the life of each saint or servant of God, to the extracts from his writings. This adds to the value and interest of the work, and may also serve as incitement to readers to obtain fuller knowledge of the writers from other sources.

ANTHROPOLOGY: An Introduction to the Study of Man and Civilization. By *Edward B. Tylor, D.C.L., F.R.S.* With illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1881.

As a résumé of facts relating to man, his place among other living beings, his condition, habits, etc., in the various stages of savage and of civilized life, his progress in industrial pursuits, development of art, science, and literature, social relations and institutions, history, traditions, mythology, and religions, this work is an interesting one. It embodies the results of wide research and careful study, and presents them in lucid form. Additional clearness is given to its explanations and statements by seventy-eight well-executed illustrations.

The author is not a believer in the Darwinian hypothesis of man's descent from inferior animals, but he holds to the idea that primitive man was a savage of the stone-age type, of filthy and brutish habits, and of the lowest order of intellectual development. His facts are all arranged to illustrate and support this theory. He explains away the facts of history and tradition which oppose this by the suggestion that the period of time comprehended by history and tradition is too short to have any bearing on the argument. Thus he freely admits that the inhabitants of ancient Egypt, India, and parts of Central Asia, were of a high order of intellect, but thinks that the time which has elapsed since then, is not long enough in comparison with prehistoric ages, for man to take even a single step forward and upward in the process of development from savage to civilized life. He points out how weapons and instruments of war, and hunting, and agriculture, and art, have been changed and improved from implements of rudest forms into others that are comparatively perfect and complete. He shows how like changes and progress have been made in language, art, science, and literature. But he passes over without notice or comment the significant fact that this change, improvement, progress, is confined to certain races and nations, of confessedly higher intellectual type, and has never occurred among savages; they having continued, for thousands of years, according to indisputable evidence, to employ the same rude instruments, and having made no advance whatever.

THE RELIGIOUS: A Treatise on the Vows and Virtues of the Religious State. Translated from the French of Rev. J. B. Saint Jure, S.J. By *a Sister of Mercy*. In two volumes. New York: P. O'Shea. 1882.

Father Saint-Jure's writings stamp him as a great master of the spiritual life. The laity are well acquainted with his *Treatise on the Knowledge and Love of Jesus Christ*, a work which almost rivalled Rodriguez's masterpiece on *Christian Perfection*. While *The Religious*, as the title indicates, is peculiarly designed for religious communities, no one can read it without being edified by the height of perfection which the Church holds up to devoted souls, and which so many souls have attained. It was said of Bourdaloue, that his holy life was the best refutation of Pascal's carping *Provincial Letters*, and Cardinal Newman has left on record that his first decided impulse toward Catholicity, was his reading St Alphonsus's Sermons to his congregation, plain, lay Catholic men and women. The Cardinal was struck with the earnestness and confidence with which the Saint appealed to the faith and Christian ideal of holiness, which he took to exist in the minds of his hearers, as a matter of course, and not as a theory to be vindicated. We think that were non-Catholics to read Saint-Jure's *Religious*, their ideas of monasticism would undergo a change. They would perceive that the vows of poverty,

chastity, and obedience are accepted as living realities, and that the endeavor after spiritual perfection, is no mere dream of enthusiasts or fanatics, but an orderly process, guided primarily by the spirit of God in certain definite ways, which twenty centuries of experience have shown to be the best ways. The late Charles Kingsley wrote a book on the ancient Hermits, and treated the subject with a certain poetic sympathy ; but if any one wishes to know what the true religious is, and aims to be, he should get Saint-Jure's work. As he treats the subject on the grounds common to all religious communities, all can profit by his book. The translation is elegant and energetic, and the publisher has not been lacking on his part.

THE FAITH OF THE WORLD. St. Giles's Lectures. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

This work consists of a number of lectures on Brahminism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Zoroaster, and the Zend-Avesta ; on the religions of Ancient Egypt, Ancient Greece, and Ancient Rome, on the Teutonic and Scandinavian Religion ; the Ancient Religions of Central America ; Judaism, Mahometanism, and Christianity in Relation to other Religions.

The lectures, while thus connected by a certain kindredship of subjects, were delivered by twelve distinguished Protestant Ministers and Professors of Scotland. They describe the leading ideas and characteristics of the religions brought under consideration, and thus enable the reader to form a general idea of each of them.

The work contains much information respecting the various religions of the world, but being in the form of independent lectures by speakers who evidently were of different and opposite opinions on some points, there is a want of unity in the views presented.

The statements made in the lectures seem to indicate that the lecturers generally regarded the different religions they discuss as having reached their final shape and form through a process of development or evolution of ideas. If they had characterized the process of change as one of degradation and corruption they would have described it more correctly. In the cases of Brahminism, Buddhism, and the religions of ancient Egypt, Persia, Greece and Rome, this process of departure from the truth, and of increasing darkness, confusion and corruption of ideas, is clearly shown by all the known facts connected with the history of those religions.

AN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE. By *Walter W. Skeat, M.A.*, Elsington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon, in the University of Cambridge. Oxford : Printed at the Clarendon Press for Macmillan & Co., New York, 1882.

This work was undertaken by its learned composer, with the intention of furnishing students with materials for a more scientific study of English etymology than is commonly found in previous works upon the subject. To the fulfilment of this intention Professor Skeats has brought the results of long and careful research and reflection, and of a critical examination of the labors of others in the same field of knowledge. The result is a work of great value, and one which, if not accepted as the highest authority on its special subjects, yet occupies a very high position among such authorities.

The general plan of the work is as follows : Each article begins with a word, the etymology of which is to be sought. Where there are

more words than one with the same spelling, a number is added to each to facilitate reference. This is a great convenience, when such words are cited in the "List of Aryan Roots" contained in the volume, and in the various indexes at its end. After the word comes a brief definition as a mark to identify the word. Then follows an exact statement of the actual or probable language from which the word has been taken. After an exact statement of the source, a few quotations follow, which are intended to indicate the period at which the word was borrowed.

The thoroughness of the work and the excellence of the plan adopted by its compiler, make it almost invaluable for reference and study to those who are interested in tracing out the derivation of words, and their changes, both of form and meaning.

ESSAYS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS, CHIEFLY ROMAN. By *Mgr. Seton, D.D.* New York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1882.

Mgr. Seton is a very instructive and entertaining writer, and these essays betoken elegant scholarship and a love of the byways of literature and art, which are so dear to cultivated minds, even when these are obliged to give frequently unwilling attention to the "questions of the day," for what may be their practical, but what is certainly their prosaic, importance. The author in his preface deprecates the judgment that people will object that his essays are "old-fashioned and pedantic." But such a judgment will be impossible after reading a few essays in which the spirit of our own age is philosophically contrasted with that of which the author treats. The two historical studies of "Scanderbeg" and "Vittoria Colonna" are genuine masterpieces. We have never read a better sketch of Vittoria Colonna than the one under review. Mgr. Seton's style is remarkable for its lucidity and ease, and he can make the dry historical details as interesting as a story. "The First Jubilee" is not without a touch of pleasant humor; and indeed there are none of the essays without this refreshing quality.

To the ecclesiastical student the series of essays on the "Palatine Prelates of Rome," the "Cardinalate," and "Papal Elections," will prove of real value, as the author has brought together, in a most readable and compact shape, all that is necessary to be known concerning these points. We commend the book in particular to old Roman students, who will relish the renewal of glimpses of the Eternal City, her charities, her traditions, and, alas! her afflictions.

MOLINOS THE QUIETIST. By *John Bigelow.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1882.

The poison of this book, which is an apology for a thorough-going hypocrite, happily carries its antidote with it. With singular fatuity Mr. Bigelow prints the list of Molinos's condemned propositions, which alone would prove him to have been a very dangerous man to the Christian religion as well as to society. Molinos taught that the highest spiritual perfection consisted in a sort of Buddhistic passivity, in which the actions of the body ceased to have any moral relevancy. It was the soul alone that could sin; the body not being in any sense a co-operating agent. It is clear that such teaching would open the way to the grossest licentiousness, as in fact it did.

The author ludicrously ascribes the prosecution of Molinos to a fierce envy upon the part of the Jesuits. The theory of Molinos, known as Quietism, was the error of certain obscure heretical sects in the first

ages of Christianity, one thousand five hundred years before the Jesuits. It is a form of Manicheism, which ascribed the human body and its actions to the devil as the creator of matter. But, as we have intimated, Mr. Bigelow's book refutes itself, for any pure-minded or thoughtful man reading the list of Molinos's propositions will rapidly reach the conclusion of the inquisitors, that such a system of "spiritual perfection" could not be too quickly condemned and suppressed.

S. ALPHONSI M. DI LIGOURI, Episcopi Confessoris, et Ecclesiæ Doctoris Liber de Cæremoniis Missæ, ex Italico Idiomate Latine redditus, opportunis notis ac novissimis S. R. C., decretis illustratus, necnon appendicibus auctus, opera *Georgii Schober, C.SS.R.* Ratisbonæ, Neo Eb., et Cincin., Pustet. MDCCCLXXXII.

The chief excellence of this manual of the ceremonies of the Holy Mass is its summation of the most recent replies and decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites touching certain difficulties and problems relating to the rubrical exactness with which the Adorable Sacrifice should be celebrated. Whilst Rome vehemently desires complete uniformity in this, the most sacred rite of Religion, she acknowledges the difficulties which at times attend the missionary; and it is for this reason that we recommend Father Schober's amplification of St. Alphonsus's Ceremonial to the study of our missionary priests, who will find all their difficulties here solved by the appointed authority of the Church. We have been also much struck with the admirable powers of condensation possessed by the Reverend editor in presenting the pith of the voluminous rubrical writings of Merati, Martinucci, Gavanti, and De Herdt. The book has been highly approved by Ecclesiastical authorities. It is written in simple and elegant Latin, and it has the crowning excellence, which all such works should have, of being thoroughly indexed.

STEPHANIE. By Louis Veuillot. Translated from the French by Mrs. Josephine Black, Dublin. M. H. Gill & Son, 1881.

Louis Veuillot is most widely known as a vigorous Catholic French journalist, who wields a most trenchant pen, and calls at will to his aid in controversy the keenest wit and sarcasm, as well as the resources of learning and logic. But, besides this, he occupies a high place in the literary world, and even his bitterest enemies concede that his style is characterized by a freshness and piquancy which make all his productions enjoyable reading. He is the author, too, of a number of Catholic tales, all of which are popular and interesting, and pervaded by a pure and intensely Christian spirit. One of these is *Stephanie*, which has gone through many editions. It is a love-story, but the love-story of a pure Christian maiden, whose feelings and affection are ever kept in subordination to duty and to the supreme will of God. After enduring long-continued suspense and uncertainty her wishes were at last attained by a happy union with the worthy object of her affections. It is a delightful story, told in the form of letters, from Stephanie herself, and incidentally gives clear and graphic sketches of certain phases of French society.

CATECHISM MADE EASY: Being a Familiar Explanation of the Catechism of Christian Doctrine. By the *Rev. Henry Gibson*, late Catholic Chaplain to the Kirkdale Gaol and Kirkdale Industrial Schools. Second edition. Two volumes. London: Burns & Oates, 1882.

This work consists of fifty-eight chapters, of plain, clear, and pointed instructions on the Creation and End of Man; Faith; the Articles of the Apostles' Creed; Good Works; Hope, its Objects and Motives;

Grace; Prayer; the Lord's Prayer; the Hail Mary; Charity; the Ten Commandments; the Commandments of the Church; the Theological Virtues; the Cardinal Virtues; the Gifts and Fruits of the Holy Ghost; the Two Precepts of Charity; the Seven Capital Sins and the Contrary Virtues; the Nine Ways of Participating in the Sins of Others; the Eminent Good Works; the Evangelical Counsel; the Four Last Things to be Remembered; the Christian's Rule of Life; the Christian's Enemies; the Christian's Daily Exercise. The explanations and instructions are clear, plain, and edifying. They are elucidated by references to historical events and instances of heroic virtue in the lives of holy men and women.

POEMS. By *John B. Tabb*.

This is a handsome little volume, printed for private circulation amongst the author's friends, and dedicated to Cardinal Newman. The subjects of Mr. Tabb's song, for the most part, are not ambitious. But, true poet as he is, and filled with the Divine *afflatus*, he refines, spiritualizes, and surrounds with new grace and dignity those things of daily life that we, common mortals, gaze upon with dull, unimpassioned, un-inspired eyes.

The author's high poetical talent appears to the best advantage in his exquisite handling of the sonnet. This fair flower of Southern Europe cannot thrive on English soil, unless tended by a most skilful hand. Mr. Tabb is a master of the art. In proof of this we should like to quote a specimen or two, did our space allow it, such as his "Shakespeare's Mourners," or what would still better please our Catholic readers, the "Paschal Moon," "Columbus," or one of the two beautiful sonnets, addressed to Cardinal Newman.

AUNT OLIVE AND HER HIDDEN PAST. A Tale. By *Miss M. I. Hoffman*. New York: P. O'Shea. 1882.

The reputation of Miss Hoffman as a pleasing novelist is well established, and her last story will surely increase it. The reviewer, of course, should not explain the plot of the romance under consideration, so we confine ourselves to the statement that it is at once original, striking, and well carried out. There is a thread of controversy running through the story, but it blends harmoniously with the entire web. Such stories as Miss Hoffman gives us effectually dispose of the objection that we have no Catholic tales that can vie in interest with the flashy modern sensational literature. All that our Catholic tale writers need do is rigidly to keep to the main law of romance,—that is, the story first, and the moral afterwards. The reversal of this canon always results in failure. It is evident that Miss Hoffman has the novelist's secret.

NAMES THAT LIVE IN CATHOLIC HEARTS: Memoirs of Cardinal Ximenes, Michael Angelo, Samuel de Champlain, Archbishop Plunkett, Charles Carroll, Henri de Laroche Jacquin, Simon de Montfort. By *Anne T. Sadlier*. New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. 1882.

This volume comprises a number of well-written and interesting biographical sketches of the above-mentioned persons. It is to be followed by one or two other volumes, of uniform size with this, comprising biographies of other eminent personages. The sketches are necessarily brief, but the writer has made good use of the space at her command, and has succeeded in narrating the chief events in the lives and deline-

ating the distinctive characters of the subjects of her sketches in a very clear, and distinct, attractive manner. Such works as this will serve to make the general Catholic public better acquainted with the personal histories and characters of distinguished Catholics of other ages, and also will furnish a good substitute for the miserable sensational reading to which they are constantly tempted to have recourse.

THE DICTIONARY OF EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION: A Reference Book and Manual on the Theory and Practice of Teaching, for the Use of Parents, Teachers, and Others; based upon "The Cyclopædia of Education." By Henry Kiddle and A. J. Schem. New York: E. Steiger & Co., 1881.

This book, the preface states, is a condensation of a larger and more comprehensive work, entitled *The Cyclopædia of Education*. Its purpose is to supply teachers with information on subjects that daily come up in the practical work of the school-room, and to serve as a convenient manual for study and reference. The book contains some valuable articles, and teachers not thoroughly trained and educated will find in it information of value, some of which they would otherwise be at a loss where to search for, and could not obtain except in works which they are probably unacquainted with, and which probably, too, are beyond their reach.

THE GIRL'S BOOK OF PIETY AT SCHOOL AND AT HOME. By the author of "Golden Sands." Approved by Pius IX. Translated from the Forty-fifth Edition by Josephine M. Black. Dublin: M. A. Gill & Son, 1881.

This is an admirable book, and, although addressed especially to girls, it may yet be read with profit and edification by "children of a larger growth." Beside giving a full exposition of Christian doctrine, and an explanation of the rites and ceremonies of the Church, it contains the prayers of the Mass, Vespers, the Litanies, preparation for the Sacraments, etc., and a meditation for every day in the year. This is really one of the most instructive and devotional books yet issued from the press, and we hope the demand for it will be proportionate to its great merits. It has already had an immense sale, the edition from which the translation before us was made being the forty-fifth.

IDOLS; or, the Secret of the Rue Chaussée d'Antin. Translated from the French of Raoul de Navery, by Miss Anna T. Sadlier. New York: Benziger Bros., 1882.

This little novel, French, and sensational though it be, is thoroughly Catholic, and will edify young readers, in spite of the scenes of modern Parisian guilt which enter into the story. The main interest of the plot lies in the priest's faithful maintenance of the inviolable secret of the confessional. One of Banim's novels, if we remember correctly, is based on this same Catholic Teaching. Miss Sadlier, as translator, has done her part admirably.

STORIES OF CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS. By Elizabeth M. Steward, authoress of *Lord Dacre of Golsland*, *Cloister Legends*, *The King and the Cloister*, *The People's Martyr*, etc., etc. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co.

This is a volume of short, attractive stories, suitable for young persons. The scenes and incidents related are laid in France, England, and Ireland. The underlying purpose of the stories is to illustrate the power and salutary influence of Christian education, and the experiences and labors of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.

A COMPENDIOUS DICTIONARY OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE (French-English—English-French). Adopted from the Dictionaries of Professor Alfred Elwall. Followed by a List of the Principal Diverging Variations. By *Gustave Masson*. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1882.

This work is well suited for use, both as a school dictionary, and also as a convenient book of reference for adults. It combines several important advantages, and preserves a happy medium between extreme conciseness and over-abundance of detail. The "List of Diverging Derivations" and the chronological, historical, and literary tables also add to the value of the work.

SAINTS OF 1881, or Sketches of the Lives of St. Clare of Montefalco, St. Laurence of Brindisi, St. Benedict Joseph Lafre, and St. John Baptist de Rossi. By *Rev. William Lloyd*. London: Burns & Oates. 1882.

These are the saints whom the present Sovereign Pontiff canonized last year. They furnish proof of the perpetual holiness of the Church, the sole mother of saints. The story of their lives is simply and clearly written, and the author has been at evident great pains to verify all his dates and facts. There is something peculiarly inspiring in reading the lives of these saints, who, with the exception of St. Clare, were almost our contemporaries. The book is neatly printed and bound.

THE SPIRITUALITY AND IMMORTALITY OF THE HUMAN SOUL. A Reply to the Materialists. By *Rev. Henry A. Brown, D.D.*, author of "The Age of Unreason," "Truth and Error," "Curious Questions," etc. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company, 1882.

This is a concise, close, and philosophical demonstration of the existence, spirituality, and immortality of the soul. On the basis of pure reason, it proves them by a chain of argument which is invincible. Could skeptics be gotten to seriously and thoughtfully read it, it would convince them of their folly.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR PARTICULAR STATES AND CONDITIONS OF LIFE. By the *Rev. John Gother*. Edited by Rev. M. Comerford. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. 1882.

This is an excellent little work, full of solid and practical instruction. The rules and explanations and counsels are plain, concise, discriminating, and sound. It cannot fail, if carefully perused, to be of great value to the persons for whom it is intended. The eighteen classes of persons to whom its instructions are addressed, include Christians of almost every character, and exposed to almost every form of temptation.

CONFESSION. By *Monseigneur de Ségur*. Translated from the French by *Marguerite Martin*. London: Burns & Oates, 1882.

The remarkable excellence of this little work is so well known that it is needless for us to commend it. In the plainest, simplest, and most direct manner it explains the nature and the necessity of Confession, and the spiritual benefits derived from it; and exposes the emptiness of the various excuses and objections which those who neglect it frame to palliate or justify their sin.

THE SOLDIER'S COMPANION TO THE SPIRITUAL EXERCISES. Compiled by the *Rev. J. Redman, D.D.* Second edition. London: Burns & Oates, 1882.

This is an excellent little work, containing judicious practical instructions and exhortations to Catholic soldiers; a number of well-selected hymns, prayers, and spiritual exercises; several of the Litanies of the Church; and an explanation of and manual for assisting at the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament.

LIFE OF ST. FREDERICK, BISHOP AND MARTYR. By *Frederick G. Maples*, Missionary Apostolic. London: Burns & Oates, 1881.

This is a short account of the life, labors, and martyrdom of a saint of whose history but few details are known, but those few constitute a history, almost forgotten, radiant with the light of a perfect and heroic life, which, as an old chronicler says, "breathed the nectar of the holiness of Boniface."

THE HOLY EXERCISE OF THE PRESENCE OF GOD. In three parts. Translated from the French by *T. F. Vaubert, S. J.* St. Louis: P. Fox, 1881.

An admirable little book, designed to impress upon the reader the fact of the constant presence of God at all times, and under all circumstances, and suggestive of the thoughts and feelings which this great fact should always inspire.

A SAINT AMONG SAINTS. A Sketch of the Life of St. Emmelia, Mother of St. Basil the Great. By *S. M.* Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1881.

THE ORDER OF THE SCIENCES. An Essay on the Philosophical Classification of Human Knowledge. By *Professor Charles W. Shields*, of Princeton College. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1882.

ESSAYS ON THE FLOATING MATTER OF THE AIR, IN RELATION TO PUTREFACTION AND INFECTION. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1882.

PSYCHOLOGY OF THE SALEM WITCHCRAFT EXCITEMENT OF 1692, AND ITS PRACTICAL APPLICATION TO OUR OWN TIME. By *Dr. George M. Beard*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1882.

THE CREATION AND THE SCRIPTURE—THE REVELATION OF GOD. By *Gilbert Chester Monell, M.D.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1882.

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THE ORIGIN OF CIVIL AUTHORITY.

I.

Die Grundsätze der Sittlichkeit und des Rechtes. Beleuchtet von Th. Meyer, S. J. Freiburg, 1868.

The American Republic. By O. A. Brownson, LL.D. New edition. New York.

OUTRAGES committed on the holders of civil power have, in our age, become events of frequent occurrence. There have been, in this century, very few princes in Europe against whom a conspiracy was not formed, or on whose person a deadly attack was not made. Several of them have died by the hands of assassins. A short time ago all civilized nations were shocked by the dreadful assassination of the emperor Alexander II., and since several years, the entire world is amazed at the widely-extended plot and the incessant secret working of the nihilists against the head of the Russian monarchy. But also on this side of the ocean authority has not been inviolable. Was not twice the Union plunged into the deepest sorrow for seeing the life of a President treacherously destroyed?

If criminal acts of an atrocious nature are often repeated, with the co-operation particularly or the connivance of many, they are always symptoms of an inward disease of society, and remind the wise and thoughtful of the necessity of applying salutary remedies to the body politic, in order to prevent its speedy dissolution. So, indeed, the latest assassinations have been looked on by the sound public mind, so the press has, in general, commented on them.

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Much more so have the supreme pastors of the universal Church, the Sovereign Pontiffs, viewed those sad events. They took occasion from them to give advices and admonitions to all Christian nations, and to point out the great dangers imminent if a return to better principles should not soon take place. His Holiness, Leo XIII., to this effect addressed an encyclical letter to all Christendom after the awful catastrophe in Russia. Having spoken in the same both of the atrocity of the crime committed and the evils everywhere threatening civil society, he deems it necessary again to inculcate the sacredness of authority; for this great principle he considered as fundamental to all social life; so that as the one is heeded or disregarded the other also must of necessity thrive or decay.

The warnings of the Sovereign Pontiff deserve our fullest consideration, because he not only touches the core of the evil that corrodes society, but also furnishes the remedy that may heal the corruption. It will therefore be proper to enter into his ideas and to develop them more fully for Catholic readers. For this purpose the present essay is written; it is intended to be a demonstration of the divine origin of authority. As to the division of the matter, we shall observe in the following order: First, the necessity of civil authority among men is to be set forth; then, the different opinions concerning its nature and its source will be expounded, and those of them that are obviously false rejected; afterwards, from its characteristic properties its true origin will be inferred, and hence the force and extent of its actions be defined; lastly, we have to explain how authority, thus far considered abstractly, obtains concrete existence by being vested in a proper subject; in conclusion, we shall point out the beneficial effects which, if derived from God, it must produce in the state.

The necessity of civil authority among men follows from the necessity of society. Society is so necessary to us that without it we could not at all exist and act in accordance with our rational nature. In domestic society man is born and brought up; in religious society he practices the worship of the Deity; in civil society he enjoys peace, security, and prosperity. What is the cause of this phenomenon always and everywhere observed upon earth? There are goods which man is absolutely in need of and still cannot procure but with the help of others. It is hence necessary for the different individuals to associate, in order to pursue such objects with common efforts. Nature herself has for this purpose endowed us with the faculty of speech and implanted in our hearts love for and sympathy with our fellow-creatures; it has, moreover, so constituted us that to the want in one the power of furnishing the means to satisfy it answers in another. Among the goods not

attainable by private efforts we must reckon also those which make up man's temporal or external well-being to such a degree as is requisite for the destination of human nature; for they cannot all be procured but by the co-operation of a vast multitude of individuals and families. For the attainment of them we are, therefore, bound and even impelled by nature to form a society spread over a whole country,—the state. Civil society is thus a necessity of our nature, a necessary consequence of our constitution itself. Hence it is that it will never fail to exist, that it cannot be rooted up, that, if destroyed to-day, it will rise again to-morrow under another shape, that it is found among all nations and in all ages.

Yet society implies authority as one of its constituent parts. Society, in general, is any union of rational beings for the purpose of pursuing the same end with common efforts. Since of rational beings each one is a complete whole, an entire principle of immanent and free activity, subsistent in itself; they cannot be united intrinsically or as to their entity so as to form by their combination new natures or substances. Between them a union is effected only by joining together their tendencies or operations towards the obtaining of the same object. This we call a moral union, because by it free wills are combined. So, indeed, men coalesce against a common enemy, or for the sake of a profitable commerce, or the promotion of science, or the establishment of useful institutions. However, the great difficulty is, how permanently to unite rational beings as to their free will. May they not, though they once desired the same object, later relax in its pursuit, or, though they agree as to the end in view, disagree as to the means to be employed in behalf of its attainment? With regard to union the free will is quite different from the physical force. The latter, because it acts and is determined with necessity, is of itself unchangeable in its agreement with the elements with which it is combined; yet the former, just on account of its freedom, can with those with whom it was once united be again at variance. In such a case it is evident that society is dissolved or becomes loose and inefficient. Therefore, to render the union of free beings permanent, strong, and energetical, still another element must enter it besides the sameness of the end that attracts all. There must be a bond which ties them together inseparably, a power which energizes and regulates their common tendency. This principle, as it directs rational beings, referring their actions to an end, must belong to the moral and intellectual order, and as it exercises a rule over others, necessarily implies superiority. We hence call it *authority*. Authority, therefore, is in any society the source of unity, the formal constituent, the life-giving principle; it is for members of a moral union what the head is for the body.

But from this we must infer that society cannot exist without authority, just as a whole cannot be without its constituent parts. Not even the family, the simplest form of society, consisting of but few members, can be without a head or has ever been without it. Much less can the state do without it, as it requires a harmonious co-operation of numerous partners, and as unity is maintained among many with much greater difficulty than among few. All states, on this account, have and had at any time their magistrates, among the savage tribes as well as the civilized nations. They differ as to the form of government, but a government they all have; they sometimes changed it, yet they only substituted one form for another and did not abolish it at all; had they done so, they would have destroyed themselves. Authority, then, is for society of absolute necessity, and is for mankind as necessary as society itself.

From this development also the nature, the properties, and the functions of civil authority are apparent. It is the power, and lays on those in whom it is lodged the obligation, to lead all the members of civil society in harmonious unity to the attainment of their common end,—that is, to the obtaining of that degree of temporal well-being which is requisite for man's destination. Authority is hence essentially beneficent; for it is not meant to serve the personal interests of the magistrates by taxing the liberty of the subjects, but aims at the welfare and the prosperity of all alike. Yea, beneficence is the property not only of civil, but of all authority in general. For as happiness is necessarily aspired to by our rational will, men will never agree but on an advantageous end to be pursued by common efforts. The object of those societies in particular which God himself has founded either by creation or supernatural intervention must needs be good, because He always intends in His works the perfection of His creatures; and hence the authority that leads us towards embracing such an object is beneficent in a special manner.

As to the functions by which civil authority has to perform its task, we may easily understand that they chiefly consist in the establishment of proper laws and rights, and in the constant and prudent maintenance of the same. To direct all citizens of the state to the attainment of their common end, their temporal well-being, it must not only inspire them with energy in the pursuit of this object, but also put imperturbable order and harmony in their actions. Two things are comprised in this. First, authority must draw up a rule, which following, all co-operate for the common welfare, so as not to hinder, but rather to aid one another's activity; secondly, it must render such a rule binding for all, so as to lay their free wills under unavoidable necessity to comply with it.

Should authority fail in one of these two things, it would, no doubt, be far from fulfilling its task. But if all are bound harmoniously to employ their forces for the public well-being, each one is also, with full justice, entitled to the exterior capacity of performing whatever is implied in his social duties, to the corresponding co-operation of the other members of the state, and to a proportionate share in the fruits gained by common efforts. Now thus laws and rights are created. For the rule laying all citizens under a strict obligation to forbear or to perform certain actions we call law, and the just claim not to be impeded or to be helped by others, under given circumstances, we term right, law being, as S. Thomas¹ says, a rule dictated by reason in behalf of the common weal and promulgated by him who has care of society, and right being an irresistible moral power to possess, to do, or to exact something. Civil authority, therefore, must be conceived as a source of laws, of duties and rights, and it is by them that it unites and strengthens the commonwealth, and surely works out public welfare.

Being thus, to some degree, acquainted with the necessity, the nature, the properties, and the functions of authority, we may now begin to search into its origin. A question of paramount interest! Who is not desirous to know whence that power is which by putting order in our civil life may produce our highest earthly good, and by imposing inviolable laws on each one's free will may protect our liberty and our most precious rights? Who is not aware that its extension, its efficacy, and its wholesomeness are quite dependent on the source from which it is derived, and that the trust we may have in it must be different, as the principles vary from which it is thought to spring? The best course we can take in the discussion of this question will be, first to hear the opinions which, concerning the origin of authority, have prevailed in the several periods of history, and then to point out those which, by obvious reasons and experience, prove false.

No sooner had, after the overthrow of heathenism, Christianity begun to pervade the public life of the nations and to illumine human science with the light brought down from heaven by the Eternal Word, than all authority, whether in the Church, or in the state, or in the family, was conceived to be an issue of the power and sovereignty of God. Then the whole philosophy of law was a development of the truth proclaimed by the apostle: "There is no power but from God, and those that are, are ordained of God." Rom. xiii. 1. The several authorities, however, were understood to be in full harmony; for how could potencies disunited or hostile flow from the same divine source? It was just by their concord

¹ S. Theol., I., II., qu. 90, art. 4, "Lex est nihil aliud nisi quaedam rationis ordinatio ad bonum commune ab eo, qui curam habet communitatis, promulgata."

that they wonderfully upheld and strengthened one another. The state's power in particular, by its friendly alliance with the Church, had, in the eyes of the nations, got an irrefragable witness for its divine origin, and was clothed with a higher lustre as a token of its sacred character.

Yet this union between the Church and the state was broken up, first only in fact, when towards the end of the Middle Ages, emperors and kings attempted to render the spiritual power of the Church subservient to theirs, and when, by their policy, they trampled on all her sacred laws. Later, when the humanists had with their heathen views alienated many a mind from Christ, a proper theory was sought for the practice. The solution of this problem was reserved to Macchiavelli (1469-1527), and so thoroughly has he performed his task that he emancipated the state not only from the Church, but also from God. According to the ideas he laid down in his renowned work, *Il Principe*, civil power, vested in the monarch, is altogether an end in itself, absolutely sovereign and independent; it ought, consequently, to have in view no other object than its own interest, and to be directed by no other rule than that of expediency; it had to consider as good and allowed whatever promoted its growth, and judge evil and forbidden whatever hindered its success. Over a state of so absolute a character, of course, no other law could exist, not even that of morality. True, religion and virtue were not to be banished from the commonwealth, but should rather be recommended to subjects and feigned by the prince; yet they both were only humble servants of the state, to be favored and employed as far as the latter's interest would require. It is evident that thus the supreme civil power was declared independent of God; yea, placed on His throne; for it was represented as having its sway not from Him, but of its own sufficiency, and as having its last end not in Him, but in itself. Here we have the first attempt during the Christian era to derive authority from another than Divine source, by attributing to it absoluteness both in existence and in action. However, though Macchiavelli had but systematized the policy then common among most of the European princes, his theory met with general dissatisfaction. The nations were yet too deeply penetrated with religious feelings, too closely attached to the Church, not to abhor such godlessness.

Yet the Reformation came and achieved what just before was still impossible. The authority of the Church was run down as a human invention, and that which was left of it was incorporated with the state's power. The facts are too well known from history to need any further illustration. At first civil authority seemed to be strengthened by these proceedings, and to be surrounded by a

new splendor of sacredness, it being now considered as the only power on earth established by God Himself. We remind the reader of the views entertained by the English monarchs and their divines with regard to the royal supremacy. But soon the kings were shown in a quite different light. Civil power, made absolute, became extremely tyrannical, particularly in matters of conscience. Besides Catholicity, also many of the numerous sects which had taken rise in all Protestant countries were cruelly persecuted. A bitter hatred was on this account aroused against the existing governments. If the authority of the Church had been discredited and outraged, in spite of its majesty and its age, in spite of the proofs alleged for it from Holy Writ, in spite of the many benefits bestowed by it on all civilized nations, why should secular power, stained with cruelty and tyranny, be any further regarded by the discontented as sacred and divine? If in religious matters full liberty was proclaimed and law abolished, why should man not be equally free in temporal things of much less importance? So, in fact, the peasants in Germany understood the new gospel; they rose in a bloody insurrection against the princes. Nor did, some years later, the exalted theory of their supremacy spare the English kings revolution, banishment, and death by the executioner. The reformers themselves spoke with great disrespect of the governments not favorable to their cause. Temporal power, too, was thus bound to fall into contempt.

Another important circumstance must in this matter be taken into account. Protestantism had, on the one hand, no connection with antiquity, but was, owing to its very origin, in a radical opposition to the Catholic science of the Middle Ages; it had, consequently, thrown itself into the necessity of devising quite new scientific systems, both in philosophy and in theology. Yet, on the other hand, it had exempted the human intellect from all subjection to authority, giving full freedom in all things to private judgment. The consequence was that the intellect, in achieving so great and difficult a work as that of laying a new foundation of culture and civilization, destitute as it was of all help, became liable to any kind of deception, a prey to all human passions. Ought we to be astonished if soon a motley crowd of errors shot forth, if opinions and ideas emerged again which once seemed to have been buried under the ruins of heathenism? The fact is that, not long after the Reformation, in Germany and England, empiricism, materialism, idealism, pantheism flourished in succession, that philosophy became the mother of unbelief, impiety, and absurdity. Now in the public mind unchristian political theories could fix roots; now the state's power could be severed from God, or rather could be allowed to supersede Him by assuming His

attributes. For the errors of speculative always have their bearing on practical philosophy, and it is chiefly there that their influence is felt.

The new era of political science, based on modern speculation, was inaugurated in England. Hobbes (1588-1679), as he first deduced sensationalism from Bacon's empiricism, so also started a new theory of society. Considering man as a beast of prey, devoid of moral conceptions and free will, impelled by animal instincts to seek his own satisfaction at whatever expense of others' happiness, he thought our primordial or natural state to have consisted in a warfare of all against all. However, when men had thus lived for a certain time, they got disgusted with a condition from which nothing but universal carnage could result; led by reason and reflection they resolved, for the sake of a truce, to enter into a union, all with each and each with all, by establishing a common power strong enough to coerce the opposite egotistic tendencies of the several individuals. Such power, he thought, would be monarchical absolutism, which, exercising unlimited sway over each one's entire being, over the understanding and will of all, could not err in anything, but was to constitute, by its decrees and actions, right and justice itself. Society as well as authority was thus, in his opinion, the creation of the individual human being, the issue of a contract made by them, in order to exchange their state of barbarity for permanent peace and tranquillity.¹

In a somewhat different way was the theory of the social compact put forth by Locke (1632-1704), the philosophical founder of empiricism. He, too, lets civil society rise from a contract concluded by individuals for the purpose of mutually protecting their interests, particularly their property. The supreme authority, however, necessary for unity, and hence created by the will of the contractors, he lodges in the whole body politic, in the collection of all the citizens. Magistrates, says he, must be set up, yet they are to be intrusted only with the power of putting the laws into execution; legislative power itself abides with the people and is to be exercised through representatives. Not the government, consequently, is sovereign, but the nation; it is this that determines the constitution of the state, sanctions the laws, creates administrative power by transferring individual rights to a common centre, and delegates it to the king or other officers held answerable for the use they make of it, and liable to be deposed for malversation.

¹ Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), a Dutch Protestant, had, in his work, *De Jure Pacis et Belli*, even before Hobbes, spoken of a contract that gives existence to civil society. But he does not admit barbarity as preceding the civilized state, nor is, in his opinion, the compact the last cause of society; he rather considers it only as the means by which human nature actualized in the concrete order its inborn socialness.

Locke has, by his system, first proclaimed the sovereignty of the people and advised popular representation as the best form of government.

In this stage the modern ideas concerning civil authority went over from England to France, to find there their further development. Montesquieu (1689-1755), in his work *L'esprit des Lois*, deduced from Locke's principle the constitutional monarchy. Public power, all emanating from the people and ultimately residing in them, is divided by him into executive, legislative, and judicial. The executive power is vested in the king by a written fundamental contract between him and the nation; the legislative in two houses of representatives, dependent, however, as to the validity of their enactments, on the royal sanction; the judicial in judges, independent in their position of the government, but bound to act in strict accordance with the laws enacted. The person of the king is inviolable, yet he cannot use his power but through his ministers, and these are answerable for their actions to the houses of the representatives. The design of this scheme was to maintain the sovereignty of the people by rendering the magistrates directly or indirectly responsible to them, to prevent the misuse of governmental power by dividing it and intrusting its parts to different bodies dependent one on another, and hence exercising a mutual control.

Two things must be well understood in the form of government drawn up by Montesquieu. First, all agents in the state are supposed to be actuated solely by selfish motives, chiefly by the love of honor, wherefore they, with intrinsic necessity, pursue their own interest alone, and employ the power with which they are clothed for the public welfare only inasmuch as they are spurred to do so by their own advantage or are precluded from misuse by extrinsic circumstances. Civil society is thus an artificial mechanism, in which one power is checked by the other and all are reduced to equilibrium. Secondly, the state itself is absolutely sovereign, since it was neither derived from God, having sprung into existence from the consent of the citizens, nor referred to Him at its end, the prevention of the abuse of power through equipoise being its real destination, and the happy effect thus by whatever means obtained being as the actualized will of the people, the supreme good to be longed for, and the highest object to be aimed at. That authority of so absolute a character was under no superior law, not even that of morality; that religion was regarded as a subordinate potency, was but a natural consequence from such premises. Montesquieu had evidently revived Macchiavelli's theory with that only difference, that sovereignty resided, according to the latter, in the monarch; according to the former, in the

people; and that in the opinion of the one everything was lawful that the king decreed; in the opinion of the other, the will of the nation was justice itself.

Whilst Montesquieu developed the ideas of the English philosophers to constitutionalism, Rousseau (1712-1778) drew from them the theory of revolution. The following is the drift of his thoughts, laid down in his *Contrat Social*. All men are naturally free and equal, since each one's nature and ultimate end consists in the exemption from restraint of whatever kind. Equality and liberty, therefore, are essentially inalienable prerogatives of man, the highest good and the pitch of his happiness, the diminution of which is wrong, the promotion of which is right. Such being our nature, civil society cannot be brought into being but by a free agreement of all individuals, nor can its object be anything else but common protection consistent with the equal freedom of all. The great problem to be solved by the state, says he, is "*to find a form of association which shall defend and protect with all the common strength the person and property of each associate, and by which each one, being united to all, shall nevertheless obey only himself, and remain as free as before.*" The solution is this: Each one transfers all his rights on the collection of all those with whom he enters into union; the community thus founded is the state, the sum of rights thus accumulated is authority, the common will of all is the sovereign. Provided, then, that the supreme authority rests in the whole nation, he thinks the equality of the citizens to remain intact in society, and their obedience to be reconciled with freedom; because all have an equal share in the public power and its beneficial effects, and each one as he obeys the common laws so also governs as a constituent part of the sovereign people. From this nature of civil power he at last deduces two conclusions, one respecting its holders, the other its actions. As to the first, he infers that the magistrates have no authority at all of their own, but are merely the ministers and organs of the people, chosen by the will of the same, and deposable at any moment. As to the second, he says the enactments of the sovereign nation are absolutely good and right, and, since before the formation of society there were no precepts, the only laws of man. Others, on their part, have further deduced that, as according to Rousseau's materialistic views man is but an animal led by passions and sensual appetites, authority is in his system the sum of material forces added, the actual prevalence of united brutal tendencies.

Having thus far considered how authority was based on empiricism and materialism, we have now to call our attention to idealism. This latter set in just when the principles of the social compact began to be acted upon in France. It is interesting to follow

the idealistic development, for in all its stages we meet with some new ideas enthusiastically taken up and imbedded in the latest theories of law. Idealism was started by Kant (1724-1804), and it was he who, in laying its foundation, furnished the political philosophers with reasons for dividing morality and right into widely different spheres. As, in his views, theoretical or pure reason is the source of all the forms of our cognition independently of any exterior object, so practical reason is the ultimate origin of the moral order of our actions. Man, says he, in virtue of his rational nature, is a law unto himself, supreme and absolute, bearing in itself both the motive that inclines us and the authority that binds us, to obey itself. From their conformity with this absolute law of rational nature the morality of our doings is to be judged. Whatever action we forbear or perform by command of, and out of respect for autonomical reason is good and moral; whatever we do out of regard for a lawgiver extrinsic to us, even if he be God, or out of hope for some advantage is, because repugnant to our dignity, imperfect and immoral. Thus the primary product of the practical reason is the moral order, placed by Kant in inward freedom or independence; from this he deduces the existence of God, religion, and outward freedom, that is, exemption from compulsion, as necessary a presupposition to the realization of the moral order, and hence he at last infers the necessity of the state. Wherever, he reasons, men of equal nature live together, there their actions and relations must so be regulated by a common law that each one's freedom is rendered consistent with that of all the others. Yet this cannot be effected but by coercion; and so he arrives at the ingenious conclusion that the freedom from compulsion required by autonomical reason cannot exist among men but by compulsion according to a fixed common rule. The equal and universal coercion by law in behalf of the freedom of all he calls right; the power which works it, authority; the sphere in which it is exercised, state. The distinction between right and morality in this scheme is apparent. Morality regards only our interior, and consists in intrinsic self-determination, in respect for our autonomical reason as the motive of all our actions; right is merely in the exterior order, is but outward compulsion for the sake of universal freedom.

In a similar way had Fichte conceived the state. As he thinks, morality is the destruction of the non-ego, from which, were it once completed, the infinity of the ego would result. This implies that the ego is destined to extend in this visible world its causality as much as possible. However, as there are many egos, the practical reason dictates them to agree on a proper restriction, in con-

sequence of which they do not hinder one another's liberty of action. The means to obtain this is civil society.

In Kant's as well as Fichte's theory authority is, together with the state, a postulate of the autonomous reason, an issue of our own absolute and sovereign dignity. Its origin lies ultimately and essentially in our rational nature and cannot be traced back to another source.

That at the end the two great geniuses disagree as to the subject in which the supreme civil power is to be vested, that Kant's practical reason postulates the monarchical, Fichte's, on the contrary, the republican form of government, is quite immaterial for us.

Yet idealism was so far still in its infancy and not free from many inconveniences. The existence of many absolute beings, may they be termed autonomous reason, or absolute egos, seemed to be a metaphysical absurdity. To unite several absolute and sovereign beings under one government, and to give them the freedom congenial to their nature by universal compulsion, might come near impossibility. Such difficulties were thought to have been overcome by the pantheism of Schelling (1775-1854) and Hegel (1770-1831). Only one absolute being was then conceived to be, which was, according to Schelling, the identity of the subject and object, according to Hegel, impersonal thought. This one being, they say, comprises all; by differencing itself it puts forth the whole world, by again reducing the differences to identity, it unites the objects produced and withdraws them to itself. We give here only Hegel's system in a few words, as this was for a long time in particular favor with certain statesmen of a despotic tendency. The universe is, as he says, the development of thought in three different periods. Thought is in the first period by itself, in the second out of itself, in the third in itself, hence in the first pure thought, in the second nature, in the third spirit, which is the withdrawing of nature into thought. Now in this third period thought brings forth right, honesty, and morality, which latter is the realization of good. Good is the union of the particular and universal, or rather the subjection of the former unto the latter, whereas evil is the prevailing of the finite over the infinite, or the opposition of the particular to the universal. Such union is real in social life, where the individual is, indeed, subject to the whole. Society, therefore, being the realization of good, is morality itself, and the more it is extended, and the closer it is united, the higher a degree of morality it is. Again, social life is most perfectly developed in the state, which is not distinguished from, or subject to, the Church, but rather contains it as one of its parts. To live, therefore, in the state according to its laws is consummate virtue. Nay, the state, being the supreme evolution of the spirit in the objective

order, is God himself present and actual in the world, or the divine will putting itself into act and organization. Above the state there is only one more development, that by which the spirit is conscious of the absolute identity of the subjective and objective order. This is effected, first by art, then by religion, and at last by philosophy, —of course by Hegel's. Hence, as the state is above the Church, so pantheistic philosophy is above religion, and must be regarded as man's highest perfection and brightest intellectual enlightenment.

Apparently had in this system authority regained its former splendor and divine character, since it was the all-uniting power of the absolute, and had the difficulty to unite men to one perfect society vanished away, since the individuals were finite and dependent and the absolute alone their common source and nature, infinite and independent. But, alas! the absolute was in reality identical with human reason, being but its highest evolution; and so again authority remained merely human. Moreover, as in pantheism the particular is to be swallowed up by the universal, the individuals are in it, not joined to society, but rather destroyed, and by the combination of opposite moments reduced to nothingness.

One great advantage, however, was admitted to have been reached by Hegel's system, notwithstanding its unintelligible abstruseness. He had started the idea of an intrinsic and natural union of the nation prior to its political constitution and productive of the same. By blood, already, by nature, by their common soil and tongue were men thought to be united to one perfect whole, to which all individuals were subordinate as the members are to the body; and this compact whole, it was further deemed, would by its will, according to a natural law, bring forth society with all its constituent parts, its organization, and its government, just as the trunk of a tree evolves branches and foliage. Pantheistic exaggerations might be dropped, and still the theory seemed fully to account for the origin of the state, and to grant it independently of God, all power that was desired, if only human reason was considered as autonomous. The authority thus obtained was unlimited and absolute; for of God and His law it was independent; and over the individuals whom it was to rule it had as unrestricted dominion as the whole has over its parts. As to the subject in which it naturally rested, it was primarily clothed in the whole nation, and could for the sake of easier administration be delegated, not to one alone, as Hegel inferred, in favor of absolute monarchy, but also to many, just as it pleased the community.

This view of society is fundamental to nearly all political theories of the day. Socialism, which denies the right of possession to the individual and confers it on the state, evidently involves it.

It also lies at the bottom of positivism. The positivists, denying all that is beyond the sphere of experience, consider society simply as a necessary development of human nature without any reference to a supramundane cause. Yet, if nature universally unites men to society, if by an intrinsic law it forms the family, the tribe, the state; the principle of unity must pre-exist in it antecedent to all actual association, and pre-containing all men as in a germ, evolve them to a well-organized whole.

All modern political systems may hence be summed up in two classes. One builds up society on the consent of yet unconnected, independent individuals, and derives government and civil constitution from their free will; the other, on the contrary, supposes men naturally united to a sovereign nation, and lets from the will of this, as from the last source, spring the organized society, the power of the rulers, and the rights of the subjects.

Are now perhaps all these theories barren or dead speculations buried with their authors? Whoever is but little acquainted with the history of our age must confess that they all are acted on in the public life of nations. Not only are they read in the textbooks of law, and in the scientific works of the jurists according to which also judgments are passed, but they are also taken as foundations of most of the modern states. Empires with unlimited monarchical power now commonly rest on the principle of the absolute unity of men according to pantheistic views; constitutionalism borrows its maxims and its organization from Locke and Montesquieu; the French Revolution, and the great political movement, in general, which, at the end of the last and the beginning of this century, overturned so many thrones, divided kingdoms, and founded republics on their ruins, appeals as to the charter of its rights to the social contract; the present disturbance in many countries, the swelling power of socialism, the several bloody wars by which dynasties were exterminated, states stripped of flourishing provinces or even their independence, result from the pretended unity of the sovereign nations entitled to their natural territory or to constitutions that are thought to agree with the will of the masses.

What opinions were predominant in the Union from the time of the Revolution we may learn from the late Dr. Brownson. He is, no doubt, a competent authority. Having expounded Rousseau's social compact, and remarked that Mr. Jefferson resorts to it in the Declaration of Independence, he says in his renowned work, *The American Republic*, "This theory, as so set forth, or as modified by asserting that the individual delegates instead of surrendering his rights to civil society, was generally adopted by the American people in the last century, and is still the more prevalent theory with those among them who happen to have any theory or opinion on

the subject. It is the political tradition of the country. The state, as defined by the elder Adams, is held to be a voluntary association of individuals. Individuals create civil society, and may uncreate it whenever they judge it advisable. Prior to the Southern Rebellion, nearly every American asserted, with Lafayette, 'the sacred right of insurrection,' or revolution, and sympathized with insurrectionists, and revolutionists, wherever they made their appearance. Loyalty was held to be the correlative to royalty, treason was regarded as a virtue, and traitors were honored, feasted, and eulogized as patriots, ardent lovers of liberty, and champions of the people. The fearful struggle of the nation against a rebellion which threatened its very existence may have changed this."¹ Later he remarks: "The tendency of the last century was to individualism; that of the present is socialism. The theory of Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Jefferson, though not formally abandoned, and still held by many, has latterly been much modified, if not wholly transformed. Sovereignty, it is now maintained, is inherent in the people; not individually, indeed, but collectively, or the people as society. The constitution is held not to be simply a compact or agreement entered into by the people as individuals creating civil society and government, but a law ordained by the sovereign people, prescribing the constitution of the state and defining its rights and powers."²

Contrasting now with one another the theories of the several periods of the Christian era, we are at once struck with the observation, that the essential difference between ancient and modern systems consists in the derivation of authority. In the Middle Ages civil power was conceived to spring from God, in our days it is looked on as a creation of man himself; in former times it had as a divine origin, so also a divine lustre and inviolableness about itself, now, being of but earthly extraction, it has a merely human character, and is liable to the fickleness of all human institutions. This, then, is the real subject of our discussion, whether authority originates in God, as the ancients maintained, or in feeble man, as modern thought holds. And this alone is the point at issue; for in what relation the temporal stands to spiritual power, does not enter at all into our present question.

Even obviously considered, the modern systems can hold forth but very weak claims to truth. We at once discover in them absurdity and falsehood, if we search into the foundations on which they rest, and deficiency, if we examine into the final consequences in which they result. From what we have said above it is evident that they are but deductions from empiricism, materialism, idealism,

¹ The American Republic, chapter iv.

² The American Republic, chapter v.

and pantheism. Hobbes and Rousseau were gross materialists; Kant and Fichte were the founders of idealism; Hegel and Schelling were pantheists of the worst kind; and they all inferred their ethical and political principles from the speculative tenets which they followed. Can from so poisonous a root grow forth a sound doctrine? Can theories based on error, absurdity, and impiety be true and wholesome? This remark alone might be sufficient to convince a thinking mind of their falsity.

But, it is answered, Macchiavelli, Locke, and Montesquieu, and a great many of their admirers, were by no means atheists and unbelievers. We willingly grant this; indeed, they believed not only in God, but also in the truth of Christian revelation; yet that, in spite of their personal convictions, their scientific tenets did not rest on an atheistical ground we cannot see. It is an essential point in their system that civil society is an end for itself, independent of God, and free from his moral law. Now let us ask them, is the state, or is human nature, from which it in whatever manner springs, created or not? If human nature is increate, we must, undoubtedly, embrace pantheism or atheism. Was, on the contrary, man created, how can he be independent of his Creator, and how can the state, which is either a work of his free will or an evolution of his nature, be an end in itself, absolutely supreme and sovereign? Whatever is created is dependent on God, not only because it derives from Him being and existence, but also because it is of necessity subject to His will and referred to Him as its last end. This is both a metaphysical and a revealed truth. Moreover, the state, being the union of men in their pursuit of a common object, acts as a rational being with understanding and free-will. But every being endowed with reason must have a supreme good in view as its last end, to the attainment of which it adapts all its free operations. What now is the supreme good of all rational will? Undoubtedly, God Himself, who alone is infinite in perfection. Him, consequently, also the state must have in view, and to His embrace its actions must not be hindrances, but means. Again, God, being infinitely wise and holy, cannot but maintain order in the universe by imposing inviolable laws both on the material and the free or rational creatures. Hence also the state is under His will and power. Yet those laws of His, which concern the rational creation, and those relations which free actions must have to Him as the supreme good, constitute the moral order. Civil society, therefore, is not exempt from the law of morality, and is, in general, not absolutely independent and sovereign, but essentially dependent on God as its Creator and Lord, and subject to Him as its supreme lawgiver. To admit it to be created by God, and yet to claim for it absolutely independent sovereignty is an

evident self-contradiction, because thus the attributes of the infinite are given to the finite, and those of the increate to the created. Far more consistent were the atheists and pantheists, who denied creation and the existence of a personal Deity. They have, indeed, but unfolded what was latent in Macchiavelli's and Locke's system, and have laid down a well-connected theory of the absolutism and revolution, long before admired by unchristian philosophers and put into practice by politicians.

To speak now of the working of these systems, we have to denounce their utter deficiency. They were invented to establish such supreme authority as would effect the unity of the state, protect freedom, and promote peace and tranquillity. But in all these respects they prove quite a failure.

Unity is never produced by authority of a merely human origin. It is not difficult to show this in whatever supposition of the politicians, whether they derive power from men taken individually, or taken collectively. It is derived from the consent of men taken individually in the theory of the social compact. But the consent of the individuals governed never creates a governmental power sufficient to maintain unity in the whole civil society in a permanent and efficient manner. First, in this way no universal authority can be formed. There are always many in the state who have never consented to be ruled by the existing government. Such are the children, the women; such are all those who have no right of suffrage; such is the minority which did not vote for the magistrates actually put in power, or for the laws enacted. It cannot be said that all those have given a tacit consent to the decrees issued by the majority. For in many instances they even forcibly protest against them. Nor is it true that their continued remaining in the state implies such consent. There is no law which could oblige them to give it or could presuppose it in their actings, since the theory in question acknowledges no law to exist before the formation of society, or to be valid without the free agreement of those bound by it. Their not leaving the country of which they are citizens, frequently does not depend at all on their free will, but is simply a matter of necessity. If, therefore, their continued residence in the state should be construed as a consent to all that is done and enacted by the majority, also the victim of a robber gives consent to his being stripped of his property, because he chooses rather to deliver up his money than to endanger his life; and also the prisoner agrees to his ill-treatment, because he prefers rather to suffer in the dungeon than to be shot down at an attempt of escaping. A queer freedom, indeed, is that, which consists of necessity of choosing between two evils!

Secondly, could even for the establishment of a government

the consent of all without exception be obtained, the power thus set up would have no permanence. Each one would be as free to withdraw his consent, as he was free to give it. There again no law, no power could bind him, as none exists but by his will. When, therefore, a criminal is to be punished, he may retract his consent, and the state has no more authority over him. When the citizens ought to cooperate with great sacrifices for the public welfare, when the soldiers ought to go to battle for their country, they may renounce their allegiance to the state, and they are freed from all civil duties. Whenever it pleases the subjects, the government may be dissolved, and revolution may rise. The adherents themselves of the theory of the social compact declared this to be right and lawful. Moreover, as the individuals of one generation cannot bind those of another, the consent by which civil society itself was formed, ought to be renewed at certain times, and it is quite plain that everybody is free to give or refuse it, to acknowledge or to shake off the obligation contracted by their forefathers. Thus authority got by the free consent of the individuals has no firm and permanent subsistence, but is bound to collapse just then, when it ought to act with full energy for the well-being and unity of the whole state.

The social contract, then, is of no avail. Its working is as insufficient as its very existence is fictitious. For history never discloses to us a time when men passed by a compact from a solitary to a social and civilized state; it, on the contrary, shows us from the beginning all nations of which it speaks in a more or less cultivated society; and it knows none that by its own exertions rose from barbarism to civilization, but many that, in spite of their high degree of culture, by vice and corruption, little by little decayed and perished.

Are perhaps such difficulties avoided, if governments are thought to have been created by the will of man, not taken individually, but collectively, that is, by the people already united through a natural bond? The whole, indeed, may effect what the parts cannot severally. Yet here the question presents itself, whence such union of the people could take rise, before authority was established? From a pantheistic point of view we may understand the complete unity of man by nature itself. But pantheism is a monstrous absurdity. A society or a state the people cannot yet be; for no compound can exist before its constituents, and authority is the formal constituent of society. There remains nothing but to say that the bond of the alleged union consists in the sameness of blood, language, and country. So some have in reality explained their theory. The explanation is, however, insufficient. Neither is it a fact that these causes have produced the unity of

states and governments, nor is it possible that from them results that power which binds together to a permanent alliance the wills of the individual citizens. At all times have empires been composed of elements different in blood and language; of the modern states nearly all have been formed by a mixture of nations.

Of the United States this must be said in a particular manner. As to the country common to all the members of civil society, it is evident that its unity itself is not natural, but arbitrary. There are hence no geographical limits by which nature so separates tribe from tribe, or nation from nation as to prevent their union into the same state. Were there such, they, no doubt, would be seas and ranges of high mountains. But not even they have been respected as insurmountable barriers. The division of states has always depended on quite other reasons,—on treaties, conquests, discoveries, inheritance. Yet has even in some instances the sameness of descent, language, and country contributed towards the establishment of one government, it has not, therefore, to create the same given unity to the will of the people, connecting all individual wills into one common will. Bonds of that kind found at most the same interests, kindred sympathies and customs, but they do not link together the individuals to one common action in political matters. They let each one be just as free and independent as if they did not exist at all; they lay no restraint on their wishes, preclude no party struggles, no dissensions, no warlike oppositions, as we may learn from Grecian history. Hence it is not true that on account of them the nation in establishing the government acts as a whole or as a body politic, but it is rather plain, that notwithstanding them the citizens, each one retaining his full liberty, act in this regard quite individually. Nor is it possible that the powers uniting our wills can rest on such principles. Blood, tongue, and soil belong to the material liberty and consent of free wills to the rational, moral order. Yet the rational is not subject, but infinitely superior to the material, and by its spiritual power masters it with freedom. No earthly thing can for this reason firmly allay the free wills of men. We, then, find for a union of the nation prior to the existence of civil authority and productive of the same, no natural bond that binds together the individuals and forces them to be of one will in setting up a government. We must censure the whole theory as a begging of the question, because, in order to account for the origin of the principle of social unity, it presupposes the unity of the nation already existing without any sufficient reason.

But though authority created by the will of the people cannot maintain unity, it might seem nevertheless to protect liberty. In discussing this point of our inquiry, we have to swim against the strongest current of the public opinion of the day. What is more

praised than the freedom upheld by our present political institutions, and what is more severely blamed than the governments of the Middle Ages, on account of their absolutism and tyranny? Still we cannot but lay the very same charges to our modern systems of policy.

Tyranny, it must be well kept in mind, is not identical with monarchy, as many seem to think. To give its definition, tyranny is the use of public power made by its holder, not in behalf of the common welfare, but for private interest. May now authority not be misused just as well when it is vested in many, as when it is vested in one person? How does this atrocious crime come into practice? and how are men tempted to it? By the fact that magistrates are, on the one hand, prompted by human passions, and, on the other hand, think themselves in the exercise of their power free from all responsibility to a higher authority. It is for this reason that unlimited monarchical sway is deemed to be tyrannical, and that, to preclude tyranny, in our modern constitutions kings are made indirectly answerable to the people. Yet thereby unanswerable sovereignty has not been abolished, but simply transferred from one subject to the other, from the monarch to the nation. Nay, so little responsible has this latter become, that, intrusted with full liberty to act as it likes, it has for the use it makes of its power not to give an account even to God. Formerly, when the state was not yet atheistic, a monarch, however absolute, was at least thought to be answerable for his government to the omniscient Lord and Creator of all, but now we have a godless ruler, who, though frequently instigated by the worst passions, is restrained by no fear of the Eternal Judge, but deems himself absolutely free and independent. This tyranny becomes all the more intolerable, because he that threatens us with it wields absolute and unbounded power. For the state, just because it is conceived as absolute, supreme, and independent of any other being, is bound by no rule, not even by the law of morality; its will, its enactments, its actions, whatever they may concern, are right and justice itself; not only may it in everything do what it pleases, but also what it does must be considered as essentially good. Has a greater despotism, reaching the innermost recess of our conscience, existed in any period of history?

However, it is objected that, though a single or few persons may abuse civil authority, the whole people will not, because it cannot act against its own interest. If, in reality, the public power would be exercised by the whole of the citizens with good order and full deliberation, we grant that tyrannical oppression would be scarcely possible. But this is not the fact. The populace is instigated and excited by agitators, deceived by demagogues, bribed by the rich

and ambitious, whence there is in many places never more disorder and fraud than at the time of popular elections. Many a fatal measure has in this manner been adopted by the will of the multitude, which would have been rejected, had it depended on the vote of few. Besides, public power is in fact not exercised by the whole population, but by the majority, the stronger, quicker, craftier party. Who now will say that this cannot and does not abuse authority for its own interest against that of the minority, and against that of the commonwealth? Where has not the majority oppressed the weaker and injured them in vital points? Have we not, on this account, seen civil wars, religious persecutions, partiality in the administration of justice and the protection of right and property, in democratic republics, as well as in monarchies? How did the French Republic, at the time of the Revolution, deal with multitudes of its citizens, whom it slaughtered on the scaffold, though liberty and equality had been solemnly proclaimed for all? Not even this we admit as a solution of the difficulty, that the different political parties render by their counterpoise the abuse of power impossible—or at least avenge it most severely. Some advantage, we grant, is derived therefrom, and in certain junctures a very great one. Still the evil is in this way rather temporarily checked than thoroughly remedied. As a rule, there is among the several parties one predominant; were it not so, the action of the government would in most cases be stopped, as it happens when in a legislative body the opponents are equal in number. Now just then when the party in power meets with a strong opposition, it will try by all means, right and wrong, to break down the same, and to perpetuate its own predominance. Should it be beaten in the contest, it will have to suffer the same wrongs which it inflicted on others. As a proof we allege the bloody struggles existing in the Roman Republic about a century before the establishment of the Empire. We hence conclude that popular sovereignty, if not derived from God and subject to His law, is no impregnable bulwark of liberty, but rather, in many circumstances, the hardest tyranny.

What, however, we consider as the greatest fault of the systems in question and the worst hindrances to freedom, is that by them the moral power is exterminated from the government, and material force placed in its stead. Not tyranny alone, but also compulsion and blind necessity, are thus made the rule of mankind. If a higher power above creation is eliminated, which delegates authority to the governors, for what reason ought man obey man? Subjection always supposes a higher power in him that is obeyed. Whence, now, is that superiority of one over the other, if all are equal by nature, and if above nature there is nothing to be feared

or respected? Does it, perhaps, consist in the eminent qualities, the extraordinary wisdom and bounty of those that command? But we find high endowments also in the governed, and frequently theirs are as great as those of the rulers. And are they not of so high a degree? Self-love and repugnance to subjection affects that they are at least imagined to be such. On that basis obedience cannot rise. But if one single man of himself cannot govern us, may not the whole people have superiority over the individuals sufficient to command their subjection? Physical superiority, we grant, it may have, but not moral. The opinion of the people, that is, of the majority, does not always change our judgment, nor does their will overturn our resolutions, or lay an intrinsic restraint on our wishes, or take from us the innate capacity of following our own views and propensities, or deprive us of that truth and that good which satisfies our intellect and will and constitutes our highest happiness. Yea, if our reason be autonomic, it would be immoral to obey any law or power extrinsic to us. What, now, if a strong party or a great number of individuals insist on the use of their natural freedom? How will the whole nation, for the sake of unity and public welfare, determine them to a certain course of action? Some politicians think that such differences may be prevented by uniform public instruction. Yet, leaving aside the question whether or not the state can justly claim such forced education, we deny that even common instruction under public authority can produce unity of opinions, and much more that it can effect an agreement of our wills in public life, on account both of the freedom which is innate to us and the different inclinations under the influence of which we constantly are. Others say that politicians must find means and ways to interest for the submission to the public will our self-love, our sense of honor, our natural propensities. But again, self-love, biased as it is by pride and other passions, is not convergent, but divergent among men, tending disorderly to each one's self; it is just from thence that opposite aspirations and clashing interests arise. How, then, is it possible to reach harmony in action by fostering the cause of discord or by appealing to combating enemies? No way can, therefore, be imagined in which the power even of the nation could firmly tie together free wills. If, nevertheless, unity and observance of the common laws is to be obtained, there remains nothing but either to deny the existence of freedom and to commit all to intrinsic or mechanical necessity, or to enforce certain acts, or their omission, by violence exercised on the bodies. This conclusion is by no means exaggerated. Many advocates of the social compact avouch in plain terms that authority is the sum of material forces; Kant places the whole sphere of right and all

activity of the state in outward compulsion ; Montesquieu derives all public welfare and justice from a mechanical equilibrium ; the pantheists recur to a blind intrinsic necessity, by which, as by an organic law, the absolute being develops the objective world and unites and withdraws it to itself.

Does the order established in society according to such theories agree with the dignity of our free rational nature ? Nations are thus governed like herds of beasts, with the iron hand ; physical force and compulsion are identical with law and right ; our trust and security depend entirely on the weapons of soldiers and policemen ; honesty, charity, sincerity are no more realities that can be relied on in our social circles ; instead of devotedness to the well-being of others there is now an instinct or compelling impulse to all absorbing centralization ; in the place of the love of the good, the free and noble tendency to virtue, we see at present a cold, enforced necessity that overcomes our egotism. Is it not a bitter irony to say that with the introduction of such social relations the day of true freedom, right, and order has dawned for us upon earth ?

It remains to discuss in a few words the fitness of the modern systems to secure peace and tranquillity in civil society. The first consequence of the principles they laid down is, that the change of government may be rightly effected at any time, whenever the sovereign people long for it. Not only may governmental power be at pleasure transferred from this to that individual, but also one constitution may at any moment be converted into another. Evidently is this the right of perpetual revolution. Rousseau and his adherents proclaimed it aloud and praised it as a sacred prerogative of men, reconquered in our age. Others shrank from this conclusion, and considered certain forms of government as essentially connected with the idea of the state, or would, at least, allow a constitutional change only in cases of extreme necessity. But who does not see the inconsistency of such restrictions ? By the very fact that the people is thought to be absolutely sovereign and free from any higher law, the popular will can, at pleasure and in whatever manner it likes, overthrow constitutions as it has set them up, dethrone kings and pull down monarchies as it has instituted them, break down the frames of republics as it has raised the same. The first effect of this is, undoubtedly, the instability of government ; and were it the only one, it would be bad enough ; for by the lack of steadfastness all authority is undermined and rendered unfit for broader enterprises and effective influence on the people. A much worse consequence is the universal rush to the acquisition of power. For, on the one hand, most men are desirous of having at least a share in the government, and just those who are actuated by ambition and other unrestrained passions strive

most to seize public power for their own interest. But of the sovereign nation all elements are equally entitled to offices and magistracies; and anyone's endeavors that may succeed in gaining the consent of the majority are just and lawful. Hence a vehement struggle arise of necessity between the different eminent men or the mightier parties of the state; animosities must be roused, fraud and oppression will be resorted to; and when at last a government is established, its opponents will be ever at work to thwart its activity and to overthrow it at the next opportunity. For examples we have not to go back to Athens and Rome; our own time furnishes us with ample experience. How many revolutions have been stirred up, how many party-persecutions have raged, how much blood has been shed by civil contests in England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, America since the modern ideas began to have their bearing on the public life? Nearly all nations have, since that time, been possessed by a feverish excitement, which banished peace and tranquillity from their midst.

To see at once all the working of the new political systems with regard to the common weal, let us take a glance at the present condition of society. State's authority has taken into its hands all affairs, religious and cultural, as well as political and commercial, and proves insufficient to manage them. One constitution after the other is set to work, one farrago of laws after the other is put forth, and shows itself ineffective; one party after the other gains hold of the supreme power or the seats of the ministers, and is unsuccessful, yea, is found, when put out of office, guilty of atrocious injustice and gross malversation. Heavy burdens are imposed on the people, and effect no advance of public prosperity. Crime and immorality increase, not only in the lower, but also in higher classes, where, in general, they remain unavenged. Licentiousness and covetousness are aroused, while there are no means at hand either to satisfy or to repress them. The mightier know how to profit by the power given to the people, but the weaker are oppressed and treated like slaves. Hence dissatisfaction is felt everywhere; one political party is engaged in war with the other, the poor are set in array against the rich.

It is, then, to be confessed that the new theories, which have emancipated the state from God, have very little promoted unity, freedom, peace, and prosperity. The world has returned to old atheistical views, but with them it has inherited also the oppression and the corruption of heathenism. The evils at least that threaten us ought to convince us of the necessity again to base on God, as on the eternal foundation, the structure of civil society, and to derive from Him who is the source of all good our public as well as private well-being.

CARDINAL NEWMAN AS A MAN OF LETTERS.

IN the year 1810, on most Saturday afternoons, according to the *Catholic Times*, two boys, aged respectively nine and five, might have been seen playing in the gardens of Bloomsbury Square, London. The boys, both natives of the square,¹ offered the most complete contrast to each other in appearance. The younger, whose head was profuse with long black glossy ringlets, was a child of rare Jewish type of beauty, and full of life and activity. The other was grave in demeanor, and wore his hair close cut, and walked and moved in a way which in young people is called old-fashioned. He was of pure English race and Puritan family. The names of the children denoted these differences as much as their appearances. The one was Benjamin Disraeli, the other John Henry Newman. They had this in common, that both had before them a great, absorbing, and life-long work, the one in theology, the other in politics; but both also found time for letters, of which they were ardently fond, and approved themselves as distinguished literary men. The elder was to become the author of the *Essay on Development*, the *Grammar of Assent*, and the *Office and Work of Universities*; the younger was to be known by the popular novels *Konigsby* and *Lothain*, *Sybil* and *Endymion*.

If we follow the elder boy home from his play-ground in the square to the more fertile garden of the mind where he used to learn his lessons and to read, we shall find that he has commenced the studies of a lifetime and has made the Scriptures his starting-point. "I was brought up," he tells us, "from a child to take great delight in reading the Bible."² He is not at that tender age aware of the immense importance of his choice even in a literary point of view. The sacred volume open before him is the treasury of all that the world has ever seen most sublime, beautiful, persuasive, and pathetic. In history, anecdotes, lessons of wisdom, parables, psalms, poetry, it far exceeds all the sacred and profane relics of antiquity. It abounds in vivid pictures of human life, while it reveals the mysteries of the worlds unseen. It has extorted the praises of Jews and infidels. Joshua ben Siras said of the "Book of the Covenant:" "Wisdom floweth therefrom as the water of Pison when it is great, and as the water of Tigris when it overfloweth its banks in spring. Instruction floweth from it as the Euphrates

¹ The "English Cyclopaedia" states that Newman was born in Old Broad Street.

² "Apologia," Part III. p. 55.

when it is great, and as Jordan in the harvest. Correction cometh forth from it as the light, and as the water of the Nile in autumn. There is none that hath made an end of learning it, there is none that ever will find out all its mystery, for its wisdom is richer than any sea, and its word deeper than any abyss."¹ Heine, the modern semi-Christian Jew, says of the Bible: "It is God's work, like a tree, like a flower, like the sea, like man himself—it is the Word of God, that, and no more." "A book?" he asks, in another place. "Yes, an old, homely-looking book, modest as nature, natural as it is—a book which has a work-a-day and unassuming look, like the sun which warms us, like the bread which nourishes us—a book which seems as familiar and as full of kindly blessing as the old grandmother who reads it daily with dear trembling lips, and with spectacles on her nose. And the book is called quite shortly—the Book, the Bible. Rightly do men call it also the Holy Scripture. He who has lost his God can find Him again in this Book, and towards him who has never known God it sends forth the breath of the divine word."²

Nothing could have been better fitted to take hold of the imagination of a clever boy; and in the case of John Henry Newman what fruit it has produced! No Christian writer, ancient or modern, has made more use of the Scriptures in his works, and especially in his sermons, than he. The ideas and language of the Bible are wrought so largely into the texture of his discourses, delivered before leaving Oxford or since, and the quotations from it are so numerous and apposite, that the sermons often appear little more than exegeses of the inspired text—or expansions of it in the very spirit of Isaiah, David, Paul, Peter, or the Lord Himself. And this does not diminish, but raise the literary character of his own paragraphs. The quotations do not serve as mere make-weights to eke out his own arguments, but are taken up by him into the substance of his reasonings without discrepancy of thought or style. And this habit and method of scriptural citation gives to his sermons an air of Hebraic solemnity and early-Christian freshness. He is never greater than when in the pulpit, and he seems to have been born to preach.

The ordinary routine of a boy's classical education makes little impression on the majority of youthful minds. It is a task, and often a hated one, and nothing more. But it could not have been so to John Henry Newman. The boy who could of his own accord grapple with such authors as Paine and Hume, while revelling also in the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe and Miss Porter,³ must have been capable of enjoying his Virgil and Horace and

¹ Quoted in "Religion and Philosophy in Germany."

² "Wit, Wisdom, and Pathos from the Prose of Heinrich Heine," p. 96.

³ "Apologia," Part III. p. 58.

committing their verses to memory with delight. And here I will quote one passage from his writings which conveys an astonishingly vivid impression of the author's literary intuitions. None but an intensely literary man could have written it, and none but a really literary mind will appreciate it. "Let us consider how differently young and old are affected by the words of some classic author, such as Homer or Horace. Passages, which to a boy are but rhetorical commonplaces, neither better nor worse than a hundred others which any clever writer might supply, which he gets by heart and thinks very fine, and imitates, as he thinks, successfully in his own flowing versification, at length come home to him, when lonely years have passed, and he has had experience of life, and pierce him, as if he had never before known them, with their sad earnestness and vivid exactness. Then he comes to understand how it is that lines, the birth of some chance morning or evening at an Ionian festival, or among the Sabine hills, have lasted generation after generation, for thousands of years, with a power over the mind, and a charm which the current literature of his own day, with all its obvious advantages, is utterly unable to rival. Perhaps this is the reason of the mediæval opinion about Virgil, as if a prophet or magician; his single words and phrases, his pathetic half lines, giving utterance, as the voice of Nature herself, to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the experience of her children in every time."¹

When Newman had taken his degree at Oxford and had been elected Fellow of Oriel College, his surroundings were highly favorable to the formation of a literary character. The fellowships were open and strongly contested. It was a high distinction to be elected, and the names of Hawkins, Davison, Whateley, Keble, Arnold, Pusey, Newman, Hurrell Froude, and the Wilberforces, represent a galaxy of a striking order. Newman was a star among these stars. His scholarship was extensive, his reading omnivorous, his language simple and incisive. He felt interest in everything that was going on in science, literature, and politics. He admired with enthusiasm any greatness of action and character, however remote the sphere of it might be from his own. He disdained conventionalities, in conversation was most winning, and, when he became Vicar of St. Mary's, in the pulpit he was supreme. Though without action or any of the arts of oratory, his discourses rose far above every contemporary preacher—so lucid were they, so penetrating. They went to the very heart of things. They convinced the understanding and stirred the conscience in its lowest depths. They were not mere sermons: they were literature. "A sermon from him," says John Anthony Froude, "was a poem formed on

¹ "Grammar of Assent," ch. iv. p. 75.

a distinct idea, fascinating by its subtlety, welcome—how welcome!—from its sincerity, interesting from its originality, even to those who were careless of religion; and to others who wished to be religious, but had found religion dry and wearisome, it was like the springing of a fountain out of the rock." The pathetic changes of his musical voice, his thrilling pauses, and clear intense utterances of deep truths and subtlest speculation, are still vividly present to the writer of these lines, though forty-five years have elapsed since he heard him in the Church of St. Mary the Virgin at Oxford. The parochial sermons preached during his ministry in that parish have been frequently republished, and now form part of his works, in eight volumes. Professor Shairp, in his lectures on poetry delivered at Oxford, has pointed out the extraordinary literary merits of these discourses. He regards them as more full of his individuality than any of his other writings, and as uttering his inner feelings in the best language. "From his more recent discourses," he says, "preached to mixed congregations, one might have taken many samples, in which he paints with a broader brush and lets himself loose in more sweeping periods than he generally used in Oxford. But these, though high eloquence, do not seem to contain such true poetry as the earlier sermons. . . . Many of these, instinct as they are with high spiritual thought, quivering with suppressed but piercing emotion, and clothed in words so simple, so transparent, that the very soul shines through them, suggest, as only great poems do, the heart's deepest secrets, and in the perfect rhythm and melody of their words, seem to evoke new powers from our native language."¹ "It was in his *Parochial Sermons*, beyond all his other works," Professor Shairp observes in another place, "that he spoke out the truths which were within him—spoke them with all the fervor of a prophet and the severe beauty of a poet. Modern English literature has nowhere any language to compare with the style of these sermons, so simple and transparent, yet so subtle withal; so strong, yet so tender; the grasp of a strong man's hand, combined with the trembling tenderness of a woman's heart, expressing in a few monosyllables truths which would have cost other men a page of philosophic verbiage, laying the most gentle yet penetrating finger on the very core of things, reading to me their own most secret thoughts better than they knew them themselves."² "The reader may begin," says Mr. Kegan Paul,³ "by thinking the sermons cold; so, in some cases, did their hearers, for there is little attempt at rhetoric; profound thought and logical conclusions are stated in the simplest

¹ "Aspects of Poetry," by John Campbell Shairp, p. 61 and p. 460.

² "Aspects of Poetry," p. 443.

³ "The Century," June, 1882, p. 276.

and most direct words. By degrees only did the hearer, or does the reader, find himself, by accepting simple premises, *implicated in the web of a relentless logic, and fused in the fire of the preacher's intense conviction*. Now and then, indeed, as if unconsciously, the words rise to a lofty strain almost unequalled in the language, though even then the style is severe and simple, stripped of all those ornaments, which men usually regard as eloquence." When the *Parochial Sermons* were first published in 1834, "it was," Mr. Mozley says, "as if a trumpet had sounded through the land. All read and all admired, even if they dissented or criticised. The publishers said that the volume put all other sermons out of the market, just as *Waverley* and *Guy Mannering* put all other novels. Sermons to force their way without solicitation, canvassing, subscription, or high-sounding recommendation, were unknown in those days, and these flew over the land. They rapidly proceeded to successive editions, and were followed by *University Sermons* and *Sermons on Holy Days*."¹

The divine institution of Preaching may be considered under a twofold aspect. In itself it is ever to be regarded with respect and docility of spirit, however little it may be recommended by the preacher's ability, knowledge, or fitness for his office. It is the chief means of keeping alive in the world a remembrance of the primary truths of religion. But in addition to this it has a literary aspect; and it may be doubted whether this is sufficiently borne in mind by preachers in general. If anything worth doing is worth doing well, this is true above all in reference to a task so momentous as that of conveying a message of life and death from the Creator to the creature. Too much forethought and preparation can hardly be given to it, nor is any art conducive to its efficiency to be disdained. Newman never supposed that genius and readiness of speech could properly supply the place of study. Nothing is more remarkable in his sermons than the union of deep thought and extreme simplicity of method and expression. This makes them literature, and literature of a high order. They abound in aphorisms which astonish us by their breadth; and the extent of their compass and possible application is the more remarkable because, as a preacher, he is continually showing himself very careful not to allow his words to run beyond his meaning. For example, in a sermon on "The Religion of the Pharisee, the Religion of Mankind," he says: "The natural conscience of man, if cultivated from within, if enlightened by those external aids which in varying degrees are given him in every place and time, would teach him much of his duty to God and man, and would lead him on,

¹ "Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement," vol. i. p. 316.

by the guidance of Providence and grace, into the fulness of religious knowledge."¹ And so again: "A religious man, who has not the blessing of the infallible teaching of revelation, is led to *look out* for it, for the very reason that he *is* religious."² Again, the man of letters shines conspicuous in a passage like the following: "Thus I account for St. Paul's liking for heathen writers, or what we now call the classics, which is very remarkable. He, the Apostle of the Gentiles, was learned in Greek letters, as Moses, the lawgiver of the Jews, his counterpart, was learned in the wisdom of the Egyptians; and he did not give up that learning when he had 'learned Christ.' I do not think I am exaggerating in saying so, since he goes out of his way three times to quote passages from them; once, speaking to the heathen Athenians; another time to his converts at Corinth; and a third time, in a private Apostolic exhortation, to his disciple St. Titus. And it is the more remarkable, that one of the writers whom he quotes seems to be a writer of comedies, which had no claim to be read for any high morality which they contain. Now how shall we account for this? Did St. Paul delight in what was licentious? God forbid!—but he had the feeling of a guardian angel who sees every sin of the rebellious being committed to him, who gazes at him and weeps. With this difference, that he had a sympathy with sinners, which an angel (be it reverently said) cannot have. He was a true lover of souls. He loved poor human nature with a passionate love, and the literature of the Greeks was only its expression; and he hung over it tenderly and mournfully, wishing for its regeneration and salvation."³

In the year 1833, when the startling "Tracts for the Times" were fast issuing from the press, a series of poems, also called "*Lyra Apostolica*," appeared periodically in the *British Magazine*. They expressed in verse ideas consonant with those of the Tracts, and were, in fact, written by hands occupied with the prose publications. They came more directly under the head of literary productions because they were in verse, and the writers were distinguished respectively by the six first letters of the Greek alphabet. The signature δ , however, occurred so much more frequently than any other, that the series as a whole might almost be ascribed to Mr. Newman, who had chosen that letter. The others were Bowden, Hurrell, Froude, Keble, R. J. Wilberforce, and Isaac Williams. We must not, however, expect to find poetry of a high order in the pieces signed δ . Of all that he has done, poetry is that which Cardinal Newman has done least well. There are qualities in his mind and circumstances in his career which have been unfavorable

¹ "Sermons on Various Occasions," p. 20.

² *Ibidem*, p. 66.

³ *Ibidem*, p. 97.

to any remarkable development of his genius in this direction. The outward phenomena of nature have ever been subordinated by him to abstract truths, and this has of necessity diverted his observation from the details of physical life, which are in so great a degree the sources of poetic inspiration and the object of poetic description. His life has been intensely interior, and its ascetic character has imparted to his verse a certain severity, which is not compensated by finely-chiselled outline of Hellenic form. The influence of women on his thoughts, feelings, and modes of expression in verse is hardly to be traced, and he writes as might a solitary penitent in his cell, or a prophet in his cleft of the rock. The softness and sweetness and melody of versification proper to the poet are with him only occasional, and if we want to read his best poetry we must betake ourselves to his prose. In his sermons and sometimes in his essays the depth and fervor of his religious emotions supply every requisite and overflow every disadvantage, and far from our feeling him severe, rude, or rugged, we are deluged by his ineffable tenderness. Once, indeed,—in his “Lead, Kindly Light,”—he has surpassed himself as a poet, and written what touches every heart and satisfies every ear, and will last as long as the language in which it is composed. It is purely and simply a poetic inspiration—a gem without a flaw. Written in the Straits of Bonifacio, when becalmed, it is truly a wanderer’s hymn. The gentle sigh of the evening sea-breeze is in its plaintive utterance and the filial trust of a pilgrim bound homeward. The repetition in it is effective, and the adjective “garish” exquisitely chosen. The mystic beauty of the last two lines brings it to a climax, and helps to render it one of the most popular of all English hymns. No excuse will be needed for quoting it afresh :

“Lead, kindly Light, amid the encircling gloom,
 Lead thou me on !
The night is dark, and I am far from home—
 Lead thou me on !
Keep thou my feet ; I do not ask to see
The distant scene,—one step enough for me.

“I was not ever thus, nor prayed that Thou
 Shouldst lead me on.
I loved to choose and see my path ; but now
 Lead thou me on !
I loved the garish day, and, spite of fears,
Pride ruled my will ; remember ~~not~~ past years.

“So long Thy power hath blest me, sure it still
 Will lead me on,
O’er moor and fen, o’er crag and torrent, till
 The night is gone ;
And with the morn those Angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.”

To this poem no second can be found in Cardinal Newman's poems. There is often some objection to the rest on literary grounds. The following, however, on "The Zeal of Jehu," has force and point as well as melodious expression :

" *Thou* to wax fierce
 In the cause of the Lord,
 To threat and to pierce
 With the heavenly sword !
 Anger and Zeal,
 And the joy of the brave.
 Who bade *thee* to feel,
 Sin's slave ?

" The Altar's pure flame
 Consumes as it soars ;
 Faith meetly may blame,
 For it serves and adores.
 Thou warnest and smitest !
 Yet Christ must atone
 For a soul that thou slightest—
 Thine own."

Cardinal Newman's poems grow upon you as you read. You discover in them more thought, and, consequently, more beauty, for they are the outcome of a beautiful mind. Their cadences also fall more harmoniously on the ear through frequent reading, by reason of your increased familiarity with their underlying thought. Artistic defects are overbalanced by spiritual gifts, and we feel that the poet who sings to us has been taught by the Holy Ghost. When his verses, on various occasions, were published, fourteen years ago, a critique on them appeared in the *Fall Mall Gazette*, headed "The Poetry of a Beautiful Soul." It was highly appreciative, and some of the remarks which it contained deserve to be recalled. "The poetry of the author before us," it said, "is limited in range, rarely passing beyond the circle of religious ideas with which his name has been identified, and then only for a few notes of tender personal feeling; the style of argument strikes us as thoughtful rather than powerful; in many stanzas it is clear, skilful, and tunable verse which we find, rather than that rare inspiration which blends word and thought in one inseparable harmony; but these poems are throughout, and that in a degree almost as unfrequent in our modern literature as the rich creativeness of Keats or Tennyson, the 'Confessions of a Beautiful Soul.' From the boy's paraphrase of 1821 to the noble drama of 1865 ('Geron-tius'), which concludes the book, every line in it is marked by a rare and exquisite sincerity. Here are no questions of 'art for art's sake,' no effects consciously aimed at, no gorgeousness of

¹ A chapter in Goethe's "Wilhelm Meister," is so called.

grouping, no lavish loveliness of color ; nay, rather, the picture is one of 'set gray life' and ascetic passion, the heart ill at ease with itself and with the world around it, retaining all the child's freshness, but putting aside almost all the child's happiness ; the 'haven where he would be' found indeed at last, but the longing to leave it for the 'higher shores' undiminished in its sad intensity ; 'all for love,' we might say, with due difference in the meaning, and the 'world well lost.' Or we could make our criticism of the book in the words which Dr. Newman has selected, with touching felicity of taste, for his motto, likening himself to the aged gardener of Virgil :

'Cui pauca relict
Jugera ruris erant ; nec fertilis illa juvencis,
Nec pecori opportuna seges, nec commoda Baccho.
Hic rarum tamen in dumis olus albaque circum
Lilia, verbenasque premens, vescumque papaver.
Regum æquabat opes anims.'

Yet with all this, so unlike what poets, secular or religious, generally offer—indeed, from all this, arises an undefinable and singular charm. We are admitted to the presence of a 'beautiful soul,' rather than a candidate for political honors ; to the battle of life, fought as an imperious necessity of nature demanded, not to a volume of dogmatic controversy. The lines gain a strange effectiveness through the simple purpose which never deviates for effect ; a pathos lying 'too deep for tears,' from the very innocence and childlike reserve of the sincerity."²

Cardinal Newman's brother-in-law, the Rev. T. Mozley, writes in his *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement* : "John Henry Newman has not done justice (in the 'Apologia') to his early adventures and sallies into the domains of thought, politics, fancy, and taste. He very early mastered music as a science, and attained such a proficiency on the violin that, had he not become a doctor of the Church, he would have been a Paganini. At the age of twelve he composed an opera. He wrote in albums, improvised masques and idylls, and only they who see no poetry in 'Lead, Kindly Light,' or in the 'Dream of Gerontius,' will deny that this divine gift entered into his birthright."

The following stanzas, headed "The Call of David," appeared in the *Lyra Apostolica*, and are supposed to have been sung by Angels when Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed David, the youngest of Jesse's sons.³ They are thoughtful, stately, and worthy of a master hand :

¹ Georgics, IV., 130.

² Pall Mall Gazette, January 23, 1868.

³ 1 Kings xvi. 12.

" Latest born of Jesse's race,
 Wonder lights thy bashful face,
 While the prophet's gifted oil
 Seals thee for a path of toil.
 We, thy Angels, circling round thee,
 Ne'er shall find thee as we found thee,
 When thy faith first brought us near
 In thy lion-fight severe.

" Go ! and 'mid thy flocks awhile,
 At thy doom of greatness smile ;
 Bold to bear God's heaviest load,
 Dimly guessing of the road,—
 Rocky rock, and scarce ascended
 Though thy foot be angel-tended ;
 Double praise thou shalt attain
 In royal court and battle-plain.

" Then comes heartache, care, distress,
 Blighted hope, and loneliness,
 Wounds from friend and gifts from foe,
 Dizzied faith and guilt and woe,
 Loftiest aims by earth defiled,
 Gleams of wisdom sin-beguiled,
 Sated power's tyrannic mood,
 Counsels shared with men of blood,
 Sad success, parental tears,
 And a dreary gift of years.

" Strange, that guileless face and form
 To lavish on the scarring storm !
 Yet we take thee in thy blindness,
 And we harass thee in kindness ;
 Little chary of thy fame,—
 Dust unborn may bless or blame,—
 But we mould thee for the root
 Of man's promised healing fruit,
 And we mould thee hence to rise
 As our brother to the skies."

There is something extremely poetical in the following plaintive strain from the " Dream of Gerontius." It is the wail of the spirit lying passive and still before the throne of God.

" Take me away, and in the lowest deep
 There let me be,
 And there in hope the lone night watches keep
 Told out for me.
 There, motionless and happy in my pain,
 Lone, not forlorn,—
 There will I sing my sad perpetual strain
 Until the morn ;
 There will I sing, and soothe my stricken breast,
 Which ne'er can cease
 To throb and pine and languish, till possess'd
 Of its sole Peace.
 There will I sing my absent Lord and love :—
 Take me away,
 That sooner I may rise, and go above,
 And see Him in the truth of everlasting day."

There is a decided difference between the poems written by Cardinal Newman before and after his conversion from Anglicanism. In its later phase his poetry lost some of its severity and sadness, and acquired more glow and joyousness. Some verses by him on the month of May, which are often quoted, have a musical lilt foreign to his usual manner, and though more popular in their style than many others of his productions have also less individuality of thought :

" All is divine which the Highest has made,
Through the days that He wrought, till the day when He stay'd,
Above and below, within and around,
From the centre of space to its uttermost bound.

" In beauty surpassing the Universe smiled
On the morn of its birth, like an innocent child,
Or like the rich bloom of some gorgeous flower,
And the Father rejoiced in the work of His power.

" Yet brighter worlds still, and a brighter than those,
And a brighter again, He had made, had He chose,
And you never could name that conceivable best
To exhaust the resources the Maker possess'd.

" But I know of one work of His infinite Hand,
Which special and singular ever must stand,
So perfect, so pure, and of gifts such a store
That even Omnipotence ne'er shall do more.

" The freshness of May and the sweetness of June,
And the fire of July in its passionate noon,
Munificent August, September serene,
Are together no match for my glorious Queen.

" O Mary, all months and all days are thine own,
In thee lasts their joyousness, when they are gone ;
And we give to thee May, not because it is best,
But because it comes first, and is pledge of the rest."

If Cardinal Newman appears distinctively as a man of letters in his sermons and poems, much more does he so appear in his philosophical writings, and especially in his *Grammar of Assent*. While to many this treatise will prove arid, full of truisms and proofs of what we all assent to without any proof, there are others, and those not a few, by whom it is read with avidity as more entertaining than romance, and more captivating than history, since it supplies them with a philosophy of the human mind in its attitude towards history, science, and religion, natural and revealed. It consists of two parts, in which the author considers respectively assent and apprehension with the connection between them, and assent and inference with the connection existing between these intellectual acts. He discusses the modes of holding propositions and of apprehending them ; assent considered as apprehensive ;

the apprehension of propositions, notional and real assents, and, under apprehensive assents in religious matters, belief in one God, the Holy Trinity and dogmatic theology. In the second part he treats of assent considered as unconditional; simple and complex assent; assent and certitude contrasted; the indefectibility of certitude: formal, informal, and natural inference; the Illative sense, its sanction, nature, and range; and, lastly, inferential assents in natural and in revealed religion. This is but the skeleton of a grand and complete acquisition, and gives not even a faint idea of the color, force, beauty, and variety of the arguments and illustrations with which it is invested. Its main object is to free the processes of the mind by which we assent to truth of every kind from the yoke of formal and technical logic. It extols and magnifies the Illative sense, giving it a power, grasp, and range, such as we do not find attributed to it in other philosophical essays. This portion of the work is singularly bold and original, though in fact it is simply the triumph of common sense in a subject-matter often made needlessly difficult. Nor does the author fail to place before us in a strong light the unreasonableness of demanding the same kind of demonstrations in the case of religious inquiry which we may expect in mathematics. "As in mathematics," he says, "we are justified by the dictates of a nature in withholding our assent from a conclusion of which we have not yet a strict logical demonstration, so by a like dictate we are not justified, in the case of concrete reasoning, and especially of religious inquiry, in waiting till such logical demonstration is ours, but on the contrary are bound in conscience to seek truth and to look for certainty by modes of proof, which, when reduced to the shape of formal propositions, fail to satisfy the severe requisitions of science."

It is often made a matter of regret that Cardinal Newman does not come forward more prominently as an apologist of Christianity in opposition to the Agnostic and other poems of infidelity of the day; but the fact is that he has done so already, both in other writings and in the *Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent*. Nothing can be more masterly or convincing than the way in which he there shows that in order to reason with a skeptic on the truth of the Christian religion, it is necessary that he should at least admit the truths of natural religion. It is the fashion of the present time, civilized and self-sufficient, to call these truths in question one after another, and even to scout them and treat them with contempt. To argue with such persons about the still higher and more advanced truth of Christianity, which rests on the religion of nature as its basis, is to waste time and bring no fruit to perfection. In laying the scheme of Revelation before the minds of others, we are warranted in demanding that they should be prepared for it.

Nor does it appear to be the duty of Christians to cast pearls before swine. If conscience, the marvellous universe, and the march of Providence do not predispose men for revelation, it is difficult to see how they can be approached and lifted out of the lower deep into which they have sunk. Moral as well as intellectual qualities, and above all conscientiousness, are indispensable on the part of inquirers. They must really be inquirers, not disputants. If we should fail to persuade them of the truth of our religion, they must at all events retire from the conflict honest and upright adherents of the religion of nature. They must allow the being of God, prayer, the supremacy of conscience, and a moral law. Without these they are but intellectual animals, and have not reached the average stature of unregenerate man. They are not worthy to enter the Christian schools, having neither used nor enjoyed becomingly the groves and fields in which the schools stand. Christianity is indeed a philosophy, which is what they seek, but it is not a mere philosophy, but a practical one—a philosophy of human life, such as Cardinal Newman, above all other English divines, presents it to his hearers and learners. It is as a philosopher, in other words, as a man of letters, without the conventional tone of the pulpit, that he teaches what, coming from him, is so exquisitely beautiful, so infinitely acceptable. Nay, in the pulpit too, as we have seen, he is the man of letters, though he strives to put letters and philosophy, as such, into the background, and to preach in all simplicity the gospel of Christ. There is nothing in our language more limpid and striking than his review of Christianity as the legitimate heir to Judaism. It is in itself a most powerful defence of our religion against all gainsayers, and will be accepted as unanswerable by all who are duly prepared to receive it. It spreads over more than eighty pages, and is thoroughly artistic as a presentation of the Christian argument against Judaic, Pagan, or skeptic objectors. The conclusion is carefully worded—worded indeed with that surprising accuracy in which the author is unequalled by those of his race. “Here I end my specimens, among the many which might be given, of the arguments adducible for Christianity. I have dwelt upon them in order to show how I would apply the principles of this essay to the proof of its divine origin. Christianity is addressed, both as regards its evidences and its contents, to minds which are in the normal condition of human nature, as believing in God and in a future judgment. Such minds it addresses both through the intellect and through the imagination; creating a certitude of its truth by arguments too various for enumeration, too personal and deep for words, too powerful and concurrent for reversal. Nor need reason come first and faith second (though this is the logical order), but

one and the same teaching is in different aspects both object and proof, and elicits one complex act both of inference and assent. It speaks to us one by one, and it is received by us one by one, as the counterpart, so to say, of ourselves, and is real as we are real."

The *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* is the most important of all Cardinal Newman's works, since it states his reasons for abandoning the Church of England and for submitting to that Church for which Anglicans during three centuries had been professing the utmost abhorrence and contempt. He had himself joined in the hue and cry against her, and allowed himself to speak many unjust and bitter words which he felt bound to retract. If there be any more powerful and persuasive polemical treatise, I know not where it is to be found. Its literary merits are quite on a par with its theological. The introduction is a masterpiece, demonstrating the imperfection of the rule of Vincentius: "*Quod semper; quod ubique; quod ab omnibus*,"—as a test of orthodoxy. It must be considered true in the abstract: it may have been capable of application in the time of the writer, who might almost ask the primitive centuries for their testimony; but it is not available now or effective of any satisfactory result. The wrestling power of Newman in this essay is great and admirable. He throws his Anglican adversaries with such force that they seem to lie dead in the sands of the arena. "Do not the same ancient fathers," he demands, "bear witness to another doctrine (besides that of the holy Eucharist) which you disown? Are you not as hypocrites, listening to them when you will, and deaf when you will not? How are you casting your lot with the saints when you go but half way with them? For of whether of the two do they speak the more frequently, of the Real Presence in the Eucharist or of the Pope's supremacy? You accept the lesser evidence, you reject the greater."

The argument presented in the essay is in a very serried form. The principles of development are laid down. Development is exhibited in the progress of Christianity, and the tests of a faithful development are applied strictly to the Christianity of the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, to the mediæval and the actual period. The following passages have always been signally prominent, as summing up in a masterly manner the results of the inquiry in two periods. "If there be a form of Christianity at this day distinguished for its careful organization, and its consequent power; if it is spread over the world; if it is conspicuous for zealous maintenance of its own creed; if it is intolerant towards what it considers error; if it is engaged in ceaseless war with all other bodies called Christian; if it, and it alone, is called 'Catholic' by the world, nay, by those very bodies, and if it makes much of the title;

if it names them heretics, and warns them of coming woe, and calls on them one by one to come over to itself, overlooking every other tie; and if they, on the other hand, call it seducer, harlot, apostate, anti-Christ, devil; if, however they differ one with another, they consider it their common enemy; if they strive to unite against it and cannot; if they are but local; if they continually subdivide, and it remains one; if they fall one after another and make way for new sects, and it remains the same; such a form of religion is not unlike the Christianity of the Nicene era."

The passage relative to a later period is as follows: "If, then, there is now a form of Christianity such that it extends throughout the world, though with varying measures of prominence or prosperity in separate places; that it lies under the power of sovereigns and magistrates in different ways alien to its faith; that flourishing nations and great empires, professing or tolerating the Christian name, lie over against it as antagonists; that schools of philosophy and learning are supporting theories and following out conclusions hostile to it, and establishing an exegetical system subversive of its Scriptures; that it has lost whole churches by schism, and is now opposed by powerful communions once part of itself; that it has been altogether or almost driven from some countries; that in others its line of teachers is overlaid, its flocks oppressed, its churches occupied, its property held by what may be called a duplicate succession; that in others its members are degenerate and corrupt, and surpassed in conscientiousness and in virtue, as in gifts of intellect, by the very heretics whom it condemns; that heresies are rife and bishops negligent within its own pale; and that amid its disorders and fears there is but one Voice for whose decisions its people wait with trust, one Name and one See, to which they look with hope, and that name Peter, and that see Rome; such a religion is not unlike the Christianity of the fifth and sixth centuries."

Any sketch of Cardinal Newman as a man of letters would be incomplete if it did not include his novel writing. There is, indeed, a wide difference between his novels *Loss and Gain* and *Callista* and the compositions commonly so called. Of the ordinary arts of romance Cardinal Newman knows nothing, or if he knows, he certainly would not practice them. He carries into his tales the utmost amount of his own individuality, and has made them to turn respectively on the two periods and subject-matter most congenial to his studies and predilections—Oxford and the Vast Roman world during the conflict of Christianity with Paganism. It was not for him to trace the course of true love, which never did run smooth, from its rise to its legitimate and successful issue amid the peal of marriage bells. He could not, or he would not, enter

into the details of female loveliness, and still less of female waywardness or caprice. The precepts of the art-for-art's-sake school were lost upon him. He regarded æsthetics as a means, not an end, and time with him was too precious to be squandered in portraying characters having no bearing on the principles for which he seemed to exist. It is probable that he has felt as keen a pleasure as any in reading the romances complete all round of the great masters of fiction, and there are evidences in his works to show that it has been so. But it is one thing to read such books and quite another to compose in the same spirit and with a similar drift. Newman had different and higher work to do. He felt that he could make fiction subserve the cause of revealed truth, and he therefore exhibited truth doctrinal, controversial, and historical, under the light veil of invented narratives. But though he did not even attempt to succeed in one way, he did not fail in another. What he aimed at doing he did well, and gained his prize.

The very opening of *Callista* shows the scholar and the poet. We are led at once into proconsular Africa, a territory of which Carthage was the metropolis and Sicca might be considered the centre, and nowhere did nature wear a richer or a more joyous garb. The elements of splendor and beauty in the scene are brought together by a master-hand, and the effect is gorgeous. The description does not lose itself in generalities, but descends into details, of which these lines which follow give a favorable example. The tuneful modulation of the sentences cannot fail to strike the reader's ear.

"Tourists might have complained of the absence of water from the scene; but the native peasant would have explained that the eye alone had reason to be discontented, and that the thick foliage and uneven surface did but conceal what mother earth with no niggard bounty supplied. The Bagradas, issuing from the spurs of the Atlas, made up in depth what it wanted in breadth of bed, and ploughed the rich and yielding mould with its rapid stream, till, after passing Sicca in its way, it fell into the sea near Carthage. It was but the largest of a multitude of others, most of them tributaries to it, deepening as much as they increased it. While channels had been cut from the larger rills for the irrigation of the open land, brooks, which sprang up in the gravel which lay against the hills, had been artificially banked with cut stones or paved with pebbles; and where neither springs nor pebbles were to be found wells had been dug, sometimes to the vast depth of as much as two hundred fathoms, with such effect that the spurting column of water had in some instances drowned the zealous workmen who had been the first to reach it. And, while such were the resources

of less favored localities or seasons, profuse rains descended over the whole region for one-half of the year, and the thick summer dews compensated by night for the daily tribute extorted by an African sun."

By the intuitions of genius Newman was able to portray the characters of Christians and Pagans in Proconsular Africa as faithfully as the farms, the vegetation, and the agriculture. The brothers Agellius and Juba stand in direct contrast one to the other. The one is a follower of Christ, the other of all that is most unlike Him. The tale abounds in striking pictures. It is a gallery of antiques. Let me mention only the Roman games described by Cornelius; his account of the splendors of imperial Rome; Gurta and her witchcraft; the shop of Jucundus in Sicca; the dinner in his house; Callista and her love of Greece; the conversion of Agellius; the Christian fugitive priest Cœcilius; the rioters demanding the death of the Christians; their impious procession; Cyprian, the Bishop of Carthage, mounted on an ass by the ribald Pagans; the hut of the old crone Gurta in the woods; a dense African forest, with its trees and plants in endless variety; the snatches of wizard and heathen song; the madness of Juba; the Proconsular office, where prisoners charged with adhering to the new faith were tried; the magistrates; the proceedings; the different kinds of torture; the cave of Agellius; the mass there celebrated in secret; the Proconsular acts of the passion or martyrdom of Callista; the torture; the end of Juba; but above all in wealth of description, the plague of locusts,—are all of them related with so much power and point that they raise the tale to a high rank as a work of fiction and an effort of genius. Had the story been of a more secular character and less intensely Christian and Catholic, the passages here alluded to would have attracted far more attention and been more frequently cited in evidence of the author's great and varied abilities. The locusts occupy an entire chapter, but a single paragraph will suffice to give an idea of the whole.

"They are daunted by nothing; they surmount walls and hedges, and enter inclosed gardens or inhabited houses. A rare and experimental vineyard has been planted in a sheltered grove. The high winds of Africa will not commonly allow the light trellis or the slim pole; but here the lofty poplar of Campania has been possible, on which the vine-plant mounts so many yards into the air that the poor grape-gatherers bargain for a funeral pile and a tomb as one of the conditions of their engagement. The locusts have done what the winds and lightnings could not do, and the whole promise of the vintage, leaves and all, is gone, and the slender stems are left bare. There is another yard, less uncommon,

but still tended with more than common care; each plant is kept within due bounds by a circular trench round it and by upright canes on which it is to trail; in an hour the solicitude and long toil of the vinedresser are lost and his pride humbled. There is a smiling farm; another sort of vine, of remarkable character, is found against the farm-house. This vine springs from one root, and has clothed and matted with its many branches the four walls. The whole of it is covered thick with long clusters which another month will ripen. On every grape and leaf there is a locust. Into the dry caves and pits, carefully strewn with straw, the harvestmen have (safely, as they thought just now,) been lodging the far-famed African wheat. One grain or root shoots up into ten, twenty, fifty, eighty, nay, three or four hundred stalks; sometimes the stalks have two ears apiece, and these shoot off into a number of lesser ones. These stores are intended for the Roman populace, but the locusts have been beforehand with them. The small patches of ground belonging to the poor peasants up and down the country, for raising the turnips, garlic, barley, watermelons, on which they live, are the prey of these glutton-invaders as much as the choicest vines and olives. Nor have they any reverence for the villa of the civic decurion or the Roman official. The neatly arranged kitchen garden, with its cherries, plums, peaches, and apricots, is a waste; as the slaves sit round in the kitchen in the first court, at their coarse evening meal, the room is filled with the invading force, and news comes to them that the enemy has fallen upon the apples and pears in the basement, and is at the same time plundering and sacking the preserves of quince and pomegranate, and revelling in the jars of precious oil of Cypress and Mendes in the store-rooms."

Their ravages are then described in Sicca itself, in the shops and houses; but it is time to glance at the very different scenes presented by *Loss and Gain, the Story of a Convent*. It is a picture of Oxford life, yet not as it is now, but as it was forty years ago. Many changes have come over it—one, and not the least, that Newman is there no more. Keble has ceased to warble; Pusey is nearing the tomb. The old Anglican conservatism is invaded. Even fellowships are thrown open. The basis of education is changed. Liberalism in religion has succeeded to reform in politics. Infidelity is thinly disguised under modern thought. Science is in the ascendant; Revelation at a discount; and controversies, which in former days were brisk and lively, scarce find an echo in streets and halls. The walks of college gardens no longer resound with the strife of High Church and Low Church; the *Tracts* are forgotten, and the utmost indifference prevails to questions that once seemed all-important. The dialogues, therefore, in *Loss and*

Gain, whether between tutors or undergraduates, though admirably like what were heard of yore, are now almost out of date. But these lifelike dialogues are the record of a past which was pregnant with its future. They abound in humor and satire of the most subtle kind. Touches of caricature enliven the breakfasts and *tête-à-têtes*, as, for instance, in Professor Scaramouch's gas cure. The ridiculous sides of Oxford Anglicanism and Ritualism of that day are skilfully hit off, and never-ending pleasantries lead on to deep thought and wisdom. Mr. Vincent's advice to Charles Reding against going too far and becoming a party-man is exquisitely satirical. The freshness of the little tourneys of undergraduates in *Loss and Gain* can never fade. The frosts of time and change will not visit them. Youthful minds will make merry over them in generations to come, and rejoice that the great English Catholic classic was not always serious, historical, or philosophic. But for *Loss and Gain* the public of the future would never know how mirthful he could be, and how hard he could strike in the midst of pleasantness and kindness. To read it once is to do it meagre justice; its manifold meanings cannot be exhausted in one reading. It is a jewel and a marvel of pretty writing—pretty, yes, but no less deep.

"Ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat? Ut pueris olim dant crustula blandi
Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima."¹

When Charles Reding, the hero of the tale, has made up his mind to seek admission into the visible communion of the Catholic Church, he revisits Oxford, and the passage in which this return is described seems to reveal some measure of the emotion with which the author himself must have taken his last farewell of the university where he had enjoyed, learnt, and taught so much, and which was endeared to him by a thousand pleasant recollections.

"We had passed through Bagley Wood, and the spires and towers of the University came on his view, hallowed by how many tender associations, lost to him for two whole years, suddenly recovered—recovered to be lost forever! There lay old Oxford before him, with its hills 'as gentle and its meadows as green as ever. At the first view of that beloved place he stood still, with folded arms, unable to proceed. Each college, each church—he counted them by their pinnacles and turrets. The silver Isis, the gray willows, the far-stretching plains, the dark groves, the distant range of Shotover, the pleasant village where he had lived with Carlton and Sheffield—wood, water, stone, all so calm, so bright; they might have been his, but his they were not. Whatever he

¹ "Horat. Sat.," Lib. i. 24-26.

was to gain by becoming a Catholic, this he had lost; whatever he was to gain higher and better, at least this and such as this he never could have again. He could not have another Oxford; he could not have the friends of his boyhood in the choice of his manhood. He mounted the well-known gate on the left and proceeded down into the plain. There was no one to greet him, to sympathize with him; there was no one to believe he needed sympathy; no one to believe he had given up anything; no one to take an interest in him, to feel tender towards him, to defend him. He suffered much, but there was no one to believe that he had suffered. He would be thought to be inflicting merely, not undergoing, suffering. He might, indeed, say that he had suffered, but he would be rudely told that every one follows his own will, and that if he had given up Oxford it was for a whim that he liked better than it. But, rather, there was no one to know him; he had been virtually three years away; three years is a generation. Oxford had been his place once, but his place knew him no more. He recollected with what awe and transport he had at first come to the University as to some sacred shrine, and how, from time to time, hopes had come over him that some day or other he should have gained a title to residence on one of its ancient foundations. One night in particular came across his memory, how a friend and he ascended to the top of one of its many towers with the purpose of making observations on the stars, and how, while his friend was busily engaged with the pointers, he, earthly-minded youth, had been looking down into the deep; gas-lit, dark-shadowed quadrangle and wondering if he should ever be Fellow of this or that college, which he singled out from the mass of academical buildings. All had passed as a dream, and he was a stranger where he had hoped to have had a home."

It would have been impossible for Newman to have chosen a subject that more thoroughly tested his ability as an ecclesiastical historian than *The Arians of the Fourth Century*. The histories of the Church, by Eusebius, Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen might, indeed, have been easily read and compared, but to acquire complete acquaintance with the original works of Clement, Athanasius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Tertullian, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, and Origen, with the Latin, French, and English controversial and historical writers on the period, such as Petavius, Lardner, Mosheim, Tillemont, Neander, Bingham, Cave, Bull, Burton, and Gibbon, required an extraordinary amount of learning in a young man, together with a power of analysis and synthesis belonging to a highly-gifted mind. It was, moreover, "the author's first work, and written against time." The several editions through which it has passed attest its value. Cast in a definite mould, it

leaves no reader in doubt as to any ascertainable facts nor as to the doctrinal and disciplinary leanings of the writer. But the subject offered little scope for showy writing and poetic descriptions. Mr. Newman had to deal with hard facts and abstruse distinctions. He had first to show that Antioch was the birthplace of Arianism, and that it was cradled in the schools of the Sophists; that it was framed in imitation of Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, who was excommunicated by bishops assembled from all quarters; that this Paul was succeeded in his see by Lucian, a man of learning, who, though a martyr, may almost be considered the author of Arianism, and that afterwards Arius and Achilles and their party of evildoers, the secret offspring of Paul and Lucian, were excited to sundry excesses by three Syrian prelates, and drank up the dregs of the impiety of the original promoters of the heresy. This history covers the period from A.D. 325 to 381, between the Councils of Nice and the first of Constantinople. But the charm of the book does not consist in a regular succession of historical events, but rather in a series of comments on the history of Arianism and the circumstances connected with it. Hence arises the most beautiful and masterly exposition of points of the subtlest description. Among these may be enumerated the remarks on the freedom from symbols and articles as abstractedly the highest state of Christian communion; the *disciplina arcani*, or secret teaching; the use of allegory in the schools; the "dispensation of Paganism" or commingled state of natural and revealed religion; the mode in which Christian missionaries addressed the heathen; the connection of the Eclectic sect with Neologism, and its uncongeniality with Arianism and the principle of the formation and imposition of creeds. In setting forth the doctrines of the different schools of philosophy at Alexandria, Newman shows marvellous clearness of thought and power of nice distinction. He simply fills the clear-headed reader with delight by his luminous perspicuity. He reminds us of the description of the word of God in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is said to be "more piercing than any two-edged sword, and reaching unto the division of the soul and spirit."¹

In the later part of this great work we have a most careful account of the sects which sprang from Arianism or imitated it more or less. The persecutions they inflicted on the faithful were hardly less severe and persistent than those of the pagans. The churches were besieged and spoiled by the Eusebians in Alexandria; the assembled worshippers were massacred, the clergy trodden under foot, the women subjected to the most infamous profanations, and

¹ Heb. iv. 12.

then the bishops of surrounding sees were robbed, beaten, imprisoned, banished. "The sacred elements of the Eucharist were scornfully cast about by the heathen rabble, which seconded the usurping party; birds and fruits were offered in sacrifice on the holy table, hymns chanted in honor of the idols of paganism, and the Scriptures given to the flames." In the chapter on the Semi-Arians the device of employing only Scriptural terms is exposed, and under that of the Athanatians the proceedings against St. Athanasius himself are painted in all their systematic villany. The sufferings and trials of Hosius, also, at the age of one hundred and one, are related in an affecting style, and the terrific onslaught of Syrianus, Duke of Egypt, on the orthodox Christians and Athanasius himself, as reported in his *Apologia de Fuga*.¹ The following passage relating to Julian, the Apostate, seems worthy of being extracted. The reflective Christian historian appears in it to great advantage: "The object of Julian in recalling the banished bishops was the renewal of those dissensions, by means of toleration, which Constantius had endeavored to terminate by force. He knew these prelates to be of various opinions, Semi-Arians, Macedonians, Anomœans, as well as orthodox, and, determining to be neuter himself, he waited with the satisfaction of an Eclectic for the event, being persuaded that Christianity could not withstand the shock of parties, not less discordant, and far more zealous than the sects of philosophy. It is even said that he 'invited to his palace the leaders of the hostile sects, that he might enjoy the agreeable spectacle of their furious encounters.'" But in indulging such anticipation of overthrowing Christianity he but displayed his own ignorance of the foundation on which it was built. It could scarcely be conceived that an unbeliever, educated among heretics, would understand the vigor and indestructibility of the true Christian spirit; and Julian fell into the error, to which, in all ages, men of the world are exposed, of mistaking whatever shows itself on the surface of the Apostolic community, its prominences and irregularities, all that is extravagant, and all that is transitory, for the real moving principle and life of the system. It is trying times alone that manifest the saints of God, but they live notwithstanding, and support the Church in their generation, though they remain in their obscurity. In the days of Arianism, indeed, they were in their measure revealed to the world; still, to such as Julian, they were unavoidably unknown, both in respect to their numbers and their divine gifts. The thousands of silent believers, who worshipped in spirit and in truth, were obscured by the tens

¹ See "Bright's Historical Introduction to Writings of St. Athanasius," pp. lxi.-lxxii. Oxford, 1881.

² Gibbon's "Rise and Fall," ch. xxiii.

and twenties of the various heretical factions, whose clamorous addresses besieged the imperial court; and Athanasius would be portrayed to Julian's imagination after the picture of his own preceptor, the time-serving and unscrupulous Eusebius. The event of his experiment refuted the opinion which led to it. The impartial toleration of all religious persuasions, malicious as was its intent, did but contribute to the ascendancy of the right faith; that faith which is the only true aliment of the human mind, which can be held as a principle as well as an opinion, and which influences the heart to suffer and to labor for its sake."

Many passages in the *Historical Sketches* and others of the Cardinal's historical works affect the mind as if they were poetry. Such are, for instance, one on Athens and one on Oxford; another on the death of St. Bede, and others on Abelard, the election of Pius V., the battle of Lepanto, the religious history of England, Catholicism in England from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and the re-establishment of the hierarchy—the three last occurring in the *Occasional Sermons*.

Cardinal Newman's reputation as a writer of history does not rest only on his "Arians." The articles which he wrote on "Primitive Christianity," "Apollonius of Tyana," "Chrysostom," "Theodoret," "The Mission of St. Benedict," and "The Benedictine Schools," and the lectures which he delivered on "The History of the Turks in its Relation to Christianity"—all of which are now collected in three volumes of *Historical Sketches*—are characterized by the same marks of literary excellence. There is nothing heavy or superficial about them, and they not merely served a special purpose when they first appeared, but the solidity of their arguments and the interesting manner in which they narrated facts have entitled them to a permanent place in literature. There is no sphere better suited to an all around man of letters than that of rector of a university, and there is none in which a pseudo man of letters appears more ridiculous. Cardinal Newman has discharged that office with dignity, and among many proofs of his admirable fitness has given that of delivering weighty lectures and writing thoughtful essays on the subject of university education. These publications have become textbooks, and have thrown new light on every branch of the question of an ideal university. Addressed to the Catholics of Dublin and to the members of the Catholic University, they were composed with singular care, and flow, as it were, with milk and honey. There is a pathos in their wisdom which is very touching, and in their grace and strength alone, without regard to the matter, they speak the praises of knowledge and cultivation of mind. The thing expressed is recommended and endeared to us by the charm of the expression. No

one is farther than Cardinal Newman from thinking that if something be said it matters little how it is said. Anyone could have said that if the Holy See condemns mixed education we ought to be satisfied and to condemn it likewise. But mark the elegance and persuasiveness with which he gives expression to the thought: "In the midst of our difficulties I have one ground of hope, just one stay, but, as I think, a sufficient one, which serves me in the stead of all other argument whatever, which hardens me against criticism, which supports me if I begin to despond, and to which I ever come round when the question of the possible and the expedient is brought into discussion. It is the decision of the Holy See; St. Peter has spoken; it is he who has enjoined that which seems to us so unpromising. He has spoken, and has a claim on us to trust him. He is no recluse, no solitary student, no dreamer about the past, no doter upon the dead and gone, no projector of the visionary. He for eighteen hundred years has lived in the world; he has seen all fortunes; he has encountered all adversaries; he has shaped himself for all emergencies. If ever there was a power on earth who had an eye for the times, who has confined himself to the practicable, and has been happy in his anticipations; whose words have been facts, and whose commands prophecies, such is he in the history of ages who sits from generation to generation in the chair of the Apostles as the Vicar of Christ and the Doctor of His Church."

The cogency of Cardinal Newman's arguments on the necessity of including theology among the subjects taught at a university is unequalled by any other author. The ideas he expresses are cast into so firm a mould that they seem to be the result of long years of reflection and experience. They have not been arrived at by the leaps and bounds of a brilliant imagination, the force of daring genius, or the zeal of an ardent discoverer in seas of thought. They have the more transcendent merit of being weighted with wisdom, stately, calm, and crystal clear. Where all is so thoroughly thought out and beautifully unfolded it is difficult to make selections, and one paragraph is about equal to another, though some will strike individual minds more than others. We are constantly meeting with passages as vigorous and suggestive as this:

"The word 'God' is a theology in itself, indivisibly one, inexplicably various from the vastness and the simplicity of its meaning. Admit a God, and you introduce among the subjects of your knowledge a fact encompassing, closing in upon, absorbing every other fact conceivable. How can we investigate any part of any order of knowledge and stop short of that which enters into every order? All true principles run over with it; all phenomena converge to it; it is truly the First and the Last. In word, indeed,

and in idea it is easy enough to divide knowledge into human and divine, secular and religious, and to lay down that we will address ourselves to the one without interfering with the other, but it is impossible in fact. Granting that divine truth differs in kind from human, so do human truths differ in kind one from another. If the knowledge of the Creator is in a different order from knowledge of the creature, so, in like manner, metaphysical science is in a different order from physical, physics from history, history from ethics. You will soon break up into fragments the whole circle of secular knowledge if you begin the mutilation with divine."

Since the time when these Lectures on the Idea of a University were delivered, agnosticism, positivism, and atheism, have widely extended, and in France have become dominant. But this does not diminish the force of Cardinal Newman's reasonings on the subject, but rather shows how he was gifted with a prophetic spirit, and clearly foresaw the issues towards which the separation of secular knowledge from religious in schools, colleges, and universities was tending. The course of events has amply justified his predictions and warnings. The seeds were then being sown, from which the enemy of mankind is now reaping such abundant harvest, and it is made to us more than ever clear that theology is a branch of knowledge, that it has bearings on all other knowledge, and that all other knowledge has bearings on it. This is Newman's great theme. In his Lectures on University Subjects he handles pure literature, pointing out in what it consists and how it stands in relation to science and to Christianity. He is essentially the man of letters in these addresses, and exemplifies his precepts by his own example. He has written brilliantly also on the "Benedictine Schools" in the *Atlantis*, and the essay was afterwards published in a series of "Historical Sketches." It sparkles with every kind and setting of literary jewelry. Always and everywhere he is the man of letters, whether supervising the *Atlantis* fresh from academican hands, or lecturing to the professors and students of the university he had built up. Nor can he cease to be so, because he has been so from the first—rejoicing as a giant to run his literary course; composing Latin verses as a boy of ten, and reading himself up to an intimacy with the chief thinkers at Oxford, Hurrell, Froude, Whately, Hawkins, Copleston, Jelf, Keble, Pusey, and William Palmer; writing poems for the *Lyra Apostolica* in the Straits of Bonifacio; editing Froude's remains; devoting himself to the study of the Fathers and translating St. Athanasius; preaching in the highest strain of intellect to all that was most intellectual in his Alma Mater; editing the *British Critic*; writing his *Arians* for the *Theological Library*, edited by the Rev. Hugh James Rose; throwing off a large number of those

wonder-working "Tracts for the Times," published first at the price of a penny each, which aroused the thought of an entire clergy, and ultimately of a great mass of the entire people; and then giving the Church of England in No. XC. a means of interpreting the Articles, so that, with them, they who signed them might take up "all Roman doctrines" and feel no hurt. It was the true and vital literary faculty, together with moral qualifications, which gave him this extraordinary power. At twenty-five he "had analyzed the constitution and history of every state in the world, ancient or still existing." At Oxford he never passed a day without writing a Latin sentence, either a translation or an original composition, before he had done his morning's work. "As well for present satisfaction as for future use, he wrote and laid by a complete history of every serious question in which he was concerned. It must be added that he did the same with every book he read, and every subject he inquired into." "He was one of the few people who could be called thoroughly acquainted with Gibbon's great work. He could recite many long passages of it, particularly the famous one in which Gibbon describes the changelessness of agriculture and the simple arts in the midst of changing governments, religions, and manners. He knew well Hume's Essays. He had Tom Paine's works under lock and key, and lent them with much caution to such as could bear the shock."¹ Nor did these habits forsake him when he retired to Littlemore and set on foot the *Lives of the Saints*, while engaged in composing his *Essay on Development*, and preparing to go forth whither God should call him. Not for a moment did he lay aside his literary character, and in that respect the great change of his life brought no change at all. The new sphere into which he entered, if more limited on the Anglican side, was more extended on the Roman. In Rome itself, whither he repaired soon after his conversion, he published a Latin Dissertation, and from that time to the present he has been without pause conversant with letters. Unlike the vast majority of English converts, and indeed unlike any convert of whom I have heard, he has continued to supervise the republication of his works, written while in the Anglican Church, so that they will be handed down to posterity in their entirety, supplemented and corrected by his own hand. His audience has not diminished through his secession from Anglicanism. The English reading public in general, or at least the more intellectual portion of them, feel that they cannot afford to lose him, and they console themselves for his, to them, incomprehensible absence by poring over his matchless compositions. Their admiration reacts upon the Catholic body, in which he

¹ Mozley's *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement*, vol. i. p. 40.

lives and moves, and they are led by non-Catholic critics of distinction to revere him as an author more highly than they would have done, if those to whom he once belonged had cast out his name as evil and left his books uncut. There is little fear now of England forgetting the part he has played in the history of English letters. Though almost all the works he has published, the *Arians* excepted, have been of the occasional sort, thrown off to meet an emergency and suggested by the circumstances of the moment, they have taken their place in the literature of the land, by reason of the thought with which they are weighted and *lo bello stile*—the Virgilian purity of language in which they are clothed. Those who heard his Lectures on Difficulties in Anglicanism, on the State of Catholicity in England, on the Turks, and on University Subjects, and the Nature and Scope of University Education, or the Occasional Sermons and the Sermons addressed to Mixed Congregations, knew that they would live, and that they had in them the seeds of literary immortality which the hand of genius alone can sow. He may drop in subsequent editions his scathing refutation of Charles Kingsley's calumnies and thirty-nine "blots," but this also will survive the wreck of time as one of the most pungent and pointed pieces of composition he ever gave to print. His impeachment of Achilli before the moral world is embodied in one of a series of Lectures, and will long be remembered. It held up an impostor to scorn, and was crowned with immediate and complete success. The wretched man fled to the ends of the earth, and his name was never heard of again. Meanwhile Newman was accepting patiently the seclusion of Edgbaston, yet ever ready to emerge when the nascent Catholic University of Dublin called him to be its Rector, or when proposals were made for establishing a Catholic mission and branch of the Oratory at Oxford. Whenever his voice was heard, it had the power of Orpheus over a listening multitude. His "Apologia" turned the hearts of thousands. Its candor carried conviction in every quarter. "He threw, as it were, the lime-light upon his intellectual nature, analyzed his own motives, explained his own beliefs and his own reasons for holding them. As a psychological study, as a remarkable example of searching and faithful introspection, the 'Apologia' will take its place among the English classics. No more acute self-analysis had ever been unreservedly communicated to the world." Hardly, as another critic observed, do the "Confessions of St. Augustine" more vividly reproduce the old African Bishop before successive generations in all the greatness and struggles of his life, than do these pages the very inner being of this remarkable man.

¹ Henry J. Jennings, "Cardinal Newman, The Story of his Life," p. 93.

One passage in this autobiography was at the time of the publication singled out by the *Saturday Review* as "one of the finest in the English language." "To consider the world in its length and breadth, its various history, the many races of man, their starts, their fortunes, their mutual alienation, their conflicts; and then their ways, habits, governments, forms of worship; their enterprises, their aimless courses, their random achievements and acquirements, the impotent conclusion of long-standing facts, the tokens so faint and broken of a superintending design, the blind evolution of what turn out to be great powers or truths, the progress of things, as if from unreasoning elements, not towards final causes, the greatness and littleness of man, his far-reaching aims, his short duration, the curtain hung over his futurity, the disappointments of life, the defeat of good, the success of evil, physical pain, mental anguish, the prevalence and intensity of sin, the pervading of idolatries, the corruptions, the dreary hopeless irreligion, that condition of the whole race, so fearfully yet exactly described in the Apostle's words, 'having no hope and without God in the world,'—all this is a vision to dizzy and appal; and inflicts upon the mind the sense of a profound mystery, which is absolutely beyond human solution."

The very title and office of Cardinal, though conferred for reasons that rise far above all literary considerations, seem to impart an additional claim to literary distinction in cases where that distinction has been already attained. Newman is more than ever the man of letters since the Pontiff chose him to be a member of the Sacred College, whence the sovereign Pontiffs spring, and which has numbered so many illustrious literati in its ranks. Nor could any one have been found more fit than Newman to have his name associated with Nicholas de Cusa, Ximenes, Bellarmine, Sadoletto, Mai, Mezzofanti, Wiseman. The nation entire, irrespective of religious differences, feels a sort of pride in the honor done to him. Since being clothed with the purple, Cardinal Newman has published two volumes, the least known and read of all his works, yet the most scholarly. They are a free translation of *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius in controversy with the Arians*; and the volume containing them is followed by a second, being an *Appendix of Illustrations*. The version from the Greek is in the most fluent and elegant English possible under such circumstances; they form a supplement to the author's *History of the Arians*, and are in the order of his published works the omega of which the *Arians* was the alpha. The *Appendix of Illustrations* contains a series of very curious, profound, and interesting observations on subjects bearing on points discussed or alluded to in the writings of the great champion of the faith against the errors of Arius. They are arranged

alphabetically, and number seventy-four, besides fifty-six with Greek headings, which are comments on Greek terms employed in the foregoing Treatises. They have a twofold value, one theological and the other philological. It would be difficult to over-estimate the suggestive force of some of these notes, and one might, by way of example, refer to those headed "Eusebius," "Cursus Publicus," "Deification," "Economical Language," "Use of Force in Religion," "Ignorance assumed economically by our Lord," and "The Blessed Mary." It will not be Cardinal Newman's fault if the study of the greatest of the Fathers, so far as concerns the divinity of Christ, be suffered to decay. He, indeed, would do all that becomes his sacred office to promote a better acquaintance with the Greek classics in general, as the earliest and grandest literary efforts of the human brain, which, like those in the sister arts, have never been surpassed, and, after a lapse of more than two thousand years, still entrance the imagination with their inimitable charms, originality, and freshness. He would imbue the minds of laymen and clergy alike, in all possible cases, with the war of Troy and the wanderings of Ulysses, as related by the prince and father of poets, the severe wisdom of Æschylus, the choral odes of Pindar, the sublime and subtle speculations of Plato, the unadorned and manly annals of Thucydides, the elegant diction of Xenophon, the humor of Lucian, the clenching might of Demosthenes, and the graces of the Greek Anthology. But if he would willingly imbue them with this ancient and pagan lore, how much more with the patriotic Greek of Irenæus, Origen, the Cyrils of Alexandria and Jerusalem, Basil, Chrysostom and Athanasius? Is it nothing to sit face to face with the very words and forms of thought of the *Apologia contra Arianos* of St. Athanasius—the true church history of some one-and-twenty years? Is it a small matter in the work of education and mental culture to con the epistles of that eminent saint and doctor to the prelates of Egypt and Lybia, to Constantine, to Serapion concerning the death of Arius, and his autobiographical *Apologia de Fuga*? What a delight and privilege to read his historical writings as edited by Dr. Bright of Oxford, according to the Benedictine Text! "Athanasius," writes Cardinal Newman, "is a great writer, simple in his diction, clear, unstudied, direct, vigorous, elastic, and above all characteristic."¹ And again: "This renowned Father is in ecclesiastical history the special doctor of the sacred truth which Arius denied, bringing it out into shape and system so fully and luminously that he may be said to have exhausted his subject, so far as it lies open to the

¹ See the "Weekly Register," July 29th, 1882, where I have reviewed Cardinal Newman's translation of St. Athanasius more at length.

² Select Treatises of St. Athanasius, vol. ii, p. 3.

human intellect. . . . His earliest works, written when perhaps he was not more than twenty-one, give abundant evidence of a liberal education. He had a knowledge of Homer and Plato; and his early style, though it admits of pruning, is graceful and artistic. . . . Gibbon grants that his writings are 'clear and persuasive.' Erasmus seems to prefer him, as a writer, to all the Fathers, and certainly in my own judgment, no one comes near to him but Chrysostom and Jerome."¹

The second edition of the *Select Treatises of Athanasius against the Arians* is not identical with the first, published at Oxford in Dr. Pusey's *Library of the Fathers*. Five of the Treatises included in that collection have here been omitted, and the translation itself is of a freer kind.² Several reasons for these alterations are given in an Advertisement prefixed to the first volume, in which the translator explains many things with his usual modesty, and adds that "the quotations from the Holy Scripture remain here, as in the Oxford edition, in the Protestant version, except in cases in which the context of the passage of Athanasius, to which they severally belong, required an alteration in them; except in such cases, a change did not seem imperative, and would give great trouble." When those who will come after us shall foreshorten the view of Newman's work and career as a theologian and man of letters, they will approve and admire the fact of his first and last energies, as a writer, having been bestowed on the history of Arianism and the writings of Athanasius. Never has the Church been so fearfully harassed and imperilled as she was during the period that elapsed between the Council of Nicæa and the death of Constantius, because the controversies which were then rife turned on the most fundamental articles of the faith. "Nothing," writes the Cardinal in a note to the Epistle of Athanasius on the Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia, "is more instructive in the whole of this eventful history than the complication of hopefulness and deterioration in the Oriental party, and the apparent decline yet advance of the truth. Principles, good and bad, were developing on both sides with energy. The fall of Honorius and Liberius, and the disastrous event of Ariminum, are close before the ruin of the Eusebian power. At this critical moment Constantius died, when the cause of truth was only not in the lowest state of degradation because a party was in authority and vigor who could reduce it to

¹ Ibid., p. 58.

² There is even an omission in the following passages respecting the Nicene formula. "From which, if aught were subtracted, an opening is made to the poison of the heretics." But the Greek stands thus in the Benedictine Text (Bright, p. 253): 'Εν, ἥ ὁντως καὶ τὸ προσθῆναι τι σφαλερὸν, καὶ τὸ ἀφελῆσθαι τι ἐπικίνδυνον ὑπάρχει' κ. τ. λ. Thus the reference to the danger of adding to the creed is lost. See Newman's *Select Treatises of St. Athanasius*, 2d edition, vol. i. p. 74.

a lower still; the Latins committed to an Anti-Catholic creed, the Pope deluded, Hosius fallen and dead, Athanasius wandering in the deserts, Arians in the sees of Christendom, and their doctrine growing in blasphemy, and their profession of it in boldness, every day. The Emperor had come to the throne when almost a boy, and at this time was but forty-four years old. In the ordinary course of things he might have reigned till, humanly speaking, orthodoxy was extinct."

It is time to draw these remarks to a close, though the subject is far from being exhausted, or anything more than an approach being made to adequate treatment. "Newman's publications," says the Rev. Thomas Mozley, his brother-in-law, "are before the world; they are before all time, as long as the English language is spoken, and as long as this is a people and an empire." In his Lecture on Athens he has given us one of his most unique and thoroughly literary essays. The matter may, indeed, be found scattered through the works of Lipsius, Morhof, Boeckh, and Becker, but supplemented by the lecturer's own recollections of the dramatists, philosophers, and orators of the amazing city of Minerva, with its hundreds, nay thousands, of students, attaching them to the chair of individual teachers, at a time when there were no booksellers and few libraries or books. It is running over with poetry and the best part of poetry, feeling. And as with Athens, so with other subjects, he has touched none which he has not adorned. Nothing which he has published wastes its sweetness on the desert air, or is likely to do so. Mr. Alfred Austin has spoken of him as "the man in the working of whose individual mind the intelligent portion of the English public is more interested than in that of any other living person," and those who have not time to master his thirty-six volumes, can enjoy the skilful selection of Mr. W. S. Lilly, published under the title of "Characteristics from the Writings of John Henry Newman." The beauty and brilliancy of this collection of jewels is such as to create regret only that they should be detached from their settings; but they may have, and have had, in very numerous cases, the effect of inspiring the wish and resolution to become acquainted with his works as a whole. A certain completeness will then be discovered in them, though the occasions which called them forth have generally been of an accidental nature. It will be seen how entirely, though not exclusively, the author bore a literary character, and must ever rank among those who devoted themselves to literature with the utmost success. It will be curious to trace his points of contact with other literary English divines, with Sir Thomas More,

¹ *Reminiscences of the Oxford Movement*, vol. i. p. 8.

² "Poetry of the Period," p. 178.

Tyndale, Dean Colet, Hooker, George Herbert, Jeremy Taylor, Bishops Burnet, Butler, and Paley. Hitherto non-Catholics have been foremost in sketching his life, and we owe to Froude the historian and brother of Newman's dearest friend, to Dean Stanley, Kegan Paul, Henry J. Jennings, Professor Shairp, and Mozley with his charming "Reminiscences of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement," some of the most truthful and appreciative comments that we can find on the writings of this great and good man, from whom and concerning whom we have still so much to learn. His vast correspondence has still to see the light, and it is said that much valuable manuscript of his is as yet unpublished.

CESARE CANTÙ AND THE NEO-GUELPHS OF ITALY.

I.

A COMPLETE list of the works which have issued from the pen of Cesare Cantù, now in his 76th year, would cover three pages of this REVIEW. The last volume of his *Universal History* was issued in 1848. The narrative portion of this monumental work comprises eighteen volumes octavo, and the supplementary portion, composed of most valuable documents, illustrative of the narration, is in seventeen volumes. Of the good effected by this single work, and of the influence exercised by the author, one may judge from the fact, that upwards of one million volumes of this *Universal History* circulate in Continental Europe.

Cesare Cantù's labors and well-earned popularity have now extended over half a century. And yet the year which has just closed, has seen him, during the great National Exposition in Milan, and the Geographical Congress in Venice, one of the most active and energetic among the galaxies of Italian and European men of letters, scientists, statisticians, and economists. He was one of the leading spirits who suggested and organized the most brilliant and successful National Exposition hitherto. The writer found him in early February, last year, installed in the Palace of Archives, of which he is prefect, presiding over committees of members of Parliament, artists, economists, manufacturers, and engineers; and preparing with them the plans and measures, which have since made the Milan Exposition a great success. The Fine

Art Exposition was to be held in the vast and beautiful courts of the Palace of Archives, and he was there directing the necessary preparations. When I left Milan in March he was confined to his bed by an attack of acute rheumatism, which kept him in his own room till late in April, and caused his friends and admiring countrymen not a little uneasiness. But he was able to be present at the grand opening of the Exposition in the first week of May; and the glorious weather as well as the genuine enthusiasm created by the magnificent spectacle offered by the display of Italy's industrial and artistic wealth, acted like a spell on that nervous and sensitive nature, and quickened it into new life and activity. Besides officiating, as a contemporary writer said, as the High Priest of the Fine Arts, in that beautiful palace built by St. Charles Borromeo for the education of the Swiss youth belonging to his diocese, he was president of one of the sections at the Congress of Venice.

At the close of the Exposition, King Umberto, who highly honors Cantù's inflexible Catholicity, placed the historian at his right hand at the great banquet given in Monza to the president and officers. Again and again they have tried to induce him to accept a place in the Italian Senate; but, having, as he told the writer, resigned his place in the Italian Parliament, when the rule *Nè eletti, nè elettori* was enforced, he would only wish to be in the lower chamber to defend once more with his unrivalled eloquence and courage, the cause of Catholic truth, and the interests of Catholic institutions.

As these lines are written—a fact of exceeding importance to the world of letters—Cesare Cantù is re-editing his *Universal History*, and recasting the whole of the first part, so as to give a thorough account of what prehistoric science has accomplished during the last half-century; and to record, as well, the transformations effected in the industrial, commercial, and social world since his history first appeared. During the first weeks of last December all Milan and the élite of Northern Italy assembled night after night to hear this wonderful old man, this great Catholic historian, explain to them what a true *Universal History* should be; reminding them of the hopes which filled men's souls when he first conceived and wrote his own great work; pointing out to them that he had regretted none of his former sacrifices, recanted none of his professions of religious or political faith, and renounced no one of the sacred principles which had been the soul of his life, and were the foundation of his undying hopes. The press of Milan—bitterly opposed as it is to the great Neo-Guelph and his avowed aspirations—was eloquent in praise of the wonderful freshness of imagination and grasp of intellect which he showed, night after night, in dealing with all the various and seemingly opposite mat-

ters which enter into the scope of a *Universal History*, comprising the origin and history of this universe as well as all the wondrous activity of man in every age and clime and phase of civilization.

Such, then, is the great figure whose life and labors, in connection with the struggles of the Church in Italy, during the last fifty years, which we wish to introduce to American readers in this and the following number.

Cesare Cantù was privileged to be born in the Brianza, the loveliest and most romantic portion of beautiful Lombardy. His native village of Brivio is situated on the right bank of the Addio, a few miles from the spot where this river issues from the Lake of Lecco, the eastern branch of Lake Como. From the very threshold of his father's house the boy could see the great monastery of Pontida, in which the representatives of the Free Cities of Northern Italy met, in April, 1167, to form the Lombard League. As he grew up, his mother fostered in him an earnest spirit of piety and a deep love for the ancient liberties of his native land.

In one of his latest publications,¹ especially popular in Milan, he touchingly related how his mind in childhood was fed by the story of Lombardy's conversion to Christianity. "How anxious I was to know all about it," he exclaims. "How I used to question my mother, or some aged neighbor!" Surely, a religious history in which the boy met with such names as Constantine the Great, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, to shed a lustre on the diocese in which he was born, must have fired his young imagination.

In the four first centuries during which Christianity grew and prospered in a city,—called even by Roman emperors the Second Rome,—glorious struggles marked the progress of the Christian Faith. To Milan belonged the patrician Vitalis and his wife Valeria, who devoted their substance and their lives to the cause of Christ, Vitalis winning at Ravenna the crown of martyrdom, and bequeathing to the city a name more imperishable than the splendid basilica reared above his grave. Valeria died heroically in Milan, leaving also behind her four sons, the infant-twins Aurelius and Diogenes, born during her imprisonment, and who lived to emulate the heroism of their parents,—Gervasius and Protasius, who crowned a noble life by a martyr's death. St. Augus-

¹ MILANO, *Storia del Popolo e pel Popolo*; new ed., Milan, 1881. "La storia di quei primi credenti non è affatto nostra? non ha sui nostri fatti influenza ben maggiore che quella dei re e degli croi? Ed io giovinetto oh come n'ero ansioso! oh come ne interrogavo mia madre e qualche vecchio vicino! E da essi, più che alle sottigliezze della critica abituati alla fede del carbonaro, imparai come a Milano sedesse anticamente un gran flamme, capo de' sacerdoti pagani, al posto del quale fu surrogato il vescovo; come quei primi vescovi fossero tutti santi, perchè quando la Chiesa celebrava in vasi di legno, i suoi ministri erano d'oro, i quali poi divennero di legno quando d'oro ebbero i vasi." P. 18.

tine, while yet a catechumen, beheld their bodies borne in procession by St. Ambrose, and witnessed a miracle performed by these precious remains. A few years ago (August 8th, 1871,) the tomb in which Ambrose had deposited this treasure, and in which he wished to repose in death between them, was opened solemnly and the three bodies found exactly as tradition had always described them. St. Sebastian also was a native of Milan, and of the same heroic temper as these noble youths. We know how he went abroad to preach the faith, and was transfixed with arrows.

Such were a few only of the religious memories which fascinated the childish mind of Cesare Cantù, and challenged his generosity of soul. These names were no fictitious names. Enduring monuments,—the indestructible records of history, the universal love and veneration of all Christian peoples and ages, as well as the few temples and shrines spared by Frederick Barbarossa in 1162,—satisfied later the intelligent youth that his faith in these heroic beginnings was well founded. The family of Cantù, though ancient and once wealthy, was in very straitened circumstances at the beginning of the present century; so much so, indeed, that Cesare, after having passed through the hands of the village schoolmaster, took advantage of a bursé founded by his own family to enter college. His extraordinary talents enabled him to complete his classical studies at a very early age. Not any too soon, however, as the death of his father left him the main support of his widowed mother and her two children. Nor was the brave-hearted youth unequal to the trust thus suddenly devolved on him. At 17, on leaving college, he obtained a chair of grammar in the Academy of Sondrio, the capital of the Valtelina. At 22, when his father died, he was fortunate enough to be promoted to a more honorable and lucrative position in Milan. Accompanied by his mother and her family, the young professor took up his residence in the capital of Lombardy, and devoted all his energies to creating for his beloved parent and her orphans a comfortable and honored home.

About this time appeared his first literary composition, *Algisio, o la Lega Lombarda*, a poem in four cantos, describing the heroic struggle of Milan against German domination, and the succession of events which led to the formation of the Lombard League. The poem is replete with the ardent spirit of religious faith, with the love of liberty and country, which have been like the breath of life to Cesare Cantù throughout his long and meritorious career. It was a timely composition, and at once caused its author to be welcomed in the literary circles of Milan as one of the NEO-GUELPHS,—the brilliant writers, who, like Alessandro Manzoni, Massimo d'Azeglio, and Cesare Balbo, then labored to create an

Italy independent and thoroughly Catholic under the leadership of the Pope.

At the head of this band was Manzoni, and closely allied with him—in those years, at least,—both in religious sentiment and patriotic aspirations, was his son-in-law, Massimo d'Azeglio. Manzoni conceived a warm affection for the author of *Algisio*, and introduced him to the circle of choice spirits, who in looking forward to the emancipation of Italy from a foreign yoke, cherished also the hope of seeing her remain inviolably faithful to the See of St. Peter.

Manzoni, who, in publishing in 1828 his *Promessi Sposi*, had proposed to himself to glorify the heroism and piety of the Lombard people and their pastors under the oppressive Spanish domination, had also triumphantly refuted the anti-catholic slanders of Sismondi by publishing his *Morale Cattolica*. The bigoted Genevese historian of the Italian Republics of the Middle Ages, not satisfied with omitting, in his confused, arid, and most unsatisfactory narrative, the services rendered everywhere by the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood in creating communal liberties and fostering all the arts and virtues of social life, takes openly the side of barbarians and ruthless feudalism as against the Church, and flatly accuses the latter of being, through her system of morality, the cause of Italy's political decadence.

The writer of these lines believes he is only stating a fact, when he says that in preparing this noble apology for the Medieval Church, Manzoni received no little assistance from the future author of the *Universal History*. Such, at any rate, was the impression made on the author's mind by Cesare Cantù himself, who, when Sismondi's omissions and calumnies were mentioned, replied with his quiet smile: "You know how much we did here to vindicate Catholic morality and the salutary influence of the Medieval Church."

The fact is that Manzoni's beautiful novel, as well as the choruses of his tragedies and his "Sacred Hymns," aimed at one great purpose,—to inflame the Lombard imagination with the memory of the republican heroism of medieval Italy, and to fill its heart with the lofty spirit of faith and independence which animated the Lombards of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Both he and Cantù, in relating the history of the past and describing the vices and virtues of ancient peoples and epochs, sought only to teach their contemporaries, and to rouse in them a noble emulation of the heroic deeds of freemen and a fierce hatred of oppression and servility. The success which *Algisio* achieved in Lombardy and throughout all Upper Italy, had encouraged its author to study more seriously than he had hitherto done the history of

his native province. The fruit of this soon appeared in a monography of the Diocese of Como. This was his first historical essay, and was well received by the public, who saw in it all the qualities which were soon to shine pre-eminently in performances of a far more serious nature. But Cantù's intimacy with Manzoni, and the current of ideas and aspirations which the Neo-Guelphs were following with enthusiasm, led the former to study the Lombardy of the early seventeenth century, amid the society of which was laid the scene of the *Promessi Sposi*. The result of these studies was a "Commentary" on the novel itself, which the young author sent to a leading journal of Milan. It was rejected by the editor, "because," he said, "Manzoni's book was already dead." Another editor, however, undertook to publish it in the columns of his paper under the title of "Lombardy in the XVIIth Century." So favorably was it received, that it was immediately issued in book form, and, after many editions, it still enjoys undiminished popularity.

No doubt both Manzoni and his commentator endeavored to describe the Lombardy governed by the Austrians from 1828 to 1833, in the Lombardy oppressed by the Spanish rule in 1620. Such reflections as the following could scarcely fail to attract the attention of the omnipresent Austrian police of the day, or of the watchful and keen-eyed censors who controlled the press of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom:

"When has truth, the most invincible of forces, been overborne by sophistry or a charge of bayonets? Young men, let the fruits of our age only be given time to ripen. Meanwhile show yourselves faithful to morality and to truth, taking note of the distance which separates what has been achieved from what still remains to be accomplished. What progress may we not look forward to, if religion and liberty, public morality and private virtue, righteousness and state policy, should work together in perfect freedom, and thus pass from the region of mere intellectual theory into the real order of accomplished facts! Do not, in your impatience of all delays, point out to me the renewed wrongs and recent outrages of which civilization may justly complain. I can only remind you that the wrong-doers are men blind to the advance of the century in its fateful path." Such was the warning given to the Italian youth by the young author of *Algiso*.

This was the very year in which Mazzini organized his *Young Italy* in Marseilles, thereby giving to the revolutionary forces let loose in that country during the French rule, and increased by subsequent repression, the scientific form and proselytizing power which enabled this formidable society to overspread and overawe the entire Peninsula. The temporary expulsion of the Austrians

from Milan, in March, 1848, placed all the secret papers of the government in the hands of the insurgents,—in the hands of Cesare Cantù himself, who, after the defeat of Carlalberto and the withdrawal of the Piedmontese, assumed, with two other citizens, the dangerous responsibility of treating with Radetzky. These secret archives, and all the other documents left behind by the Austrians in 1859, have been ever since placed under the guardianship of Cantù. They offer a most interesting and instructive study to the historian, disclosing as they do the unscrupulous and successful means taken by the cabinet of Vienna and its representatives in Italy, to discover and counteract the plots of the secret societies.

With these and their modes of action Cantù had no sympathy. No man could be a more ardent lover of his country, or yearn more unceasingly for her liberation from foreign rule, and her restoration to national unity and power, than the young professor. But he was for doing in the nineteenth century what his countrymen had done at Pontida and Legnano in the twelfth, for conspiring in the open day, beneath the eyes of all men, and for invoking on the common purpose of all liberty-loving Italians the blessing of God and the sympathy of all true men. His instincts and his conscience alike recoiled from placing himself, a passive and blind instrument, in the hands of a superior unknown to him, even though it were to accomplish a high and patriotic design.

Still, as the same candid and courageous nature, which forbade him to involve himself in these dark associations, led him also to avow openly his aversion to foreign rule and to seek companionship with many public men suspected as conspirators or known as such to the police,—the patriotic sentiments so eloquently expressed in the *Storia di Coma* and the *Lombardia*, caused their author to be closely watched, and, at length, to be imprisoned.

During the night of November 10th, 1833, the police surrounded the house in which Cantù lived with his mother, and carried him off. About one hundred other Italians were arrested at the same time. All his papers and private correspondence were seized and taken away to police headquarters. There they were submitted to the closest scrutiny for the purpose of establishing the fact of his connection with some of the secret organizations, into which the youth of Lombardy and all Italy were fast drifting.

There was, indeed, at the time, some ground for suspecting Cesare of some such connection. For, while most ably discharging his office of teacher in the university, he also formed one of a numerous and distinguished class of scholars, who perfected themselves in the science of jurisprudence under the illustrious Romagnosi. This great man had himself endured such rigors as have been so touchingly described in the pages of Silvio Pellico. Once

freed from captivity, however, Romagnosi endeavored to continue his law lessons without getting involved in any of the political movements which had already brought himself so much suffering. Still, of the numerous young men who profited by his teaching, all, it may safely be said,—with the single exception of Cantù,—belonged to some one or other of the secret societies. They had besought him to draw up for them the sketch of a constitution such as was suited for the free Italy of their fond dreams and constant aspirations. To this Romagnosi consented, but declined communicating with them otherwise than through Cantù, who was entirely ignorant of the nature of the documents which he received from the master and handed over to the scholars.

We can easily imagine the consternation of both the one and the others, when Cantù was suddenly seized by night, and himself and every scrap of paper found in his house borne off by the all-powerful emissaries of government. Still Romagnosi and the young men for whom he had once more imperilled liberty and life, trusted Cantù utterly. The issue proved how well placed was this trust. Though subjected daily to the most ingenious cross-questioning, and plied by every artifice of fear and seduction known to his skilful jailors, the generous youth, warm, nervous, impulsive by nature, was never led into a single admission, or to the utterance of a single hasty word, capable of injuring the men who loved and trusted him.

When, after thirteen months of rigorous seclusion and unceasing moral torture, Cantù was restored to liberty, Manzoni folded him with tears to his breast, exclaiming: "This day gives me as much happiness as that other day in 1824, when I welcomed my friends from the prison of Spielberg." And so thought every generous-minded person in Milan. But Romagnosi, whose life depended on a single unwary expression drawn from Cantù during the long months of his solitary confinement, could not restrain his joy and admiration when Cantù stood free before him. "I never for a moment feared," he said to him, through his emotion, "that you would compromise me. Only, old as I am, my experience had never taught me anything so bitter as the anguish endured for your sake."

Cesare Cantù was now free from physical constraint, still, he was well aware, every movement and word of his were closely watched by the ubiquitous spies of the Viennese government. He had been, when deprived of his liberty, the sole support of his widowed mother and her large family. His imprisonment had left them absolutely dependent on the kindness of strangers. The thought of this was the most cruel torture suffered by Cantù during his

captivity; and it found vent in the touching poems which he composed in his cell:

"E ai patelli, auzi mici figli
Che più il pau dividerà?"

On leaving prison, he was informed that he could no longer teach in any capacity, and that whatever he published would be subjected to the severest censorship. This was, so far as the government could, to reduce him either to starve, or, in pity for the dear ones dependent on him, to compel him to accept the degrading offers held out to him in prison. We shall see presently what a noble use Cantù made of the necessity thus forced upon him. Let us only admire here the uses to which the young prisoner put the long solitude of his thirteen months' imprisonment.

Zajotti, the chief of the secret police, at whose instigation Cantù had been arrested, was himself a man of some literary pretensions, who, in more than one instance, betrayed a spiteful jealousy of Cantù's superior talent. One of the most painful trials to which he put the latter's power of endurance was to deprive him of books, pen, ink, and writing paper. Hence the lines in which the prisoner expresses his grief at the loss of his loved companions:

"O mie carte! O libri amati,
Dolce causa de mici guai,
Quanto mai non v'ho bramati
Fra l'inezia che passò!"

His, however, was not a spirit to be cast down by such treatment; and to the cruel devices of his chief tormentor he replied by ingenious devices which supplied the want he felt. He carefully treasured up every scrap of waste paper he could lay his hands on; selected the strongest straws of his paillasse and made pens of them, and with the burned wick of his candle he made ink. He was thus enabled to write not only his most touching detached verses, but his sacred hymns, and the whole of his beautiful historic romance *Margherita Pusterla*, which, after thirty-eight Italian editions in every form, is still in as great favor as ever. His was a deeply Christian as well as a liberty-loving soul; and persecution and imprisonment only served to purify its native springs of piety, and to exalt the ardent love of country, and the intense aspirations after independence. The scene of the story is laid amid the long struggle for liberty of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; the epoch which called into existence such men as Loderingo d'Andalò and Catalano Catalani.

On reading the first lines addressed to the reader, one feels that the book is the offspring of a well-tryed soul, conceived in sorrow and destined only for the sorrowing:

"Reader, hast thou suffered? . . . No! . . . Well, then, this book hath not been written for thee."

Alas! in the Italy of to-day, as in that of 1833, there are millions of the noblest and the best, of the most heroic lovers of religion and of liberty, who are impelled by these words to open the book, and who find in its every page encouragement to endure bravely for the right, and an eloquent exhortation to hope in the immortality of true liberty wedded to true religion. Nor is this true of Italy only; there are other lands where the teachings of *Margherita Pusterla* appeal to suffering patriotism and piety.

Nor was this the only fruit which the genius of Cesare Cantù produced during these thirteen months of solitary confinement. He there conceived also the plan of his *Universal History*.

How was he to write, however, when all the influence of the government was employed to thwart every literary undertaking of his, and when his ability as a teacher and his popularity as a patriotic citizen only exposed him to a relentless persecution, which deprived him effectually of all legitimate means of subsistence? It was then that he was happily inspired to write these exquisite works for children and boys, that have been translated into foreign languages, and have helped to leaven so many thousands of young hearts with the deep religious fervor and the ardent patriotism which have never ceased to burn in the author's own soul.¹

While producing in rapid succession these admirable educational works, Cantù was also preparing the first volumes of his *Universal History*. The public was favored from time to time with specimens of the indefatigable writer's handiwork in the series of monographies, issued together at a later epoch as the *Minor Histories*, comprising, besides *Como*, the *Esseius da Romano*, *The Massacre of the Valtellina*, *La Brianza*, *Venezia*, the *Storia di Milano*, and *Il Carlambrogio di Montevicchia*. To these golden gifts of his Catholic genius, bestowed on Italian families in the hour of their sorest need, were added afterward *Il Galantuomo* ("The Honest Man"), *ATTENZIONE! Riflessi d'un Popolano* ("ATTENTION! Reflections of a Man in the Crowd"), *Portafoglio d'un operaio* ("A Workman's Pocket-book"), *Il Trionfo del lavoro, o l'operaio di Val Monterone* ("The Triumph of Labor, or the Workman of Val Monterone"), and, finally, *Buon Senso et Buon Cuore* ("Good Sense and Good Heart").

¹ Such are, among others, *Il bambino* ("The child"), *Il buon fanciullo*; *Racconto d'un maestro elementare* ("The Good Boy; or a Schoolmaster's Tale," a most attractive and interesting book); *Il giovinetto dirizzato alla bontà*, etc. All these works differ entirely from educational works in vogue among us; they are vivid sketches of the surrounding social conditions against which the youth of Italy have to struggle in order to be true to all their duties.

These beautiful works were the statues, the grottoes, the gushing fountains, the shady walks, and restful nooks prepared for the instruction and delight of the popular crowd near the abode of imperial genius; the *Universal History*, with its great attendant and subsequent publications, was the stately edifice, growing in magnificence with each succeeding year, to the enjoyment of whose treasures only the cultivated found admittance.

It speaks volumes for the indomitable energy of Cesare Cantù that, in spite of the proscription practiced by the Austrian government he succeeded in publishing his *Universal History*. Within the Austrian dominions no one could be found willing to brave the manifold risk of such an undertaking. The author was fortunate in finding in Pomba, of Turin, a publisher spirited enough to take up the historian's manuscript. Still it was done with extreme caution. The first volume was to be issued in forty successive numbers, the publisher reserving to himself the liberty of stopping at the end of the fortieth number if it were found that the work was not popular.

The appearance of the very first number gave rise to a storm of adverse criticism. Cesare Cantù, like Manzoni, Balbo, Massino d'Azeglio, Gioberti, Rosmini, and others, was known to be a Neo-Guelph; that is, one of those who advocated with voice and pen an Italy freed from all foreign domination and united, under the leadership of the Pope, in one great, powerful, and progressive federation. This had been the dream of Cantù's whole life, and had inspired every one of his writings; but nothing could be more distasteful to the powerful sects of the Carbonari and Young Italy,—to the latter, especially,—whose energetic organization was fast absorbing all the discontented, irreligious, and turbulent elements in the Italian populations. Neither the followers of Mazzini nor the Carbonari wanted to see Italy led by the Papacy, and the men who, in Piedmont, were even then planning a Kingdom of Italy ruled by the dynasty of Savoy, looked with extreme aversion on the Lombard Neo-Guelphs. The conservatives of the school of Metternich shook their wise heads at the liberal and humanitarian tendencies of the author, while the Revolutionists and Radicals of every grade denounced him as a medieval bigot. The ultra-liberal reviewers thought to kill the work outright by designating it as the production of a *Jesuit*. On the other hand, Cantù was kindly warned by the Roman censors that several things in the book needed correction.

It was a kind warning, privately given,—not to dishearten, but to guide and encourage,—and it was kindly taken. Forthwith, a most respectful answer was sent. The historian was too loving and enlightened a son of the Church not to accept with unreserved

submission and heartfelt gratitude the monition so delicately communicated.

And the submission brought him a blessing. In spite of the powerful opposition of the press and the utmost efforts of the *sects*, the completed volume was translated at once into the principal European languages, and had several editions in Italy. There was no further question as to the success of this great literary enterprise. Volume after volume appeared, and was welcomed with ever-increasing delight by European scholars till the last, which was issued in 1848—just when the fall of Louis-Philippe shook every throne in Continental Europe and opened anew the era of revolution.

We are sorry, for the sake of the men who misrepresented in Lombardy the conservatism of Austria, to have to mention here one of the most abominable intrigues ever devised by the worst of governments to injure the fair fame and ruin the influence of a public man. Among the papers of the Austrian police left behind in Milan after the evacuation of that city by the Viennese officials in 1859, is one marked 2336, which Cesare Cantù can show to the student of history in the Palace of the Archives. Toward the end of 1847, just when the last volume of his history was in the hands of the printers, the author was ordered, at a moment's warning, to quit Italy *and travel for some time along the seaboard of Istria and Dalmatia*.

Meanwhile Sedlinski, the Austrian minister of police, sent orders to make a thorough search in Cantù's residence, where every scrap of paper was seized and carried off to police headquarters. This order is the paper referred to as No. 2336, and here is the answer of the Milanese chief of police, Foresani, to his superior in Vienna: "Cantù," he says, "is too cunning and clever to allow us to find lying about any papers that might compromise him, especially since our former domiciliary visits. . . . But I have already had the honor of proposing to your excellency the very best of expedients for ruining Cantù and lowering his excessive pride. You should make him pass *for a political emissary in the pay of Austria, entrapping persons into his confidence only to sell them to the Government*. Begin by putting him in the pillory, by inserting an article in the *Universal Gazette of Augsburg*, insinuating that he is so employed. This is my answer to your dispatch of December 22d."

Cantù had returned to Milan just when the Archduke Renier had ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned beyond the confines of Italy. By the merest chance he escaped his pursuers and fled into Piedmont. But even there he found that the agents of Austria had inserted in the Turinese journals the very same insinuations published in the *Augsburg Gazette*.

Then came the famous Five Days' insurrection in Milan, when the Austrian garrison, under Radetzky, was driven by the unarmed citizens from house to house and street to street till they evacuated the city and retired within the fortresses of the Quadrilateral. The first rumor of the insurrection brought Cantù back to Milan, where he immediately set about moderating and directing the political opinions of his victorious fellow-citizens. He printed flying sheets and scattered them abroad among the people. These were full of timely words of wisdom. He was, like the noblest men in Lombardy and Venetia, both of which provinces soon found themselves free, anxious to establish a republican form of government. "A republic appeared to be," he says, "what was best suited to the wants of a country which had just been rebaptized in its own blood, and in which there were no dynasties to claim our respect, and no court nobility to bribe. As all classes had worked together to win our freedom, so all had a right to keep as great a share as possible of sovereignty. Were not all the glorious memories of Lombardy those of her republican days? On the other hand, the most determined opponents of republicanism hesitated not to say that the difference between a republican and a constitutional government was trifling or imaginary."

A republic in Northern Italy, however, was just what King Carlo Alberto and those who, with him, sought at every price the domination of Piedmont over all Italy, did not want and were determined to prevent. He and his sons put themselves at the head of the twelve or fifteen thousand regular troops that were ready for the field, and marched into Lombardy and toward the Mincio. But while the Piedmontese were pursuing their own selfish purposes, and preparing, by a lamentable want of generalship, an easy triumph for Radetzky, the cities of Lombardy and Venetia were heroically struggling to restore the Republican League of the twelfth century. Tommaseo and Manin, who were the leading spirits in the insurrection, had one heart and one mind with Cantù. They wished to realize the glorious dream of the Italian freedom of the Catholic ages.

Padua, which had risen in arms against its foreign masters at the sound of the cannon in Milan, succeeded in expelling them, and on March 26th issued a proclamation to its sister cities. "The people who have this day given us their powers," the provisional government says, "wishes but for one thing,—Italian union. Let there be no municipalisms! *The Republic of the Cities of Italy*, whatever may be its extension, must call itself Italian. Unite yourselves with Venice and the other cities which have declared themselves, or are ready to do so, in order to act together for one fraternal purpose. *Hurrah for the Italian Republic!*"

In the *Cronistoria*, or *History of Italian Independence*, Cantù, while generously praising his friends and co-operators in the work of restoring the old Lombard League, says little or nothing of the part which he had himself in the not inglorious efforts towards creating a Free and Catholic Italy. We have seen that he was born on the very spot which was the cradle of the famous League. The first production of his pen was devoted to its glorification, and to this theme of true Italian liberty, blending living faith with national independence, he returned lovingly again and again in his histories of Como and the Brianza, as well as in his beautiful *Margherita Pusterla*. Nay, even in his history of the *Religious Massacre of the Valtellina*, the indignation with which he denounces the unrighteous bloodshed, springs from his ardent love of freedom and of the pure faith of his fathers. He would not have them sullied by the red-handed fanaticism of those who covered their own evil passions with the zeal for Catholic truth.

All classes in Lombardy had felt the influence of Cantù's teaching; and the sentiments of all Catholic liberty-loving hearts in Northern Italy were expressed by Tommaseo, when, in what all hoped was the birth of Italian freedom, he wrote to his friend:

"PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, March 30th, 1848.

"DEAR CANTÙ: Our principles are more elevated than those held in Savoy. These can satisfy neither Lombards nor Venetians; no, not even the Genoese, or even the Sardinians, themselves. Such principles can only open up the whirlpool of revolutions. A republic seems to me to be unavoidable, if we would not fall back beneath the sway of an absolute monarchy. I do not think that the *name* of the thing will be potent enough to cure our inveterate wounds; but the word will make us feel their pains; and this will show that life is still left in us. It is most important that Venetia should unite with Lombardy as speedily as possible. It is most important that our wishes and our efforts should be directed toward that union: then, God will do the rest."

It was in furtherance of this plan of a Republican Confederated Italy, under the leadership of the Pope, that the Lombards celebrated "The Feast of Pontida." The following description, taken from a newspaper of the day, and quoted by Cantù in his *Cronistoria*, as well as the eloquent discourse delivered by the patriotic historian himself, shed a vivid light on the position assumed by the New Guelphs, and enable us all the better to understand the Piedmontese intrigues, which soon marred all the designs of a free, confederated Italy.

"A most sunny sky seemed to smile on this celebration. . . . From Bergamo had come a large gathering of gentlemen, and with them a select company of the national guard. Invitations had been sent to the neighboring committee of public security, and to other official bodies, among which was that of Lecco, so distinguished for its promptness in originating this movement and its

constancy in sustaining it. From Pontida, alone, came four hundred members of the national guard, all armed with the hunting-pieces which have won for the Bergamesques the reputation of being unerring shots. Many of the triumphal arches bore suitable inscriptions.

"On the square before the Monastery an altar had been erected beneath a large tri-color awning. But all ornament was forgotten in looking upon the multitude which filled the square and extended along the slopes of the surrounding vine-covered hills. A solemn mass was sung and a procession formed toward the altar, where the new flag of Lombardy was blessed and given into the hands of the commander. He, in his turn, made his men swear to die rather than permit this standard to be torn away from its native Alps. Then there was an address to the national guards by their chaplain, and, at length, a discourse from Cesare Cantù, who had come from his birthplace, Brivio, near at hand.

"From my native spot, from my father's roof, one beholds yonder figure of St. James, high on your church-tower. Thus the images which impressed my mind from early childhood are connected with Pontida. And I who have wandered a pilgrim in quest of liberty and hope, who have sought for consolation and examples through every land which treasures the remembrance of Italian story, have many a time turned hither in order to call up the scenes of the memorable past. Two movements, in particular, challenged my veneration, inspired, as they were, by the same deep sentiments—of faith, concord, and liberty.

"When along the valleys of the Sonna and the Brembo, all over the flowery territory of Lecco and the lovely hills of my own Brianza, raged the evil passions begotten by others, of strife between brothers,—from the portals of yonder convent,—the convent founded by himself,—came forth your blessed Albert, who, crucifix in hand, applied himself to stop contention, to appease and humble the proud oppressors of the land, and to teach the oppressed that on union and concord depended their salvation. At the words of this holy man anger was quenched, the murderous steel was laid aside, and all, while kissing the cross which he held forth to them, forgot all enmity, and cried aloud, as we do to-day, *Union and Liberty forever!*

"But there came a time when concord, and with concord freedom, again disappeared from Lombardy. A king, profiting by passionate strife between sister cities, subjugated and destroyed Milan. Then the people bethought them that it is disunion among themselves which constitutes the might of kings. They sought once more peace with each other, and in the name of religion, yielding to a brother James of this same convent, and with the

blessing of Alexander III., they have bound themselves by oath in the Lombard League. They swore to defend each other against all foes; to look upon the wrong done to one as a wrong done to all; they swore to band themselves together in order to drive out the foreigner. No! a foreigner can never rule a country whose people is bent on being free. The straw huts of Alexandria and the plains of Legnano witnessed, together with the foreigner's overthrow, the fulfilment of the oath taken at Pontida. The victory resulted in the peace of Constance, which confirmed the existence of Republics embracing a large portion of Italy. So Italy was again saved by Religion, and concord had secured a confirmed liberty. *Religion forever, then! Concord forever! Liberty forever!*

“When, amid the solitude of yonder convent, I recalled all these memories in silence and bitterness, Lombardy had again fallen beneath the rule of kings and foreigners, because she had unlearned what union meant, and had discarded the voice of Religion. To the generous among her sons nothing remained but impatience of the yoke, ill repressed by banishment and imprisonment, and the will to work while looking forward to the future,—and the future came with its blessed changes and with Pius IX. He taught us that Religion is the parent, the guardian, the moderator of liberty. And the voice of our brothers, echoing from Monte Viso to Mongibello, told how deeply we felt once more the importance of concord. Kings were troubled, peoples took heart, and when the fated hour came, we found ourselves mighty because we found ourselves united.

“You men of Pontida have assembled in such multitudes, because besides the memory of the two great events of bygone times, you wished to celebrate a third,—the restoration of your independence, of that independence so long yearned for; which had cost us tears and sweat of blood, and whose first fruits we are now tasting.

“But in order that they may come to perfect maturity and be long enjoyed, we must here recall by the aid of what virtues we acquired it. Wherefore you resolved that the blessing of the Church should consecrate your flag, and that your flag should bear the images of two Pontiffs belonging to widely different epochs, but one in their lofty purpose; and that this solemn inauguration should take place here, at the gate of this Monastery, which reminds you how often in the past brotherly union has secured us liberty.

“You, therefore, who, subjects a few weeks ago, find yourselves free citizens to-day, and glory in the name of Italians, take to your hearts and kiss that flag, now hallowed by Christ's own blessing. The twofold image it bears represents the alliance which the

Church contracts anew with the State, of the union of Reason with Faith: its three colors recall the virtues indispensable to the loyal citizen.

"Swear by this flag,—and let us all swear,—to free every inch of Italian soil from the pollution of German rule; to free it by every effort; to free it without delay, by taking our place in the crusade set on foot by all Italy. And having thus redeemed Italy, let us swear to maintain, inviolate and unstained, our liberty, our equality, our brotherhood. Yes, oh citizens! oh brothers! and you especially, worthy sons of the Bergamesques of other days, who habitually invited hither all Lombardy and the Romagna, to pledge themselves to the expulsion of the foreigner and the establishment of the league of Italian Republics; yes, it is with such sentiments that we may hope to perpetuate what we have won in the face of so many difficulties. After calling on the name of God, who alone giveth victory and freedom, let us lift up our voices in praise of Pius IX., and of that first of all blessings, and most sacred of all rights, Liberty. As in the days of the Blessed Albert, as in the time of Alexander III. and the Lombard League, let us shout once more: '*Religion forever! Union forever! Liberty forever!*'"

"This discourse," continues the *Journal*, "was often interrupted by peals of applause, to which the cannon from the neighboring hill responded with imposing voice. The spirited youth of Bergamo will never forget the impulse given to them on that day by the author of '*The League of Lombardy*,' and the '*Universal History*.' And when these young men were seen, continually, and by an irresistible impulse, running to Cantù, seizing him, kissing him, lifting him in turns in their arms, it was evident that they wished to honor in him the martyr of a sacred cause, of that liberty in which he never lost faith, in the days of terror, any more than in those when he was alternately flattered and deserted. No, we can never forget the moment when he, raising his sword above his head, called on us to swear vengeance on whosoever should propose a compromise or treaty with our foreign oppressors; and when we, as every sword leaped from its scabbard, repeated the oath, we felt as if the shades of the ancient heroes of the Lombard League assented to our solemn pledge."

Ah! had the Italy of 1848 been the Italy of 1167, the banner unfurled anew at Pontida, and hallowed alike by the most glorious memories of the past and the religious consecration of the present, would have soon become the Flag of Confederate Independent Italy. The religious and political faith which animated the eloquent historian, was then the faith not only of the mass of the Italian people, but of the purest and most exalted spirits who had won the right to speak for Italy. Every dearest interest counselled

the close union of Religion and Liberty in the new Italy for which labored and suffered Romagnosi and Silvio Pellico, Manzoni and Cantù, Cesare Balbo and Massino d'Azeglio, Tommaseo and Manin, Gioberti and Rosmini, and Pius IX.

What, then, was it that marred such noble aspirations, that disappointed all these high and holy hopes, that turned from its natural channels into quite an opposite course the united sentiments of patriotism and religious faith, which kindled such enthusiasm in the brave men assembled at Pontida on that memorable morning? Let me point out here a few causes but little known in America, and almost forgotten here in Europe.

Be it remembered that, while Cesare Cantù was laboring with his friends to revive a confederation of the True Republics of Italy, under the leadership of the Papacy, Mazzini was in Milan with his most active coadjutors, stirring heaven and earth, employing covert means and open means, in order to frustrate the aims of the Neo-Guelphs, and to impress on the minds of the Italian people the necessity of a Radical Italian Republic, with one representative chamber, without king, princes, priests, or papacy.

More than that, at the very moment the assembly at Pontida was unfurling once more the banner of the Lombard League of Free Cities, Carlalberto, King of Piedmont and Sardinia, was facing the Austrians along the Mincio, before being driven back, in disastrous rout, to Milan. Few of the readers of the *REVIEW*,—indeed, few American readers of any class, have understood the baneful and not very creditable part which this weak, wrongheaded, ambitious prince acted ever since 1820 in Italian affairs. While he was still Prince Royal, Carlalberto had not only encouraged the revolutionary movements which aimed at the overthrow of all foreign domination in Italy, but thrown himself into the ranks of the revolutionists, and then, when these were defeated, he basely abandoned them to their fate, and abjured, publicly, their principles and aims.

In 1848, this vacillating politician, blundering strategist, but ambitious king, threw himself into Lombardy,—ostensibly for the purpose of aiding and leading the national movement; really, and in fact, for the purpose of paralyzing, not only the designs of the Mazzinian Radicals, but the republican aspirations of the Neo-Guelphs, headed by Cantù and Manzoni, Tommaseo and Manin.

Cesare Cantù was the only man who had the courage to hold his place at the head of the republican municipality of Milan, when the Piedmontese army with the king and the royal princes took refuge within its walls, and when, after the abdication and flight of the king, the victorious Radetzky appeared before the gates of the

city, it was with Cantù that he treated in drawing up the articles of capitulation.

It was also Cantù who bravely stood by the king in the hour of his utter prostration and despair, when the populace, maddened by the sudden frustration of their dearest hopes, and inflamed by the harangues and intrigues of the Mazzinians, surrounded the poor, sick, disheartened Prince, and would have dealt out to him and his Piedmontese the same measure which Radetzsky and his Croats had experienced during the glorious Five Days.

It is a pitiable story, told with a graphic power and simplicity by Cantù himself in his *Cronistoria, or History of Italian Independence*. Carlalberto, suffering intensely from intermittent fever, aggravated by his recent fatigues, his rapid flight, and the annihilation of his fond dreams of a Kingdom of Italy, with himself as its head, had retired to rest for a few hours. The remnants of the Piedmontese forces were encamped outside the walls of Milan, a detachment only of the Royal Guard being with the King inside the city. The members of the provisional government had prudently withdrawn into obscurity, as the sound of the approaching Austrian cannon warned them of their dangerous responsibility. At midnight a formidable insurrection broke out in Milan itself. The armed volunteers who had followed the Piedmontese banner to the battlefield, and the brave citizens who had fought the Austrians from house to house during the Five Days, had surrounded the palace in great numbers. They had heard that the King had signed an armistice with Radetzsky, securing the safety of his own troops, but abandoning Milan to the mercy of the revengeful Austrian commander. And now, the excited crowd wished to learn from the lips of Carlalberto himself, if he had indeed abandoned Milan to her fate and betrayed the cause of Italian Independence. The whole city was in commotion, and from the vast surging mass around the palace, loud cries for the King, mingled with curses and threats, rose upon the midnight air.

No mayor of Milan was to be found; no responsible person dared to venture near the palace or into the streets. Cantù alone, with the decision and bravery which ever characterized him, hastened to the King, woke him from his feverish slumber, helped him to put on his military uniform, and induced him to address the infuriated crowd beneath his windows.

Carlalberto was very tall and gaunt, Cantù is slight, and under the average stature. As they stood together on the balcony, the King, who was suffering a severe fit of ague, shook visibly, and leaned for support on the shoulder of the historian. It was a wild scene. The few torches borne by the crowd only deepened the surrounding gloom; and the delays which had occurred had ex-

asperated both volunteers and civilians. The King tried several times to speak, but the cries from below drowned his voice,—and among these cries, more than one accused him of treachery and cowardice. These were hard things for a King to bear. A last time the unhappy monarch essayed to speak, and had raised his arm so as to command silence, when a shot was fired from the crowd, and a musket-ball whizzed between himself and Cantù. With a cry which was half a moan, half a deprecation of pity, the King threw up his arms and instantly withdrew, while Cantù remained to remonstrate with the mob, whom he succeeded in pacifying somewhat. He then joined the King, into whose heart the cold edge of utter despair had just entered. "Then it was," Cantù remarks, "that I knew what bitter tears kings can weep." He helped the King to leave the palace and the city under the protection of his own guards. The next day Carlalberto was a fugitive from Italy.

He had succeeded in crushing the hopes of the Neo-Guelphs, in preventing the establishment of the Free Confederated Italy, which would have made of the present, in that beautiful land, the glorious and natural outgrowth of the Catholic past. As it was, Victor Emanuel was proclaimed on the morrow King of Piedmont, and he at once became the willing and unscrupulous tool of the anti-Catholic statesmen and unchristian principles which have created the Kingdom of Italy.

Still, though baffled and disappointed, Cesare Cantù never once was untrue to himself, to the convictions of his youth, or to the cause which he still advocates with an eloquence and a fervor that age cannot chill or disappointment diminish.

THE ATTITUDE OF SOCIETY TOWARDS RELIGION.

SOCIETY, what is it? There are three senses in which we may accept the word. First, there is what is called "good society:" a small coterie of more or less distinguished persons who move in an exalted social sphere, and exclude all who are below them from their company. Secondly, there is a larger meaning of the word, which is rather a set of thoughts than a set of people,—the general standard and temper of the educated mind of the day, its intellectual and moral aspiration. In this sense society is less regarded as a community than as a code of social maxims which pervade that community, or which are assumed to control it or to be made by it. Thirdly, there is a technical sense of the word,—that which is opposed to democratic ideas; as, for example, the present attitude of society in France *versus* the pulling-down principles of the Republic. That the French government is republican is accidental; but the essential characteristic of the present French Republic is its warfare against the force called society.

Of the first kind of society—"good" society—we may take the English aristocracy as an example. The difference between the English and the French aristocracy—between the Court of St. James in London and the Faubourg St. Germain in Paris—is that the former has no political enmity with the people, while the latter simply abhors the Republic. The "fortified refuge of antique bigotries," as a French writer somewhat savagely calls "the Faubourg," contains, no doubt, as "good" society as is to be found anywhere in Europe; but it is unfortunately "at daggers drawn" with France. English "good" society, though politically energetic, has the same political sympathies as have the commonalty. Where the sympathies part company is in a hundred social grooves, of which we shall have occasion to speak presently. But, as an example of "good" society, in regard to birth and education, and in regard to the emulations of public life, the English "upper ten thousand" may fairly vie with the "gentlemen" of any country north or south of the equator.

Of the second kind of society,—that imperium of ideas which pervade a more or less intelligent community,—we may say that it has three distinct phases,—the religious, the political, the conventional. We will speak now of the conventional phases only; of what are commonly understood by "social canons." These canons are comprehensive of elementary principles, as to behavior, morality, propriety. They include also minor canons upon taste in regard to a great variety of detail. A man who dares to act

outside such accepted canons is regarded as eccentric or culpable. He must be a man of surpassing genius or effrontery to be pardoned for such a heinous offence. And so imperious is the habit of obedience to such canons that a man naturally accepts it as inevitable. More than this, he feels excused from being original in himself, on the ground that he would be affecting superiority. This contentment with the "is," this enslavement by the "is," rules a man exteriorly and interiorly. Social canons become the swathing-bands of a man's lifetime. The tradition of obedience to the whole imperium of conventionalism, in its most comprehensive and despotic sense and sway, is the most powerful rule of life, because it is the most constant life of life, and is the covert and the apology of all weakness. Society becomes responsible for wrong principles, wrong conduct, in the millions who are the slaves of its canons; but who don't realize that what is absurdly called society is a combination of selfishness and vanity? And thus men live and die, mere cogs in a conventional wheel, to wake up in a future state and to apprehend that their cowardice was not the least ridiculous feature of their careers.

Thirdly, that sense of society which is embodied in such a formula as "government by the high born and the wealthy," or "society, the enemy of democracy," is the theory of the forces of accidental prosperity *versus* that of the forces of popular will. We all know that, in these days, there is a declared war by vast masses—we might almost say by whole nations—against what used to be the chief governing force,—society. We are not drawing a distinction between conservatives and liberals, for a liberal is no more necessarily a revolutionist than a conservative is necessarily a Catholic, but between those sections which love the old Christian order and those sections which try their best to pull it down. The transference of the governing forces from the higher orders to the lower orders is unhappily allied, even in the oldest Catholic countries, with enmity towards the Christian religion. And the reason of this alliance—paradoxical as it sounds—is not that revolutionists have a hatred of religion, but that society, in the old sense, had a love of it. Let us attempt an explanation of this paradox.

Society, in its old-fashioned Tory sense, always insisted on religion as the backbone of its power, as the prerequisite of all staidness and obedience. In other words, society allied itself with religion, using it as its strongest auxiliary. Even in the days of Louis XVI., just before the revolution, French society affected to be sternly Catholic, though French society was rotten to the core. Now this alliance of proud society with the hypocrisy of religion—for, in high circles, religion was half hypocrisy—led French democrats to detest the affectation of religion as a cloak for social

tyranny, social pride. Hence it has come to pass that we almost always find French democrats full of contemptuous dislike for "le clericalism," not because they first hate religion, but first hate society which cherishes it. The same truth holds good in modern Italy. The Italian nobles or grandees have always allied themselves with the Church as the most powerful of machines for preserving order; and though, for the most part, they have been conspicuously "good" Catholics, they have, historically at least, been social tyrants. Italian democrats now recoil from Catholicity because Italian aristocrats have cherished it. "*Odi odioque sum Romanis*" might be altered, in the case of Italian democrats, to "I hate Roman Catholics because Roman Catholics have hated me." As in France so in Italy, the new democracy is anti-Catholic from spite against society, not against religion.

Thus, in the different meanings of the word "society" to which we have referred,—aristocratic, conventional, legislative,—we find plenty of causes to account for the opposition with which religion is greeted by revolutionists. It is no use to shut our eyes to the obvious truism that "*le clericalisme*" is understood to mean tyranny. We know, of course, that the misconception is ridiculous, but the knowledge does not help us to the remedy. We have to face the growing prejudice that "religious and social tyranny are combined in the minds of the upper classes." Society, in the old-fashioned sense of the word, has itself solely to blame for this prejudice. The Church cannot be held to be culpable. The only weakness of (some) ecclesiastics has been in permitting high society to import its social canons into religion. It was bad enough that society should be worldly. But society has made religion worldly too. We know how such grave prelates as Bossuet and Fénelon have spoken of this fashionable desecration. The tyranny of the French nobility before the great revolution was rendered all the more odious by their hypocrisy; and the high dignitaries of the Church were invited by the king's court to throw the mantle of their respectability over Versailles. The high dignitaries were not to blame for the invitation, for they simply declined it and resented it; but the tyranny of this old régime had no more repulsive characteristic than this seeking to veil vices by religion.

That the old régime was as criminally tyrannical as the new régime is wildly licentious no student of French history can gravely doubt. It is probable that modern socialism, in its anti-Christian sense, as well as in its anti-aristocratic sense, was begotten primarily of the stings of a perfectly natural resentment against aristocratic exclusiveness and complacency. Political socialism was probably born of wounded vanity—we might almost say of wounded self-respect—and religious socialism

was twin offspring of the same spirit; while revolutionary democracy means no more than indignation at the presumption, the absolutism, of *grande*es. All this is rather a sentiment than a principle; but it has its apology in *facts*. Aristocratic pride was a fact. Hypocrisy in high places was a fact. Fearful crushing of the poor was a fact. Vile robbery of the poor was a fact. Horrid worldliness, cold selfishness, brutal egotism, were facts that met the eye at every turn. And all such facts are associated in the socialistic French mind with the using of religion as a class-weapon. It is true that, in France, political socialism is almost dead, because there is no longer class oppression; but religious socialism has survived its twin brother, because the tradition of the old hypocrisy still lives. Frenchmen know that their bitterest tyrants *were* Catholics, and so they cannot forgive their religion. The misconception, as we have said, is sheer fatuity. It is an illusion of the feeling, not of the brain. But French society was the parent of the illusion, and religion has been made to suffer through society.

The same kind of accusation, though in lesser degree, might be brought against Italian society. Lord Lytton, in his romances about Italian class struggles, has not overpainted historic facts. The feudalism has died out, but the old spirit remains, tempered by the discretion of self-interest. Between the higher classes and the commonalty in Italy there is about as much sympathy, as much clanship or unity, as between the planets and a row of street lamps. What is called etiquette is pushed to a point which paralyzes the pulses of human nature. Separateness, exclusiveness, are social dogmas. They are the "de fide" obligations of "good" society. This is shown in a hundred little ways. Let us take one little way as an example. The Roman magnates have private chapels in their big houses—not chapels, but small sitting-rooms set apart—for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries at their convenience. Though scores of churches were hard by, within three minutes' walk, the *grande*es must have mass said in their own houses. This is carrying class privilege a long way. A man might as well have an aristocratic dispensation from every obligation of holy penance as have mass said in one of his own private apartments because he is too exclusive to "go to church." A venerable Roman dowager, eighty-four years of age, said ten years ago, in Rome, to the present writer: "There is a chapel in our palace; but I would rather not hear mass at all than set an example of lazy piety and class privilege." But so it is grandly ruled that a wretched room is set apart for the perfectly easy (and aristocratic) hearing of mass, and that for about twenty-three hours out of every day in the year the domestic sanctuary is left alone, unvisited.

This is one of the foibles of "good society." Religious privi-

lege—that most odious of class vanities—is supposed to increase their excellencies' dignity, and the chaplain is a sort of butler *in spiritualibus*, who is, of course, nobody, because not a grandee. All this does outside harm to religion. Saint-Simon, the first typical French socialist who thought to utilize religion as his ally, was at least wiser than those who throw up religious class privilege as a barrier between themselves and their countrymen. And here let a point be noted, which is kindred in its injuriousness with the magnificent isolation of domestic chapels. It is a prevailing custom throughout Christendom to say to "the man with a gold ring" (as St. James with holy irony has expressed it), "sit thou here in the best place;" but to say to the man in the smock frock, "sit thou anywhere, or nowhere." This custom of giving the rich people the best places in every church because they have the money to pay for them, while leaving the poorer classes to sit anywhere because they have not sixpence or a shilling, is another of society's scandals which do harm to religion without bringing any real gain to any class. Ought not the best seats to be allotted to the poor, and the back seats to be allotted to the rich? A church is the poor man's palace. Rich people have their luxuries at home. And as all that the rich desire is exclusiveness, let the back seats be priced instead of the front ones, and the rich worshippers will be sure to prefer them. "To the rich the gospel is preached" is hardly a faithful rendering of a divine assurance. The rich come flaunting gayly to the best places, as though humility was intended solely for the lower orders. Let the rich be humbled *only* in the churches! The "needle's eye" was not pleasant to the "camel;" but as we know what has been said upon that subject, it would be well to teach the lesson in God's house.

Society, in most ages, in most towns, in most villages, has set up religious privilege as a protection against the commonalty, while affecting to prize religion for its Catholicity. This is as true of the Anglican and the various Protestant "churches" as it is true of most Catholic communities. Thus, in England, dissent was mainly begotten of the arrogance, the cold worldliness, of the patrons of the Establishment. The splendid ease of Anglican bishops and deans, the refined comforts of the beneficed or superior clergy, excited hearty disgust among the people, who saw plainly that religion was chiefly used as a profession, as the most comfortable and respectable of callings. A thousand meeting-houses sprang up in all parts of the land as a protest against the stiffness of Churchism, and as a relief from the dry bones of Erastianism. The dissenting minister was at least a man without pretension; he was not waiting for a fat living or a cathedral canonry, and he had a warmth in his ministrations which was certainly homely

if not cultured, and which had some touch of heart and of nature. Dissent came to abound, not from dislike to dogma, but from hatred of coldness and religious pride. The upper classes were Anglican. That was quite enough reason why the lower classes should wish to be something else. And so it is in London at this day; and so it is in all the large towns. The commonalty separate themselves from Anglicanism because Anglicanism has no sympathy with the commonalty. Yet it may be replied that the mere coldness of Anglican services was enough to drive the poor man from the churches, especially as the poor are shoved back from the good seats and forced to take refuge under the galleries. Cardinal Newman has said that the remembrance of Anglican services always made him "shiver and shudder;" what then must be the impression on the masses of the poor, who have to "shiver and shudder" on wooden benches? Now English "society" is to blame for this creation of dissent, through the driving of all warmth out of Anglicanism. Society in England has made religion quite as cold as are its own personal sympathies with the commonalty; and the commonalty have retorted by making a religion of their own, which they have evidently as much right to do as their superiors. Society, however, pretends to look down upon dissent as the religion of the uncultured, the low-conditioned; forgetting that its own pride, wretched formalism, shallow dogmatism, were the veritable progenitors of all dissent. Weak and compromising as was Anglicanism from the first, utterly illogical and invertebrate, the Church of England might have gathered the poor under its wing had society done its duty in Christian spirit. But cold formality in church services, *plus* demarcations in class; pewed up ease for respectable worshippers, *plus* draughty seats for the poor; and, speaking generally, isolation in the upper classes, *plus* desolation in the lower, these were the odious comparisons which filled England with dissent, and which have now left the Church of England to the comfortable. We need not look to theology—as it is understood in England—for the solution of the varieties of creed. Society has been responsible, if not for all the varieties, at least for the bitter feelings, of sectarianism.

If from Anglicanism we turn to Catholicity, we find society responsible in precisely the same way for a good half of the faults of the revolutionists. The Catholic religion cannot possibly beget dissent; its only possible alternative is infidelity; and so when the people become disgusted with society they fall back on a ferocious antagonism. Now, has society done its duty in any Catholic country in regard to the ingratiation of the commonalty? It has not. Neither naturally nor religiously has society done its best for either the wants or the aspirations of the masses. Society holds aloof.

Society, like St. Simon Stylites, sits upon the top of a pillar, but, unlike him, refuses to come down. Society either patronizes or ignores. It either helps in a way which gives offence, or else it declines to help at all. It carries its miserably narrow canons into every department of duty, into every atmosphere and groove of daily life. When in church it turns its back on the commonalty, and when out of church it does not even do that. Society is so cold in its attitude to the commonalty that it freezes up its life-blood—not by contact, for it does not touch it, but by presenting such a front of remoteness and of disesteem that the commonalty naturally “shudders and shivers.”

Why is it that the Popes, in their periodical encyclicals, have to lament always such a vast social decadence? To what causes are we to attribute the spread of the social maladies known as liberalism, free thought, and modern thought? It is clear that the blame must lie somewhere. We have to account for the fact that, even in Catholic countries, Catholicity may be mocked with impunity; for the fact that in non-Catholic countries Catholicity does not make its full way; for the fact that most governments, both Catholic and non-Catholic, legislate as if there were no Holy See. Is this the fault of the Catholic religion? It would be simply idiotic to say so. Is it the fault of the Catholic hierarchies? Here again common sense cries “absurd.” Is it the fault of the Catholic attitude of Catholic writers, of Catholic scientists, of the Catholic controversialists of any country? No human being could say that this is so. We have the admission of the huge majority of men of thought in all more or less Christian countries that “if there be any true Christianity it is the Catholic.” Whose fault is it then that the only true religion does not conquer the hearts of all Europe? We answer the fault is society’s. And here we may be accused of being ourself democratic, if we take the part of democracy against society. Be it so. Every true Catholic is a democrat. Democracy, in a wrong sense, is revolution; but democracy, in a right sense, is Catholicity. The ideal of Catholicity is the ideal of the family, in which blood-relationship unites all. That is the whole of what is implied by “Catholic democracy,” whether its civil governments be absolute or republican. The form of the civil government is accidental, the principle of the Catholic family is essential. What sort of a Catholic family have we got throughout Europe in any sense in which the words can be used? Instead of society playing the part of the legitimate natural guardian of the lower or humbler orders of the people, society uses the people as it uses the soles of its boots, to keep it out of the mud of vulgar contact. Does society set an example of the virtues of modesty, of charity, of self-sacrifice, of tender sympathy? It sets an exam-

ple of vanity, of niggardliness, of self-indulgence, of the most supercilious disregard of inferiors. Does society live as carefully, yet as generously, as it can, that it may benefit a greater number of the needy? It lives, on the contrary, ostentatiously, while underpaying every hireling who works for it. Does society consider delicately how much rest, how much peace of mind, how much opportunity of improvement in leisure hours it can afford to its retainers, its dependents? Well, in England domestic servants are treated with much less natural sympathy than is shown to gentlemen's slaves in the Southern States. Does society busy itself about the hard lives of the working classes? about the millions of the unemployed or the overemployed? about the hundreds of thousands of seamstresses who are forced to work all through the night for a pittance so vile as to lead to crime? or about the hundreds of thousands of the sick and suffering who lie groaning, perhaps foodless, at its very doors? Society gives a cheque—which it knows will be misused—and, having done this, says, "What a saint am I!" Society cares only for the masses of the people just so far as the masses supply its wants, and would serenely obliterate the whole world of "nobodies," save only that if it did so where would be society?

The middle class take their cue from the highest class; and the lower middle take their cue from the upper middle; and so, half the vices, the hollowness, the fatuity, which are born of this impostor, society, descend downwards, and corrupt even the lowest class, who become, very naturally, revolutionists.

To attempt to separate religion from the natural order; to suppose that the people are to be made perfect by precept, by being preached at, talked at, written at, is about as wise as to suppose that a young gentleman will be a devoted son because his father always supplies him with a handsome Bible. Example is the only way by which the rich can teach the poor; and sympathy is the whole soul of education. But example and sympathy being just the two things that are wanting, the humbler classes are embittered and vitiated. The beautiful exceptions to the rule serve only to make the rule more easily and painfully demonstrable. A unit here and there has no more effect on the masses than one drop of rain on a parched field. We have to consider the whole world as made up mainly of the working classes, *plus* a sprinkling of the exotic called society. We have to remember that education, of all kinds, good and bad, is sown broadcast in every town, in every village. We have to estimate the forces, not only separately but sympathetically, which are at work from three distinct copious founts, known as religion, free press, free politics. These forces, always at work, have not one guiding helmsman, not one recognized authority which is obeyed, because the people are eclectic as

to their own authorities. Free thought has done away with authority, religious, political, even social. Modern thought is free thought, with a more abundant pretension of systematizing the vagaries of opinionism. Liberalism is the temper or disposition with which free thought or modern thought is cherished. Speaking naturally—that is, leaving Catholicity out of the question—there exists no adequate force of any kind in the world which can compete with these “popular” forces. One force there might be, and only one, and that would be the force called society. But society has killed itself. By its contempt for the lower orders it has made the lower orders its enemies; and by demoralizing its own self it has demoralized the lower orders, so that it can have no influence over the victims of its own example. Let us take three very obvious illustrations. Religiously society has set an example of worldliness which has converted the commonalty into scoffers. Socially society has set an example of selfishness which has converted the commonalty into haters. Intelligently society has set an example of loose reasoning which has converted the commonalty into freethinkers. The voluminous issue of works designed mainly to upset religion; the constant printing of articles aimed purposely at revelation; the complacent patronage of novelties intended to dig at the very roots of all that has been esteemed venerable by the whole world—the whole pagan world as well as the whole Christian world; these are some of the indulgences of modern society which have now ripened social revolution. Perhaps the very cruellest thing which society has done is the permitting, even the patronizing, of the onslaughts on revelation, which *was* the sole comfort of the poor. Even that comfort is now to be taken away. Society could not be content with merely neglecting the poor, it must pass on to destroy its religion. It has done so. Religious free thought is now as rampant in the cottage or in the hovel, in the workshop, in the market-place, in the tap-room, as it is in the best houses of London or Paris, or in the pages of some fashionable magazines. Society could not be quite happy till it had uprooted the sole joy of the humble classes, whom it regarded as uneducated, so it has done its very utmost to educate them in infidelity by permitting, even patronizing, infidel writings.

In this arraignment of society it is obvious that we are speaking only of what society *seems* to be to the whole world. As was said at the beginning, the imperium of social canons is so despotic over the votaries of fashion that each separate unit is engulfed in the huge ocean of vanity, selfishness, folly. A man is said to be “in society” when he associates with a type of persons who make exclusiveness—not eclecticism—their god. And this exclusiveness necessarily leads to such a worship of social gods as to remind one

of a Jossman before his idols. We have all read of the childish nonsense called court etiquette, which was the religion of Louis the Sixteenth's servile nobles. We have laughed at the account of his majesty getting out of bed, under the observation of court dignitaries of high degree; one page putting on the right slipper and another page putting on the left slipper; the royal right leg being stockinged and gartered by one gentleman and the royal left leg being stockinged and gartered by another gentleman; the day shirt, wrapped in a piece of white taffetas, being presented by a prince of the blood; and the bedstead on which his majesty had lain being bowed to or courtesied to by *grandeës*. And all this unmanliness, this shameless puerility was the main religion of that fantastic aristocracy which carried its impertinence to its inferiors to such a point as to finally merit the guillotine. Now it is the tendency of the human mind to judge things by extremes, to conclude that what leads to the contemptible must spring from contemptible principles; hence the revolutionary party abhor every kind of rank, of social status, of liveried dignity, or plumed office, and this as much in the religious as in the civil order of life, as much in ecclesiastics as in laymen. We cannot blame them. Society has made rank to mean exclusiveness, influence to mean tyranny or impertinence, wealth to mean selfishness and ostentation, religion to mean the best seats in churches, charity to mean cheques given to a committee, sympathy to mean attending public meetings, piety to mean fondness for pretty ritual. Society is transfigured in abstractions. It is rapt in an ecstasy of the ideal. It never reaches any ideal which it proposes; but it looks upward too much to look downward. So that the commonalty, being left wholly to themselves, and seeing nothing to be admired in their superiors—except their round incomes and pleasant houses—proceed to evolve their own religion, their own literature, their own politics, their own Bradlaugh representatives in Parliament, and thus greatly shock society, which cannot conceive how it can be possible that the people can have such low tastes. Society having done its best to misuse every gift, and to adore itself for its splendid misuse, is quite angry with the common class which cannot bend the knee in homage to what it knows to be an imperium of shams.

That the commonalty have no rights save such as the laws can afford them, while society—which makes the laws—has divine rights, is one of those hideous fallacies which, though never put into writing, really govern half the conduct of society. Let us take one familiar example. There is a saying which is in the mouths of rich people continually: "The undeserving poor deserve no help; we should distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving; indiscriminate charity does harm." Now, without

stopping to question the justice of this view, but rather admitting that there is some common sense in it, let us ask, how is it that we hear so much of the "undeserving poor" but positively nothing of the "undeserving rich?" Dare any man refuse to dine with a rich man on the ground that he does not deserve his riches? Does any man ever purpose to take a fortune from a rich man on the ground that he drinks far too much champagne? Or does any one refuse to call on the Duke of Fitzbattleaxe on the ground that he is the idlest of inutilities? If, then, undeservingness is not accounted a sufficient reason for withholding fawning flunkeyism from the rich, why should undeservingness be accounted a sufficient reason for leaving a poor mechanic to starve? It will be observed that we are not pleading either for or against the claims which relatively are made by the two classes; we are merely holding up to scorn the shameless fallacy of society, which can only *punish* undeservingness in the poor. Again, if a man who is "in society" is frightfully extravagant, and keeps a hundred tradesmen waiting to their ruin, he is only said to be a little "too fast;" but the very people who eat his dinners, with the full knowledge that he is bankrupt and is bringing bitter misery on other people, would speak with horror of the poor mechanic who got tipsy on a shilling which belonged by prior right to a creditor. Again, if a man who is "in society" has the cunning to increase his wealth by speculations which are impoverishing to the humbler classes, he is esteemed to be a sharp or brilliant man; but the same sharp or brilliant man would give an employee into custody if he abstracted a single shilling from his purse. These examples will suffice to show the "moral theology" of society, which is so sublimely discriminating of the "deserving poor." As a matter of course the same looseness of "moral theology" travels downward through the middle and lower classes, so that it may be said that society is half responsible for the moral fallacies, for the personal cruelties, for the hard selfishness of the trading orders, who simply take their superiors for their patterns. And we are therefore justified in the assertion that the attitude of society is an attitude which is opposed to religion, inimical both to the doctrines and to the sentiments of the exquisite philosophy of Catholicity. If the world which is not "in society" were to frame its indictment or even its defence against society, the plea might be formulated as follows: You, society, are at the top of the tree and we are on the lower branches or on the ground. You shake off your rotten apples, so that they may fall on our heads, but you keep all your best fruits for yourselves. Your hypocrisy does not teach us to honor religion, which you use as a mantle of respectability; nor does your selfishness inspire us with an indomitable aspiration to

be wealthy in order that we may be good. Your loose moral theology has permeated all the social strata with the falsest conception of true honor, making a conventional justice to take the place of a divine charity which *should be* the fountain of every virtue. Your affectation of high manners is but heartless complacency, which enables you to snub the toiling mob; your superior education only perfects you in the science of keeping others at a convenient, remote distance. You set us the example of living gorgeously and delicately, so that we may be made to realize the shocking character of "Dives;" and, as to "Lazarus," well, perhaps you treat him as "undeserving," that he may enjoy "Abraham's bosom" all the more. You live up to your incomes to teach us economy; you dine exquisitely to teach us self-denial; you have six coronets on one carriage to demonstrate the vulgarity which is the unavoidable accident of high position; and you powder your servants' heads so as to show us that barbarism is the natural extreme of civilization. When in church you take the best seats for yourselves, so that we may see the sanctuary through the maze of your bright toilets; and on coming out of church you invite one another to luncheon, so that we may appreciate the true rendering of a counsel which we have mistaken, but which ought properly to have been translated in this way: "When thou givest a feast, ask the rich only to eat with you, but do not inquire whether the poor have sufficient dinner." You make your servants work all day and half the night that they may be perfected in the virtue of holy industry; and you lounge idly in carriages, not to save time in doing good or as being bent upon various charitable enterprises, but solely that you may teach the commonalty how much more healthy it is to walk, and how much more manly, and even womanly, it is to work. You do not care one button for any class but your own, so as to inspire us with holy horror of worldly pride; and you indulge in every midnight dissipation so as to teach us the virtue of regular hours. Meanwhile, the working world has to wait upon your pleasures, and to try to imitate the serenity of your minds. We will not add to the indictment, for were we to speak the whole truth, even *we* might possibly sin against charity.

Playful as all this is, and perhaps wildly superlative, it represents very nearly the sentiment of the revolutionists towards the class which is known as society. The mere fact that such a sentiment is highly colored—three-fourths being figure and one-fourth judgment—does not exonerate society from the charge of having begotten a contemptuous, a revolutionary repugnance. We have been considering all along—from certain tokens and certain accidents—what is the attitude of society towards religion, and we have spoken only what society *seems* to be to the world, not of the

individual merits of its members. Were it not in bad taste, it would be delightful to give the names of certain members of the English aristocracy—of certain high, Catholic members of society—whose example is as near perfection in the way of modesty and true nobility as the example of the majority is detestable. And it is true to add that where such example is manifested, the commonalty most profoundly appreciate it. There is one English nobleman whose delicacy of politeness and of modest, personal sympathy with the humblest, is a model for society to copy. But then society will not copy it. Society cannot copy it. Society is too grooved in its vulgar apprehensions to become magnanimous, modest, or real. A Redemptorist Father once observed to the present writer: "I should imagine that everybody goes through purgatory, because of the ineradicable selfishness of the human heart." And then, alluding to English magnificoes, he added, with an irony of which he was obviously himself quite unconscious: "We must not forget, when thinking of their salvation, that with God all things are possible." Yet such matters are too high for our present consideration. We are speaking only of usefulness in this world; and it must be owned that if there were no such thing as society the world would not be one whit the worse.

Oh, most shocking, plebeian view of society! Not the least in the world! It is not against the institution—society—that any sane man would raise his voice, any more than against the planetary system, because it takes precedence of tallow candles. It is against the cowardice of society, the unmanliness of society, the desperate thoughtlessness and selfishness of society, that every earnest man ought to protest. Society is unreal; because affecting to be pyramidal it is really abysmal in example. Consider the powers of wealth, the influence of rank, the force of example in the lofty! If society would spend just one-half of the time and one-half of the personal energy which it devotes to the cultus of mere fashion in evolving sober schemes for the elevation of "inferiors," and in practically putting them into execution, it is not too much to say that human miseries would be halved and social revolution would die out. The human mind is so constituted that it is convinced through its sentiment much more than it is convinced through its judgment. Now the only perfectly beautiful sentiment in the world is the sentiment of the Catholic faith. The sentiment of society is its exact opposite. If you wrote out in parallel columns the ideal of Catholic sentiment and the ideal of the sentiment of society, you would find that society is the mocking ape of every grace which, theoretically, makes Catholicity requisite. This is the *picture* of society, its *mise en scène*, before the eyes of the commonalty, the people, the vulgar. The individual mem-

bers of society are not to be confused with what is understood by "society." Society is an institution and an ideal. As an institution it must necessarily exist. As an ideal it must necessarily create itself. And its creation of its own ideal is also necessarily the creation of an infinity of good or harm in its inferiors. Here is society's responsibility. If it only injured itself, that would be its own affair; but in injuring the whole world it has a double responsibility, both as to this world and the next.

AMERICAN FREETHINKING.

Resolutions of the American Freethinkers' Convention, at Watkins Glen, N. Y., August, 1882.

IT is singular that American freethinking has made no original advance since the days of Thomas Paine. This results partly from the natural limitations of the system (if so chaotic a medley as free thought deserves the name), and partly from the unmetaphysical character of the American intellect. A practical people by eminence, we deem it loss of time and "brain-power," to speculate about questions which reason tells us must be settled, if at all, by facts and historical evidence. Revelation is simply a question of fact, to be proved, as all facts are, by competent testimony.

It is clear that to confuse the fact and record of revelation with the nature of its contents, is to be guilty of a sophism. Yet this is what Paine did, and what Ingersoll is doing. If I receive a letter from you, that fact stands by itself, and is not at all modified by the contents of the letter. The confusion which ensues from not keeping these two ideas separate, runs through all the answers and rejoinders which have wearied the readers of Ingersollian controversy. Even so acute a thinker as Judge Black allowed himself to be dragged by Ingersoll into all sorts of Biblical difficulties—the meaning of ancient Jewish sacrifices, for example. The simple question should be insisted upon: Is the Bible a divine revelation? as, to doubt whether Omniscience and Omnipotence *can* reveal himself, is irrational.

Once the decks are cleared of all geological, chronological, and philological rubbish, the action is short and decisive. The imme-

morial witness of the Jewish people for the Old Testament, is paralleled by the witness of the Christian Church for the New. It matters not what difficulties the Book may contain. The question is entirely one of historical fact, which can be established by every law of human evidence, by every canon of criticism. But when we proceed from establishing the authenticity and credibility of the Bible, to explaining its doctrinal and moral teaching, we, as individuals, follow the infidel into just the jungle he wants—for a divine revelation requires a divinely guided interpreter. Here the Catholic alone is safe, logically, for he believes in an infallible Church as the guardian and judge of the meaning of revelation.

Whilst we do not admit that the demonstration of the evidences for the divine origin of the Holy Scriptures is uncommonly difficult, or demands any extraordinary penetration, still, it undoubtedly exacts time and thought—two things of which the average American is sparing. Unquestionably, the way of authority was designed by God, as the way for the vast majority of mankind to learn his truth. The Christian evidences, however, are so intertwined with history, and, in fact, with all the elements of universal life and thought, that a plain, simple reasoner may prove for himself the unshaken historical foundation on which the religion, viewed simply as a fact, rests. But, unhappily, the non-Catholic no sooner gets beyond the historical fact, than he begins to interpret the Bible for himself. He does not see that the Church takes his reason in helpful charge, as soon as his reason arrives at a human certitude of the truth of Christianity. This is why Protestant divines who write well upon the evidences, blunder hopelessly when they construct a creed from them, as, illogically, they do. Faith begins where reason ends. The Church begins where Protestantism, which is simply an exercise of private judgment upon the evidences of Christianity, ends. Protestantism cannot be more than this human criticism of the Bible, for it is obviously impossible for a Protestant, on his own principle, to make an act of *divine* faith in the Scriptures.

Allowing that we have an immense mass of literature about the evidences of Christianity, the difficulty with many men, and particularly Americans, is a certain eagerness for immediate intellectual results, and a certain impatience under unresolved doubts and unanswered difficulties, which make them surrender their intellectual freedom to a deft and quick explainer, it matters little what his explanation is. Indeed, the real strength of modern scientism lies, not in the study of its abstract principles, nor the process of reasoning by which it seeks to show that God and the supernatural are the unknowable, but in its charm for the indolent and the bewildered. If God is wholly impenetrable to human ken, we have

no concern with Him or it. The lazy, the confused, and the vicious mind hail this theory as the fabled nepenthè.

Back of the Bible, back of all natural substance and phenomena, is the invisible God, infinite in all perfections, and so startlingly real and true, that our limited mind is overwhelmed by the very excess of the proofs of His existence. Yet, as St. Thomas says, we know Him only by effects, for the first cause cannot admit of an *a priori* demonstration. A whole world of adoring thought is opened for us by the very first thesis of Theodicy: There is a God. Yet how little do the mass of mankind seem to know about God, as he is in His own infinite being! How thoroughly anthropomorphic is the God of multitudes! See how low and inadequate, how thoroughly human, is every conception of the divinity, outside the teaching of Catholic theology! To read a Protestant book about heaven is to be shocked and disgusted at the carnal views, which only the thought of the Beatific Vision can dispel.

Our readers will understand us when we say that, whilst the Old Testament contains the truest and most soundly metaphysical name of God, as the I AM WHO AM, there are passages descriptive of the Deity which, as they stand in their bald literalness, perplex the understanding, and even impart to it unworthy views of the infinitely blessed God. It is obvious that such passages entering the head of unspiritual-minded men, will find nothing there to explain them satisfactorily. What can be reasonably expected of a man who has never reflected upon the operations of his own soul; whose whole life has been immersed in matter, and whose gross imagination is incapable of appreciating a simile in poetry? That such men are by no means rare, is provable by everyone's experience. Before opening the Scriptures, the mind should be versed in that sublime revelation of God furnished by the natural world; by the tender musing of the intellect itself upon all the glorious attributes which inhere in the idea of necessary and self-existent being; and by the study of the testimony which all nations have borne to the existence of the Creator. There are men whose souls are more profoundly moved by the lightsome demonstrations of the Angelicals *De Deo*, or the worshipful brooding of Lessius and Suarez over the depths of the divine nature, than by even the harp of David, or the clarion notes of Isaias.

The God that the infidel denies, never had an existence. The very idea of imperfection in God is destructive of Him; and yet is not this the God against whom Ingersoll raves, as "delighting in blood," etc. Reason demonstrates the existence of a Necessary Being; for there is a contradiction in saying, that, given any existence, this world, for example, or even my own thought, there should not exist a Being from all eternity, uncreated and illimitable.

Out of nothing, comes nothing. No one now holds the absurdity of an infinite series of secondary causes. There being no cause superior to this First Cause to limit his being, and no intrinsic cause to limit it, He is infinite in every perfection, for all perfection belongs to the nature of being. Whatever perfection exists in created things must be found in God, either formally, or, in its proper form; or eminently, in an infinite degree; or virtually, in power and causality. The Scriptures abound in direct averments of this infinite perfection, and consequently passages which ascribe to God, qualities or attributes inconsistent with this absolute perfection and infinitude, are explainable in a manner which conserves it; and this is all that a defender need do, to refute the objection. God being essentially incomprehensible to the human intellect even when raised to the Vision (for the finite can never comprehend the infinite), the sublimity of the descriptions of the nature and attributes of God, contained in the Scriptures, is adduced as a proof of their divine origin; whilst an equally strong proof is drawn from their marvellous adaptedness to the limitations of the human mind and language, in conceiving and expressing the ineffable ways and purposes of the divinity.

Equally true is it that the God whom the Deists, the Agnostics, and the Pantheists construct never had an existence. The Deists of the eighteenth century denied the possibility of miracles and prophecies; or, in other words, denied the almighty power and wisdom of God; that is, they denied His existence, for His being is one with His attributes. The Agnostics describe God as the unknowable, whereas all science rests upon principles which cannot be adequately explained or accounted for, without assuming God. If by the unknowable they mean the undemonstrable, reason refutes them; if they mean the incomprehensible, reason at least knows that He is incomprehensible. In either case, God is known. How do we know that He is the unknowable? The very fact of giving Him a name implies some conception, however inadequate, of His existence. The Pantheist destroys God by giving Him two contradictory attributes, thought and extension. In short, the God whom the freethinker either denies or acknowledges is a myth.

It is undeniable that Protestantism, particularly in its Calvinistic form, promoted the spread of Deism in the period anterior to the American Revolution. The colonists, moreover, were free from that traditional reverence which attached to the Established Church in England. Colonial history, particularly that of New England, abounds in records of religious controversy. When the Encyclopedist school of infidelity arose in France it attracted the attention of many leading Americans. The sympathy which this country had with France, in her aspirations for enlarged liberty,

tended to spread the writings of French publicists, who were mainly infidel. Still, the prevalent form of free thought was a mild Deism, such as that propounded by the Englishman Toland. The excesses of the French revolutionists brought disesteem upon infidelity. Besides, Voltaire and his colleagues were wretchedly shallow and "unscientific" in the treatment of the gravest questions. They thought to get rid of God by a *bon mot*. Not until so late as Emerson's day did any considerable number of Americans know of the transcendental philosophy which dominated intellectual Germany. Indeed, Sir William Hamilton wrote in the *Edinburgh Review*, that not a half dozen metaphysicians in the British Isles had then even heard of Immanuel Kant, whom his admirers hailed as the greatest philosophic intellect since Aristotle. Kant's skepticism resulted from his criticism of pure reason, which he held to be inadequate to the demonstration of the existence of God, though, what he calls the practical intellect, irresistibly demands it.

Around Kant there grouped a number of dreamy, fanciful minds, that sought for God chiefly in themselves, and actually rioted in blasphemy. Divinity was ascribed to every being and every idea except the right one. This transcendentalism was brought to America, but, going through the brain of Emerson, it was transmuted into mere Agnosticism, or, what is now called, Positivism. Emerson was not a philosopher. He was not by any means the ideal thinker and poet that people fancied. He was a hard-headed, shrewd American, who emphasizes on every page the vulgar successes of life. There is no spiritual power in his books, and he is infinitely below Spinoza or Comte in any presentation of belief or elaboration of a system. His "Eternities" and "Infinities" are suggestive of what is inelegantly, but energetically, called "gas." His coterie pretended to absorb all the culture and intellect of New England, but they attempted nothing, from Brook Farm to a Liberal magazine, which did not fail.

The fact is that such are the conditions of American life, such the nature of the American mind and habits of thought, that its freethinking inevitably takes the form of ribald blasphemy, narrow intolerance, and the delusion that God and Christianity perish with the detection of an incongruity in the Bible. The resolutions passed at the Watkins Glen Convention assail the Church with a bitterness to which the claim of broad-minded liberality gives a particular sting. The Church is represented as an organization for the perpetuance of ignorance and bigotry, and the clergy as scheming scoundrels. No attempt is made to define any position. With ostentatious "liberality," dubious fraternities of Free lovers, Spiritualists, Agnostics, Deists, and a very significant "etc.," are wel-

came to the freethinking ranks. There is the usual glorification of liberty and progress. An enthusiastic freethinker sends as an answer to a very foolish telegram from the Methodists, the advice to keep the churches in good repair, as the future temples of liberty and science.

To show how intensely persuaded these people are that all revealed religion is bound up with the Bible, a long resolution is devoted to a congratulation that the Revisers of the New Testament have corrected prevalent views regarding the inspiration and the infallibility of the Scriptures.

The Church, enlightened by the Holy Ghost, has refrained from defining the precise nature and all the minutiae of inspiration. Protestantism has shown its folly by alternately insisting upon verbal, literal, and plenary inspiration, and by leaving it to be determined by the individual conscience and the private teaching of the Spirit. Having no guide or unerring rule of faith, a Protestant is perplexed by every discovery in science, by the divergent opinions of famous commentators, and, in the Apostle's comparison, by every wind and wave of doctrine. The new rationalistic criticism of the Scriptures has left hardly a book unquestioned.

A powerful ally of infidelity in the United States has been the system of public education. This is decidedly godless. In the Divine counsels, the general method for communicating religious truth to mankind has been external. Faith, says St. Paul, comes by hearing. All knowledge of the Creator, even that derivable from the contemplation of the creation, is sedulously avoided. Science is taught without any reference to the Maker of heaven and earth. History, instead of being treated as a revelation of Divine Providence, is made a mere recital of events, which are presented as though they were simply fortuitous. Stress is chiefly laid upon the importance of getting along in the world, and all education has this merely mediate end for its universal scope.

The indifference of American fathers to the religious training of their children is the frequent theme of the Protestant pulpit. The deeper religious sentiment of the mother cannot countervail the indifference of the father, whom the boys follow. They see him wholly occupied in business, careless about church, and critical of the minister and the congregation, with that unreserve before children which is not the least of the American's faults. The only aim held up to his youthful ambition is to make money, which is regarded as the root of all good.

The irreligious training begun in the public school is completed in the public newspaper, which is, perforce, "the essence of religious toleration;" that is, the absence of all positive ethical teaching. From the newspaper he learns of the doings of political

officials, who are either jocosely complimented on their shrewdness in peculating, or defended for their crimes by an appeal to the greater criminality of their opponents.

There may be such a power as a public conscience or a public sense of right, even when large numbers of the individual members of the state are corrupt. Such a public opinion existed in the ancient democracies of Greece and Rome. In the Middle Ages it expressed itself in the civil and corrective power assigned to the Christian Church. But no such bar of public opinion exists in the United States. A handful of unscrupulous politicians may hold power for years. The Presidency and its patronage are boldly claimed to be the personal perquisites of the party in office. No attempt is made to conceal taxation and extortion for political purposes. We have not even those occasional "fits of virtue" in which England dismisses a ministry, removes a grievance, and hangs a few dozen criminals.

With an education entirely severed from religious life and a public that are never directly interested in church affairs,—as they are in countries like England or France, where the Church comes directly before the people, either for defence or attack,—the American is startled by objections, on which rests the mould of centuries. Not only does the American freethinker present nothing new, but he is ignorant of the strongest objections that can be put to Revelation. The hardest objections are found in textbooks of Catholic theology. The whole ground of objections has been carefully traced and every point weighed, and it frequently happens, in the hall of disputation of a Catholic seminary, that infidel objections are pressed with a vigor and a logic to which the professed infidel is a stranger.

After reading the clear-cut objection, divested of all rant and fustian, one turns in disgust from the incoherence of Ingersoll's lectures or the calculations overthrowing the Mosaic cosmology. But it is easier to draw a harrowing picture of hell than to lead the good life which makes hell for us an impossibility. It is easier to compare man with the brutes than to analyze the operations of the intellect. In the "Comedy of Convocation," Mr. Lavender Kidds vehemently appeals to the assembled dignitaries to lay aside so fruitless a discussion as that on the existence of God and attack the growing evil of Popery. So the freethinker pleads for materialism when his very book, his very process of reasoning, establishes the spirituality of his soul; and he scoffs at the idea of fire and brimstone when his own reason irresistibly recognizes the infinite distance between right and wrong and affirms the eternal principles of justice.

The influences which place freethinking in England under a

social ban do not exist here. Bradlaugh here would be a hero. Not that Americans have any particular love of blasphemy, but because daring negation is a form in which individual liberty is apt to affirm its rights. The country seemed surprised at the product of such a creature as Guiteau; but while everybody called him a moral monster, nobody reflected upon the extent and the power of the influences which made him a monster. Such influences, differing in intensity but not in kind, exist in every American village where there are a public school, a newspaper, and, as a matter of course, a half dozen sects.

So far as infidelity in the United States has any plan, it seeks, first of all, to destroy faith in the Bible. It knows that whatever religious life there is in non-Catholic America is derived from Scriptural teaching; but it feels instinctively that the Catholic Church is stronger than the Bible. It has no fear of Protestantism, which lacks coherence, and contains in itself the principle of its own dissolution.

The Catholic Church, thoroughly organized and possessed of an invincible life, is peculiarly odious for its calm definition of the limits of the human intellect, its indifference to mere material progress, and its championship of the rights and powers of an invisible world. Indeed, its proof of Christianity as a living power in the world, is irresistible.

How may it be destroyed? or, since this is impossible, how may its influence in the United States be limited?

The resolutions point out the line of attack:

By representing the Church as hostile to our political institutions.

By organization, the formation of freethinkers' clubs, and the establishment and diffusion of "liberal" newspapers, tracts, and books.

By controlling education.

By espousing the cause and fighting the battle of labor.

We have only a word to say to Catholics in conclusion:

1. The Church which the freethinker fears and hates is the one true Church of Christ. Protestantism is either his ally or an opponent to be despised.

2. Fight the enemy with his own weapons.

SUPERIOR INSTRUCTION IN OUR COLLEGES.

Lectures and Discourses. By the Right Rev. J. L. Spalding, Bishop of Peoria.

What is the Outlook for our Colleges? American Catholic Quarterly Review, July, 1882.

WE have lately heard two remarkable utterances on education which must have attracted the attention of Catholics in this country. The first came from the Right Reverend Bishop of Peoria in his *Lectures and Discourses*; in the discourse, namely, on "*the Catholic Priesthood*." Many powerful reasons were eloquently brought forward to prove the importance or rather the necessity of not confining the teaching of philosophy and theology among us to the simple elements of those sciences, as has been done so far. The eminent writer openly advocated the founding of a large institution—not a university—for the whole country, in which the most promising young men in the various dioceses should, at the end of the usual curriculum of theology, follow a more advanced course of instruction lasting from two to six years. But this project was necessarily confined to the candidates for the ministry; and the graduates of our colleges in general would not find such an institution as this adapted to their wants.

Soon after an article, written by an unknown author, appeared in the July number of this REVIEW, on the "Outlook for our Colleges," which must also have been extensively noticed. Many judicious remarks were contained in this elaborate production, whose moderate tone, clear and forcible style, precise and well-defined statements necessarily predisposed the reader in favor of the writer's opinions. He took a hopeful—perhaps too hopeful—view of our colleges, and if he found room for criticism, no one could pretend that this was done in a captious spirit. It was not fault-finding, but an open indication of real deficiencies, and Catholic educators all over the country must feel indebted to him for the wholesome advice he gave them.

As he spoke only of Catholic colleges, not of ecclesiastical seminaries, his remarks fall, much more than those of Bishop Spalding, within the scope I have in view in writing this paper, and, consequently, I must take more notice of his reflections and suggestions.

The tendency of his remarks went clearly to advocate a higher development of instruction in our colleges. This was particularly noticeable towards the end, when he spoke of the necessity of preparing educated young men among us for the battle of life, chiefly

with regard to their religion. But it was rather a hint than a systematic view toward progress. He even supposed that in our establishments "the superior course *is* placed on a philosophical basis," which, I think, is not sufficiently true. In fact the chief—almost the only—drawback he perceived was that "there is with us a painful lack of proper textbooks." Would to God that this was the worse feature of the case! Consequently he did not propose any addition to our usual curriculum.

Had he entered into more details on this subject, the good sense of which he gives many proofs would have suggested to him reflections of importance on the causes of our inefficiency in many respects; and we would, probably, have obtained from him valuable indications as to the proper remedy. But he, evidently, could not touch in a single article on every point which his vast theme naturally included, and we all must be thankful at least for what he has thought proper to utter.

This, therefore, must be supplemented, chiefly because the subject of education and instruction is justly considered of extreme importance in our age, and it must be discussed in all its bearings. The question is simply to prove the absolute necessity incumbent on us at this moment of raising the standard of studies in our colleges, and to discuss, as far as it is prudent to do so, the best means of affording to our young men a sufficient course of superior instruction, over and above what we already possess.

I.

The incompleteness of a proper curriculum is not peculiar to the Catholic institutions of learning; but all educational establishments in this country suffer more or less from it; and it is important to point out this general feature in our intellectual world, because public opinion is greatly mistaken in this regard. Many people imagine that the system of studies pursued among us, at least in our best universities, as they are called, can scarcely be improved, or at any rate amply suffices for the nation. We are supposed to have reached the highest point of culture, and we openly boast of our civilization. There are admirable points in it, no doubt; but we must first examine here if it is perfect, nay, if there is nothing superior to it in other countries.

A preliminary remark may somewhat raise apprehensions on this point. It must be universally acknowledged that in the ardent pursuit for money, so remarkable on this continent of North America, in the midst of an incessant and irresistible activity for procuring material comforts—which has perhaps never been equalled in the world before—the development of the mind in its highest aspirations may be forgotten or greatly neglected, as of little ac-

count in the battle of life. Abstruse studies are regarded as rather hindering the march of culture, of refinement, of good breeding and *high living*, which pass henceforth as the only objects worth fighting for. This, unfortunately, is too true to be in the least controverted.

Still the best part of man is his mind. Too great an attention can never be paid to it, because by it alone *he rules the world*. And unless all nations fall at once to the same level of materialism and sensualism, there is no doubt that simple sensual culture in one particular country would be fatal to its devotees, who must infallibly occupy the background, and remain behind in the race for superiority. There is no need of examining what would be the consequence for the world at large if the insane craving for what is only pleasurable equally prevailed everywhere.

The tendency of education is necessarily ruled by the preponderating estimate of the *supremum bonum* in this life. If any people wishes only for comforts its educators must bring it up as *epicuri de grege porcum*. On this account I consider a system of education and instruction limited to these base ends as a national calamity. I do not pretend, thank God, that this is altogether the case for us; but I say that there evidently is among us a tendency to it; and we have already progressed so far on the road that many of our most intelligent men imagine that the best national interests are subserved when the most ordinary level of instruction can be reached by all. The surest reliance for our future greatness as a nation is placed by them on the success of our common, that is, primary schools. Still the experience of all ages proves that no people can predominate over others, unless a class of men is found in it soaring in the upper regions of intellect, and leading after them a choice following able at least to cope with the master minds of other nations. Our first reflections must be devoted to the demonstration of this very simple truth.

A mere glance at the history of our race in ancient as well as in modern times might be a sufficient proof of it, but as it is impossible to give here any details I call it only a strong conjecture of its truth. It is an undeniable fact that in all civilized states which have become powerful in the world, high studies were pursued by the ruling classes, and the citizens on whom Providence had bestowed the greatest intellectual gifts—for all men are not born equal in mind—found in their youth adequate means for fulfilling their high vocation.

In the most remote antiquity this appears in semi-fabulous narratives, which, however, must have been based on facts, in Egypt, India, and Persia. For Egypt this is positively ascertained by the statements of celebrated Greek philosophers, many of whom de-

rived from the lessons they received from Egyptian hierophants, the noble traditions which afterwards they taught in their books. Plato particularly has spoken of it. If the Aryan races prevailed chiefly in Persia and India it was mainly due, first in Hindostan to the long study of the Vedic lore which gave forever to the Hindoo race the predominance over the aboriginal tribes—a predominance which continues to this day. For, if the pure Indians of Hindostan have never been famous in war, and have always been conquered by the invaders of the peninsula, they have maintained their village organization, their system of castes, their habits and customs, in all things essential their life as a nation, under all conquerors whatever, not excepting the English of this day. This they owed entirely to the steadfastness of their mind, developed by the study of the Vedas and the original philosophy based on them. And this study was *confined to the Brahmins*, who even at this time, in spite of the fatal decline due to the more modern idolatry, stand their ground against all possible British teaching. A class of learned men has always been their mainstay.

In Persia the sublime doctrine of the Zend-Avesta, taught first by Zoroaster, came into the possession of the old Magi of Cyrus's time, and secured for many centuries the ascendancy of Irân over the degraded Turanian tribes. To the class of the Magi *alone* was confided the teaching and the spread of the doctrine; and this lasted in its purity during the greatest part of the Achæmenidæ dynasty.

The vouchers for the truth of what has just been asserted for Egypt, Persia, and India, are abundant at this day, owing chiefly to the translation of the "Sacred Books of the East," now in course of publication in England.

In Greece and Rome myths and fables, with regard to the intellectual acquirements of those nations, disappeared sooner than in the Far East; and the solemn truth has been known now for a long time that a few men of the aristocracy, in both countries, devoted all their youth to studies adequate to the great object they had in view during the remainder of their lives, namely, to lead their nation on the road to power and greatness. The Greeks could withstand the invasion of Iranians under Xerxes, more by the development of their culture, and the traditional doctrine they had received from their Pelasgic ancestors, than by the strength of their armies, and the greatness of their exploits. The narrative of Herodotus in his last book is a splendid contrast of a handful of men standing their ground against innumerable troops, led by highly civilized generals and princes, and repelling them at last more by the superiority of their intellect than by their bodily strength and endurance.

Rome subsequently stole from the Greeks the secret of their former power, and the result was the culture of the Augustan age, and the ever-spreading dominion of a race born to rule the world. Cicero, in particular, has told us how this was done. Among the patricians, and a few of the lately ennobled plebeians, men were found who felt the necessity of arduous studies for becoming effective as the leaders of their race. All the great men, in fact, who have become conspicuous in the annals of Greece and Rome were fully persuaded that mind rules the world, and that its greatest development in a nation can alone give it a lasting superiority over other peoples. This cannot be done but by a few, and to a few only this great office was intrusted.

To come to modern times, after this meagre sketch, it is known that Christianity appeared at the moment of the highest intellectual development, not only in the Roman Empire, but beyond it among all the civilized countries of the East. It took immediately a prominent position by the preaching of its Apostles, and by the sublime doctrines evolved by the Fathers, the natural leaders, from the Old and New Testaments, which, from the second century of our era became the literary property of the whole world. From the third century downwards this new patristic literature superseded the old pagan one, chiefly through the labors of the great Alexandrian school in the Greek portion of the empire, and through the writings of the Latin fathers in the West. Always a few men leading, the others following. In this noble achievement it was the mind which conquered; and it is useless to insist on the universal feature of it, namely, the deep studies which the whole process supposed. What would have become of the new religion and its proselytes in case the Christian genius had never risen above the utterances of the good Pastor Hermas and his contemporaries? In case the schools of Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome had never existed?

Since that early epoch the Church has always been at the head of the intellectual movement. She has literally educated all the European nations, and given them the hegemony of the whole world, which is still in their possession. How powerless the greatest pagan or Mahometan empires of our day appear when confronted by any European fleet or by a small number of well-drilled European troops! The contrast is still greater when there is question of commerce, of enterprise, of the subjugation of nature's forces, and the embellishment of the wildest regions. In spite of the internal broils which now often convulse the European states, in spite of the growing feeling of distrust among them toward the Church, they are still most powerful owing to what remains of their Christian civilization. Their evident superiority over foreign races

they owe less to their Aryan blood than to the solid education they have received during so many ages, particularly during the mediæval period. It is this which has secured their final victory over the Moslems, who during so many centuries encroached upon them and appeared ready to reduce them to slavery. That dreaded Mussulman power is now cowering before Europe, because the mind of Europe is far above that of the Arabs and the Turks; and they owe it to the arduous course of study which has prevailed among us from the Middle Ages down to the present day.

The scholastic studies have been derided by the humanists of the fifteenth century and by the Protestants of the sixteenth. Still the Protestants did not discard, for a long time, in the universities which they had received from the Catholic Church, the scholastic method in use since the epoch of St. Anselm. And they owed to it that remarkable gift of argumentation which many of their divines formerly possessed. Had they directly abandoned this searching method they would not have felt so keenly as they did the blow inflicted on them by the *Controversies* of Bellarmine. The positivists of our day make light of that great work, and despise it too much to answer it, because they have entirely lost the use of a strict and logical argumentation. Not so the professors of divinity in the Protestant universities, immediately after Luther and Calvin.

The English universities of Cambridge and Oxford particularly stood more firm than any other heterodox seats of learning, in keeping the old traditions of education and instruction. On this account, no doubt, there were always among their professors men of a high standing whose solidity of erudition and acuteness of reasoning attracted universal attention in the world of letters; and there was also more hope, for a long time, that many of them would return to the bosom of the Catholic Church. The profound impression made on many of them by Edmund Campian, after his conversion, when he gave to his old friends of Oxford an account of his motives, and stated the grounds of his new faith, is a proof of a similarity of theological method between both. Had they differed as to dialectics, like the agnostics of this day, who stand aloof a great deal from us in their way of arguing, the Protestant Oxfordians would have smiled at Campian's arguments, and his syllogisms would have fallen dead upon them.

To this peculiar feature of English thought, which has been for the English universities a source of solid learning, we owe the brilliant origin of *superior instruction* in this country, which dates from the very beginning of colonial times, and came from England. For it is now well known to all intelligent Americans that a few years only after the landing of the Puritans on the shores of Massachusetts, when all the efforts of the colonists seemed to be abso-

lutely needed in order to overcome the material difficulties of the enterprise, they attached more importance still to the needs of their minds, and began the foundation of Cambridge University near Boston. "On the 28th of October, 1636, the Court agreed to grant £400 towards a school or college, whereof £200 to be paid the next year, and £200 when the work is finished, and the next Court to appoint where and what building." (*Appleton's Cyclop.*)

The name of Cambridge was given to the new institution, in honor of the famous English university, of which some of these early settlers were graduates; and no one can pretend that at that epoch Cambridge, any more than Oxford, had already attempted to change the former course of studies. It is of public notoriety that this noble undertaking near Boston was secured afterwards by innumerable gifts and bequests from rich citizens. If the State gave it its aid also, this was so inconsiderable compared to individual grants that no claim could be put forward on the part of the colony's government to interfere in the college's management or course of studies—an inappreciable blessing, which continues to this day.

The case of Yale College in New Haven is also well known. But because it was founded nearly a century later, it does not afford so complete a demonstration of the importance early attached to high studies as the previous case of the rude colonists brought thither in the Mayflower. When the arduous struggle against nature in its wildness, and the constant dread of the numerous Indians swarming around, are in the least considered, the mind is struck with wonder at the thought that so soon as their first arrival they were not satisfied for the education of their children with the primary schools of the village or of the cross-roads. They were bent on imparting at once to the new generation the highest benefits of not only a superior, but of a complete and universal instruction, since they wished to reproduce here in the wilderness faithful copies of the great seats of learning they had known at home. They were fully persuaded that, since they desired to found a new nation on this continent, the first object of their thoughts must be the development of the human mind in its highest conceptions. Would to God the same conviction was shared by the men of our day!

It is besides a fact, which must make an impression on all of us, that during a long time this ardor for an eminent culture was most remarkable on these shores of North America. Many sons and grandsons of the original settlers were periodically sent to Europe, to be thoroughly educated. But a far larger number found in the establishments of this country the means of a culture of the highest order. Nobody, I hope, can deny that at the time of the Revolu-

tion, most of the leaders of this movement in the thirteen colonies were remarkable, not only for their gentlemanly bearing, but likewise for their scientific and literary attainments. It is more than doubtful if they would have succeeded in breaking off the yoke of England, had not this been the case. Their superior education was, therefore, of great usefulness at that time. When the French came to their help, the leading Americans found themselves on a par with the best officers of this highly educated nation. They could immediately take their rank with the best cultured Europeans.

Two only of the American colleges or universities have been mentioned—that of Cambridge or Harvard University, founded in 1636, and that of Yale, which dates from 1700. The names of seventeen others, which were opened during the eighteenth century, can be found in Appleton's *Cyclopædia* (second edition); and this is a splendid proof of the importance the founders of this nation attached to the highest learning.

Directly after and since the Revolution, the founding of colleges all over the country continued to be of frequent occurrence. Unfortunately the idea was soon predominant that the four usual collegiate classes were all that was needed for all establishments of the highest instruction. The preparatory studies were intrusted to distinct grammar schools; and after graduation the Alma Mater was supposed to have finished her work. There were no fellowships attached to these colleges as in England; and everybody knows that the highest degree of instruction was at least intended at first as the proper attribution of *fellowship*. The professional studies followed after graduation in the United States are in no way connected with the fountain head. If schools of law, of medicine, of engineering, are mentioned in the programmes of colleges, it is understood that these various courses of study are entirely independent, and cannot be considered as the development of the previous collegiate curriculum.

An English university, on the contrary, is composed of several colleges, each one founded apart, with a head, professors, a number of fellows, and a greater number of scholars. The fellows, whom alone we consider here, must be graduates of the university, assist the professors or act as tutors to the scholars, and are employed in the administration. All graduates can aspire to these functions, but their election depends on a strict competition, independent from the graduation degree. The peculiar functions allotted to them leave them sufficient time to prosecute their individual studies; and if many of them consider their position only as a step to obtaining a living in the Church of England, or some other worldly object, for those of them who feel inclined to devote their life to literary or scientific labor, no one on earth can find better oppor-

tunities of developing their mind with that view. The extensive libraries, laboratories, collections and apparatuses of all sorts, together with the public lectures of the university, and the always ready advice of the best men the country can afford in science and art, are inappreciable advantages which could scarcely be found anywhere else, even in the greatest intellectual centres of France and Germany. Can we, in this country, ever hope to have post-graduate courses equal to these? The few that we possess are but sickly and short-lived institutions, which meet everywhere with formidable difficulties, as shall soon be seen. Meanwhile something like the European system is absolutely required to form among us specialists who, by devoting their life to one single branch of study, can give to science the complete development required in our age for its proper efficiency.

It shall soon be demonstrated that the best American colleges, with their four classes carried to the highest possible degree, cannot give *superior instruction* of any kind. In the mediæval schools—let it be said incidentally—nearly all the studies pursued in *three* of those *four* of our classes, were called *Grammatica*—grammar, and were considered only as the first step in the road of learning.

In presence of this universal fact in America, it is not a matter of surprise that when the first Catholic colleges were opened—that of Georgetown in 1789, and that of Mount St. Mary's, Emmettsburg, in 1808—the founders did not think of any thing higher in point of instruction. The Catholics were just emerging from the thralldom of the penal laws, and all their aspirations looked to placing their young men on a par with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Their number besides was so small that to confine their curriculum to the four collegiate classes only would have reduced their schools to insignificance; so that the greatest number of their pupils belonged to the grammar classes, which gave to their establishments an appearance of inferiority. It shall be seen before long, however, that it was, on the contrary, an advantage; but advantage or not, it could not be avoided, and it must continue still for some time longer.

Like the students of non-Catholic establishments, as soon as the pupils of our own have received their bachelor's degree, they are left to their own guidance as to their further studies. On account of the universal activity which prevails everywhere for rushing headlong into lucrative careers, none of them can think of placing themselves under private tutors in the total absence of public courses of a higher order. The chief means, therefore, which England possesses for imparting to her sons a really superior instruction—namely, the system of fellowships and private tuition—are absolutely unknown in the United States, to the great detri-

ment of the whole nation. The consequence must have been, since the beginning of this century, a universal decline in the intellectual scale, such as it had been first established at Harvard and Yale, on the plan of Cambridge and Oxford. All the United States schools now occupy the same *elementary* ground, and seem incapable of rising higher, because the time devoted to study in youth in this country is evidently too short, and the programme, followed alike in all educational establishments, is only a dry and cut prospectus, incapable of an ulterior development.

II.

The causes of this inability to rise, and be further developed, must be considered for a few moments. In the first place no comprehensive plan of superior instruction can be carried out without ample means. All colleges, in order to be permanently secured, must be founded; and, particularly the system of fellowships in England, has always been based on *foundations*. Had it not been the rule from the beginning, the colleges which go to compose the English universities would have dwindled down to simple elementary schools, as in this country. Formerly in Europe the Church was the great nursing mother of the nations' intellect, and a considerable part of her wealth was lavishly bestowed for the founding of universities and high schools of all degree. With her, and after her, kings and princes vied with each other in the pursuit of the same object, and in modern times even rich individuals have shown their conviction of the national importance of such foundations as these by their liberality and munificence. In the United States there have been some instances of this generous spirit, but they have seldom been adequate to the most urgent needs, and many literary institutions have been altogether deprived of it. The Catholics—it must be incidentally mentioned—who in general have been so lavish of their means for the building of churches and the support of charitable institutions, have not yet appeared to feel that superior instruction is at least of equal importance.

As to State aid, both from the Federal government and individual States, it is sufficiently well known that it cannot now be hoped, owing mainly to the laws lately enacted by nearly all legislatures, against appropriations being granted to *sectarian* institutions; and nearly all American colleges are more or less denominational. It is perhaps better it should be so. In an age remarkable for the universal fact in Europe, that governments consent to subsidize educational establishments only in order to obtain the complete control of them—as is already done in this country for the common schools—and to organize an odious monopoly of

teaching, often fatal to the most precious human freedom, namely, that of conscience and religion, it is important that the civil governments should have no claim to impose conditions of any kind on the noble function of teaching, as results from their subsidy. An attempt indeed has been lately made both in Washington and Albany to imitate Europe in this regard, though on a very humble, and so far inoffensive scale. It can scarcely succeed, however, because *liberal* grants of money would alone establish a claim on the part of the civil authorities, and money does not seem to be forthcoming. For this reason—the want of proper means—there is a great difficulty to give a further expansion to the course of superior instruction in American colleges. A superior course added to the usual curriculum would entail heavy additional expenses.

In a second place the efforts which have been made in this century to effect the desired rise in instruction, have been so far futile, and instead of favoring it they have rather retarded it by an obvious want of success. This deserves a serious attention.

On looking at the various prospectuses and programmes of colleges in this country, the thought is, indeed, immediately suggested that nothing higher exists in European establishments. The courses of study have been gradually enlarged in this century, and they at last look formidable in their almost encyclopædical character. In pure and applied mathematics, in philosophical discussions, in all branches of natural science, in the whole circle of human history, ancient and modern, in comparative languages, but particularly in the classics of Greece and Rome, etc., not only the elements but the highest conceptions of the human mind seem to be familiar to the students as well as to the professors. But it is only an appearance, and there is, in fact, no superior instruction afforded.

My intention is not to accuse the faculties of those establishments of intending to deceive the public, and to impose on the credulity of their pupils' parents. It would be most unjust to do so. It is known and admitted that they all are honorable men, and would shrink from anything savoring of deceit. They are fully persuaded that they are earnestly working in the great cause of education and instruction. They think that in putting on paper those enticing schemes of the highest culture, constantly enlarging and rendered more perfect, they give them at the same time as complete a realization as is possible under the circumstances. The young men under their charge begin at least to understand the meaning of literary and scientific study, and they can afterwards prosecute by themselves their investigations in case they find it profitable to do so. It is admitted that the college is not a place where complete knowledge is acquired; a young man learns there

how to study, so as to be able afterwards to complete by himself, what has been begun by his instructors.

This exonerates from blame the directors of American establishments; and to be just towards them it must be conceded that the defects of the system cannot in the least be attributed to the directors. These defects have accumulated from the very means of improvement that were attempted. The mind of the young men could not digest in so short a time the heavy food which was offered them, and the only resource left was to cram their memory. There was, in fact, no satisfactory development of their intellectual faculties, which is the great object of a college education; but unfortunately a superficial varnish was truly obtained which was thought sufficient for young gentlemen, and the whole process was sanctioned by public opinion.

The system, however, is altogether faulty, and must be changed if there is any hope of a rise in the intellectual scale. The change must begin from the very studies which are preparatory to college; and to appreciate the needs of our own schools, a word must be added to what has already been said of non-Catholic establishments. In general, the previous grammar classes have no connection whatever with the college proper. The pupils are not known when they present themselves for the Freshmen's class. An examination is thought to be sufficient to ascertain their fitness. But every college having an interest in enlarging its list of undergraduates, the examiners feel naturally inclined not to be too hard on the candidate. If he is weak on some, perhaps many, points, he is bright and intelligent, as most American youths are; he will make an effort to repair his inefficiency, and may succeed better than could be anticipated from his examination. These are plausible excuses.

Meanwhile the college professor, at the beginning of his course, naturally supposes that the students assigned for his class know their elements. If he speaks of them it is only incidentally, and he would think it derogatory to himself to make them a subject of his lectures. Thus the want of progress in the new student cannot be attributed to the professor, but to the system which leaves the preliminary studies disconnected from the regular course.

When to this want of adaptation at the first step of a student entering college, is added the crowding of very important studies in a four years' course, it becomes evident that superior instruction is but a name, and that all the means taken to afford it cannot but create a greater confusion, and hinder rather than favor a rise.

But this was intended to render more easy of comprehension, the difficulties which beset our own establishments, and have opposed so far any satisfactory addition to the usual programme.

The case is somewhat different with us, at least with respect to the first class of deficiencies. As stated above, there are always grammar schools connected with our colleges, so that the degree of knowledge the student has acquired in the elements is always well known to the official we call the prefect of studies. In case his deficiency is too great, he is not allowed to proceed, but he must repeat his former class or leave the establishment. There are cases, however, when he is put in a special class until he is able to follow the usual course. The presumption is, therefore, that all are well grounded in the elements when they enter the college proper. They are better able to understand the matters pertaining to literature, taste, and style. Memory with them is only a help to judgment, and they sooner become accustomed to develop their intellectual faculties. Hence, what is merely technical in philology and literature is, without danger, left in the background. The reading of a good author on those subjects will afterwards suffice for them. Their mind is better formed; and it is for them an immense advantage.

The necessity, however, of embracing too many subjects in their four years' course is the same for them as for the students of non-Catholic colleges. This is particularly the case with the last year of the course, which is called with us, the class of philosophy. The branches of those most important studies, which have been enumerated in a previous paragraph, cannot evidently be profitably gone through during two terms of five months each. If there is no post-graduate course of a substantial nature, it becomes painfully evident that superior instruction is altogether missed, and only the elements of real knowledge are acquired.

A single additional remark will strike any one who reflects on the case as it is. The most momentous questions are debated in our age, not only in ponderous books, but in simple essays, and worse still, in newspaper articles. The future of the human race depends on their solution. Most plausible thinkers, who often are at the same time the best masters of language, openly attack the beliefs and convictions which, till our day, were considered the bulwarks of human society. If their theories are accepted, or even regarded as probable, the Christian revelation is probably also a tissue of fables imposed on the credulity of mankind. Natural religion itself is a mere fancy. There are no eternal and reliable principles of morality. The sense of duty is at best a superstition; and what has been considered so far as truth with regard to the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, is relegated among the unknowable subjects of thought.

Can these questions, with the enormous details their discussion naturally brings forward, be successfully debated during a single

year of study—the last of the course—by young men who are at that moment preoccupied only by the thought of succeeding in their examination, which includes many other subjects, and on the eve of making their first appearance in the world? There is evidently no hope of a rise in sound instruction as long as this programme of studies is persevered in. More shall be said shortly on the same subject.

In a third place—and this will detain us but a few moments—there is not even a possibility of forming the taste of our young men in criticism and style; and not only there can be no rise in those respects, but the present visible decline of our literature cannot but be painfully accelerated.

One of the first objects of a liberal education is to develop the æsthetic feeling in the student, and enable him to judge of the beautiful in the art of writing, as well as of the good and true in point of judgment. It has been acknowledged by the common consent of educated men in modern times that there is no surer way of obtaining this result for the young generation, than the deep study and frequent reading of the best Greek and Latin authors. They have been the true models of all the literatures of Europe. In Spain, Italy, France, even England, the great writers of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries have endeavored to copy the literary productions of Greece and Rome. Germany alone has developed her classical taste in her vernacular language only during this century. But at last to-day the pure taste of antiquity is imbibed in Germany by those who wish to make their mark among the celebrated authors of their nation.

Meanwhile it has been found by experience that it is not only by a few passages of a few ancient authors that true æstheticism can be developed in a young man. A deep study of *each* author is required; and at the same time a sufficient acquaintance with a great number of them can alone subserve the intended purpose. Is it possible to obtain this result by the modern course of studies prescribed in our colleges? Does not the crowding of so many heterogeneous subjects hinder the student from reaching the object in view? And worse still, as after this unsatisfactory curriculum, the newspaper, or the light periodical, becomes the daily mental food of the best educated people in this country, is it not to be feared that the taste and style of our best writers will soon be more or less influenced by those of the common journalist or of the superficial essayist, who delight in witty puns, and think they can solve all questions by a few words of banter?

Nothing can be more fatal to superior instruction than a prevailing taste of this kind. Superficiality becomes the order of the day; the vernacular tongue itself is not sufficiently studied; and

it becomes impossible to prepare a rise in the true value of authorship. That there is no exaggeration in these complaints, the ardor with which the light books or simple and short sketches published by writers of this stamp are read by all classes alike (even by those who boast of a superior education) is the best proof of it. If Mark Twain and Josh Billings intended only to amuse us for a few idle moments, their really petty jests and delightful jokes could be welcome to our firesides; but, unfortunately, there is a visible tendency in them to be almost considered the educators of the nation, the leaders of the human intellect, and the only appreciators of the true and beautiful. Old Artemus Ward was not so pretentious. He only intended to raise an honest laugh without offending anybody, and there was no harm coming from his comical lectures. But we have progressed a great deal since he has departed from us, and I must say that he has not yet been replaced by his equal.

III.

The difficulties which have just been examined with straightforwardness and simplicity exist for our schools as well as for the other colleges of this country. Though our classes receive different names, they are absolutely the same. Our establishments are not founded, but their first institution has required large sums of money for procuring competent professors, erecting edifices adapted to their purpose, purchasing books, instruments, and collections necessary in our age for instructing young men in all the branches of a liberal education. Since, as was seen, they cannot, nevertheless, furnish us with the superior instruction we require, other heavy expenses must be incurred for the new courses of studies which must be added to their programme. This is the first obstacle to success to be got over.

But it is particularly with regard to the two other classes of shortcomings that the Gordian knot seems inextricable. From the simple statement of the case it amounts to an impossibility. It has been demonstrated, though many points of the difficulty have been necessarily passed over, that the usual four years of college do not suffice for the vastness of the programme; and the studies pursued during so short a time must remain elementary, and cannot impart a thorough knowledge of those great questions, which must, consequently, be reviewed afterwards in a much more complete manner. To be still better convinced of it, it is proper to hear the unknown writer of the article on "The Outlook of Our Colleges" in the last July number of this REVIEW. He believes that our collegiate course, such as it is, is sufficient for all purposes, and that it depends on the professors, provided they have better textbooks, to

meet with all the requirements of the case. The simple statement of it must convince the reader that it cannot be. Still, the only part of the difficulty which he examines has reference to the objections of positivists and agnostics, against which educated Catholics must be sufficiently provided with proper answers. Nothing is said by him of many other branches of study with which those questions cannot be connected, and which singularly complicate the problem of superior instruction. He says, at page 404:

"We have the truth with us, and the truth shall prevail. But in order to prevail it must be properly presented, and if our colleges cannot present it properly, then, indeed, are they sad failures. . . ."

"There is a painful lack of proper textbooks bearing on these burning issues of the day. On the one hand, there is badly needed a life of our Lord, written with a view of refuting the dangerous works of Renan and Strauss. Such a life should be written with the loving unction of a Bonaventura, by one more deeply versed in Oriental lore than Renan himself, and capable of coping with the rationalizing Biblical criticism of Strauss. It should be written in such a spirit as to show the Godhead shining forth in the manhood of our Lord and encircling His every act with the halo of His divinity. Again, we need a work that will take up all the stray beams of truth coursing through the various philosophical and social theories and systems of the day, and converge them all into a single focus. Such work requires the mental grasp of an Aquinas. It would gather up and harmonize all the conclusions and facts of the various sciences in the light of clearly defined and universally admitted principles, and with a method the rigidity of which no scientist could object to; it would, in the light of those principles, show wherein lies the fallacy of this author or that opposed to revelation; it would reconstruct his theory and place it in harmony with the truths of faith. We have a few attempts of this kind, especially on the continent of Europe, but the weak point with the majority of them is that instead of going down into the arena of science and fighting scientists with their own weapons, they plant themselves on the serene heights of religion and read their opponents lectures on their stupidity, ignorance, or malice. Surely, no man is likely to be convinced of the erroneousness of his opinions by being told that he is a blockhead. No good can come of this mode of dealing with the issues of the day. All along the line experiment must be met by experiment, fact by fact, argument by fact and argument combined. It does not suffice to pick a flaw in this incidental statement or that to prove the fallacy of this side or that. Such a process is calculated to lead the attention off the main question."

The writer winds up his remarkable paper by adding :

"When the student has thus been followed up, his religious instruction gaining in robustness and extent as his intellectual faculties quicken, he learns to revere the religion that can suggest to him the complete solution to so many life problems; he feels proud of it; he proclaims its beauties and its truths wherever an occasion offers. He is prepared to fight the battles of his faith when he goes out into the world. His education has been, in deed as well as in name, thoroughly Catholic."

This, I repeat, is said of the religious part only of the programme enjoined as a task to our undergraduates in the last year of their collegiate course. The other branches of history, mathematics, science in general, etc., must be added to it in order to understand the complete impossibility of the undertaking.

But there is, moreover, this to be said, that the difficulty consequent upon the details above mentioned regard still more the professors than the students. Where can we find men not only possessing more Oriental knowledge than Renan and able to cope with Strauss in "rationalizing Biblical criticism," but chiefly writers with "the unction of a Bonaventura," and "the mental grasp of an Aquinas?" The writer has let his pen run too fast here, and if the "superior instruction" that we desire for our colleges required absolutely the fulfilment of such conditions as these, we might as well give it up in despair and make up our mind to continue plodding as we have done so far.

Thank God, to batter down successfully the pretentious systems of agnostics and positivists, there is no need of going through such a complicated method as this, and obliging our young men to "meet, all along the line, experiment by experiment, fact by fact, argument by fact and argument combined." There would never be an end of it. The "superior instruction" advocated here must be such as to form the minds of our young men, so as to render them able to complete afterwards their education with the help of the lessons they have heard and of the books placed in their hands or indicated to them.

For if we have not properly "textbooks" on the subjects to be studied, many able articles of Catholic, scientific, and historical reviews have already appeared, and others are being periodically published, with copious references to important works which we already possess, so that before long the Catholic warrior will be in possession of a full panoply, on which he may rely for all emergencies, and "meet," if need be, "experiment by experiment, fact by fact, and argument by fact and argument combined." Of this, more details will soon be afforded. We must not believe that, so far, our adversaries have had the best of the controversy. Catho-

lics have already many reasons for being *proud* of their religion, for *revering* it, and "proclaiming its beauties and its truths wherever an occasion offers."

All these reflections, however, prove that our collegiate course is not sufficient, and that it must be supplemented by something of a higher order. Our colleges have been, so far, too limited in their sphere of usefulness, and have not sufficiently enlarged the circle of their studies; or, rather, the instruction they have given has been deficient in depth, and the completeness of their programme has been more showy than real, more indicative of good intentions than productive of satisfactory results. Still, a larger and stronger scope could scarcely be expected of them in the circumstances in which they have been founded and carried on. Nay; for the great majority of students, they have done all that was and *is* possible; and if a superior course of instruction is added to the usual and actual scheme, it must be limited to a comparatively small number of the most promising pupils. This consideration is of a great importance. It will add considerably to the possibility of success, and on this account must be kept in view for a few moments.

The enlightened part of the population in any country does not require more than the elements of a liberal education. As was said previously, men have not been created equal in mind, and few only can soar into the upper regions of the intellect. Those who compose the aristocracy of wealth naturally wish that their sons should reach the top of the ladder in knowledge, but a greater than they has decreed that many born in obscurity—nay, poverty—should be endowed with higher natural gifts, and become more eminent in the world of mind.

On account of this difference of aptitude it can be maintained that the mass of educated people are unable to rise above a common level of *universal knowledge*, as it is called. What do they need intellectually for taking their part in public affairs or engaging in private speculations and enterprises? When they can speak understandingly and with accuracy of expression on the various subjects which occupy, in general, the men of their class; when their judgment has been sufficiently formed to make them avoid the blunders of the ignorant; when they can appreciate some of the motives which influence the men by whom they are surrounded—we do not speak here of moral character, since there is question only of instruction and knowledge—they are sufficiently prepared to take their part in the drama of life and act becomingly on the stage of the world.

There are only a few who can aspire to a much higher goal, place themselves by their minds at the head of society, and become, each in his sphere, an acknowledged leader of thought and

action. But these few, as was seen, are absolutely necessary in a great nation. The mass of even enlightened citizens need not, in any case, plunge into the depth of learning, institute inquiries into abstruse questions, or find out new truths and benefit mankind by their discoveries. For the great number, therefore, a solid but limited education is sufficient. Our colleges have furnished their quota to the cultured classes of society. Starting from absolute nonentity they now send annually into the world a constantly increasing number of young men who do honor to their nationality and religion. They are found in all the walks of life—in the Church and in courts of law, in commerce and speculation, in the school and at the bed of the sick, etc. They are intellectually as efficient as the graduates of other establishments can be, and if in superior instruction they are still very imperfect, their deficiency in this regard is not worse than elsewhere. There are weak points, no doubt, in the methods adopted in their collegiate courses; but this is the case with all human institutions, which can never reach absolute perfection. One thing is certain, that educators among us are full of zeal for their functions, and the religious motives which prompt them to neglect nothing belonging to their duty, are as powerful at least as the much larger salaries which other professors receive. As to the students, Catholic young men have a mind like all others, and it is generally admitted that American youths of all classes and conditions know how to make use of the means of instruction afforded them.

This being well understood, it is time to examine in what must consist the superior instruction herein advocated, the necessary limitations as to the number of establishments into which it is capable of being introduced, and the chief means to be taken for avoiding the danger of failure, which is always fatal at the beginning of such enterprises as this.

IV.

If by superior instruction we meant the thorough study of the highest branches of knowledge necessary to form the future leaders of the nation, and to produce a class of Catholics ardent in their conviction and fully able to defend their religion against the assaults of modern adversaries, a well-organized university would be absolutely required, and the intention is not to discuss here the question of opportunity for such a vast project. Still, to prove that the time has not yet arrived for it would not be difficult. A single remark might perhaps suffice. When complete Catholic universities existed in Europe the time devoted to superior studies by those young men who were destined to occupy important posi-

tions in Church or State was so far protracted that no one in this age and country would think of undertaking the task. In the last July number of the *Dublin Review* appeared a most interesting article on St. Francis de Sales, containing very curious details as to his studies, which cannot be reproduced *verbatim* here, but which it would be good that all men interested in these questions should read attentively. It is sufficient to say that the young man, after *two* years given to rhetoric, that is, to literature and oratory, studied philosophy *four* years under such men as J. F. Suarez and J. Dandini. Then, wishing to serve God in the Church, he began his theology, to which he devoted *six* years at the Sorbonne, then the highest theological school in France. Finally, going to Padua, attracted thither by the reputation of Guido Pancirola, he went through a course of law lasting *five* years, and then thought he was fit to take his degrees.

After reading the whole passage in the *Dublin Review* the reader naturally concludes that in case we ever have universities in this country they will not be of so thorough a character. Still, it is not to be imagined that this long preparation of St. Francis de Sales was spent in the discussion of idle questions, such as flippant writers attribute to the scholastic schools. The students as well as their instructors knew the value of time, and could distinguish what was important and what was not.

The superior instruction at which we aim must be of far humbler proportions; yet it must include whatever is required for the formation of future leaders in thought and action and strong Christians in faith and practice. Consequently, the highest views must be displayed in metaphysics, ethics (including law), natural science (with the discussion of the chief questions of the day), history from a Catholic standpoint (that of Christianity in particular). We have in this short sketch more than can be embraced in a biennial post-graduate course, but it must be understood, as was said above, that a good part of it can be left to the young men themselves. Well-grounded, as we must suppose them, in the most important branches of the whole programme, it will not be difficult for them to complete their education in that respect in reading books which have been lately published by Catholic authors. Some more details must be added here to a transient word already uttered. If it is true, as was said, that there is a lack of *textbooks* which could be placed in the hands of our students when engaged in the higher course, there are now many works in which the sophisms of agnostics and positivists are scientifically rebutted. The important and almost invaluable *Revue des Questions Scientifiques*, published at Brussels, discusses, every three months, some of these subjects, and gives in each of its numbers critical reviews of the new books

which advocate the Christian side and also of those which favor the new theories. The French language, in which the *Review* is written, cannot be an objection. Natural history, particularly geology and anthropology, forms an important branch of the subjects treated in it. Holy Scripture, in its bearing on science, is interpreted in the most thorough-going manner. Everything of importance dependent on the explanation of Genesis, of the whole Pentateuch, of prophecy, of Jewish history, of the miraculous character of the New Testament, is periodically brought forward.

Another publication of the same scientific character, *La Revue des Questions Historiques*, published at Paris, is performing the same apologetic task with regard to history. Though the questions connected with French annals are, perhaps, too predominant in it, still the most important historical objections ever raised against the Church with regard to the Old and New Testaments, as well as in connection with the post-Christian history of mankind, have their full share of attention, and contribute powerfully to the vindication of truth obscured previously by unscrupulous or badly informed writers. The same *Review* contains, also, critical notices of all the best and the worst books which appear, at this time, on those subjects in France, Germany, England, Italy, etc.

These two *Reviews*, consequently, are invaluable not only on account of the special questions they treat of, but particularly because they point out the best books which can now be consulted on those subjects. They have already presented to their readers many means of reliable information which previously we had not. They continue their task with perseverance and efficiency. Soon we will have in them a full panoply, as I called it, to fight the battle of truth against the innumerable errors of the day,

A last reflection on this branch of our subject is of some importance, and it is this: If the students have already in their possession the means of completing their education after having received, during two or three years, the instructions of able professors, the task also of the professors is rendered possible if not altogether easy. There is no need of each of them being a specialist on each particular subject of which he must treat in his class. This would be preferable, but cannot yet be practically obtained. He has, however, a mine of wealth out of which he can draw treasures of most reliable information. If this was not the case we should not dare to propose the adoption of this project. But at this moment even, there is nothing impossible in the task which before long will be altogether easy, when the process shall have been going on during a few years in some model establishments.

The reader might wish that I should be more precise still, and at once trace the outlines of such a post-graduate course as is in-

tended. I must say that I do not feel competent. This must be left to those who should be chosen to undertake it. Being intrusted with the development of a mighty plan, the plan itself must come from them. As it is designed for the glory of God, God will enlighten them and make them His instruments. I have done enough with suggesting a simple idea, which I know is in the mind of many others. But I must declare that I speak here in my own individual name. I am not even the mouthpiece of others, and cannot say if what I propose shall have the approval of any one. It is likely that my motives will not be distrusted; I claim nothing more in this project.

It is important, however, that the scheme—whatever it may be—should be connected with some, at least, of the subjects already touched upon in the previous class of philosophy. Only, whilst the simple elements were then imparted to the students, far greater developments should be given to the most important branches of inquiry. That a great prominence should be bestowed on the studies of natural history (which are the only ones that agnostics and positivists think worthy of their attention) is a question difficult to solve, and which I will not discuss. But in case this were done, the sound principles of scholastic philosophy, such as they have always been taught, must never be discarded, as *belonging, forsooth, to an ignorant age*. Even physics become chaotic and often unreliable, when the great axioms of human reason are set aside to look only at phenomena, and judge of them most of the time by a one-sided and imperfect empiricism. Experiments in physical investigations are, no doubt, absolutely necessary, and the facts observed must be admitted. But often the conclusions drawn from these facts are unreliable, because they present only one face of nature. How often did not the theories of physicists, though based on experiments, require changes or even a complete reversal? On the contrary, the principles on which the human mind relies, and which form its groundwork, must be regarded as vouchers of absolute truth, able to throw a strong light even on physical investigations. My meaning will be better understood by referring to a late article in the *Catholic World* on the "Constitution of Bodies," which is a model in this regard.

But if there is doubt as to the introduction of a complete study of natural history and physics in our course of superior instruction, there can be none as to a thorough course of ethics including the principles of law. The new morality taught by agnostics and positivists is one of the worst features of their systems. The *Data of Ethics*, of Mr. Herbert Spencer, sap at the foundation of duty, such as it has always been understood by true philosophers—not to say by Christians. Mr. Darwin, in his *Descent of Man*, openly

proclaims that morality is essentially the same for animals as for man, and that a pointer dog *ought* to point, and a retriever *ought* to retrieve, absolutely for the same reason that man *ought* to perform his moral duty. When such is the case—and it is the case for nearly all positivists—when particularly these doctrines appear true to some and most plausible to many, it is of utmost importance that our young men should be taught better, and should thoroughly be able to pass judgment on those sophisms, and to expose them before others.

Again, though the branch of natural history called anthropology has not yet been sufficiently elucidated by true scientists, it is most proper that whatever is certainly known in that branch of study, and also what is still problematical should be perspicuously distinguished and stated. Many writers, even Catholic, consider as true, or at least very probable, conclusions drawn from prehistoric studies as to the high antiquity of man, which other able scientists think are still unproven, and may be after all rash and hasty. It is on this field and in the branch of geology called palæontology, that the great battle between truth and error most probably shall be fought. Every impartial man easily understands that it would be often fatal to grant as indubitable what at best is only conjectural. Still some Catholic writers do not seem to perceive the danger, and play too often in the hands of adversaries. The celebrated Abbé Bourgeois was eminently one of them. God may give rest to his soul.

Finally, one of the most important subjects of investigation in our superior course, is at this moment the vindication of Holy Scripture in its canon, authenticity, inspiration, and interpretation. The most violent attacks against Christianity have always been and are still directed against the Bible. The task of the apologist in our day, if complex and lengthy, is at least less arduous than it formerly was, on account of the daily discoveries which are made in that interesting field, and confirm the truth of Catholic doctrine on all points which have ever been controverted.

These studies must be carried on with such completeness that the young men who should feel a peculiar leaning toward some of them, would be naturally inclined to apply themselves to it during the remainder of their lives, and become specialists on that particular subject. This is done in all the nations of Europe, but has so far scarcely been attempted in this country. It is chiefly from specialists of eminence that nations derive those benefits which make their existence necessary to them. The reader has not forgotten the few words which were said on that subject. All nations have need of them for the highest purposes of civilization.

In this country the only specialists universally known are those

who devote their lives to invention in the mechanical arts, and the United States are pre-eminent by the number of these most useful men. But this requires often more skill than mind, more combinations of devices than real strength of intellect. This is in fact scarcely included in our plan, and for us specialism soars into the regions of the beautiful, the good, and the true. The best preparation for treating of such high themes is to apply the mind during several years of the beginning of manhood to the most serious scientific and religious investigations, as a basis for some ulterior object.

A complete university would be still more desirable; but is this now possible? Is there not a previous link required between colleges, such as we have them, and that highest degree of universal knowledge? In the present scheme can be found the necessary link between what we possess and what we all desire. This is absolutely wanting at this moment; and the progress consequent upon it shall be so considerable that we can very well feel satisfied with it. The project, however, is not without great difficulties of detail, which must be summarily mentioned.

V.

The chief ones can soon be reviewed by considering the fact that this very project has already been attempted in several Catholic colleges, and if I am well informed these attempts have invariably ended in failure. Yes, the necessity for it is so great that for a long time already the subject has engrossed the attention of our best instructors. By examining the causes of their want of success we will be less in danger of failing another time.

Most of these attempts have been made in boarding colleges, and the young men who wished to follow the new post-graduate course were obliged to keep the disciplinary regulations of the house. It could not, of course, be otherwise. The consequence was that the number of students was extremely small, and soon dwindled down to nothing. This came from both parents and students; from parents who, having already made many sacrifices for the education of their sons, could not or would not bear any longer the same burden; from the young men who, having received their degree, did not like to continue boarders in a college, and wished at once to begin an active life.

This difficulty can be obviated in a very simple way, namely, by establishing the post-graduate courses only in important and populous cities, where the students are not boarders, but come to college for their classes. The lectures of the post-graduate course, moreover, would not be attended during the day, but in the even-

ing, when business is over in the city, and the ordinary pupils have left the school. Thus the students of the superior course of instruction would be able to choose a profession, and begin to work for it directly after taking their degree of A.B. They could devote their leisure time to the serious consideration of the evening lectures at which they would assist, and which might not take place oftener than twice or three times a week. In the supposition that the new professors should attract their attention from the very beginning, I have no doubt that their number would rapidly increase, being composed of our most intelligent young men in all the walks of life; clergymen recently ordained, students of medicine, of law, of engineering, clerks in large and influential establishments, etc.

Only one thing might be in the way of complete success, and this is the universal spirit of this country, which is bent almost exclusively on immediate advantages; so that when young men start in life with an object in prospect, they throw themselves entirely into it, and cannot think of a future advantage which may even interfere with their present intention. This is in the main beneficial, and results into a profitable activity for the whole nation. But, as was said before, God everywhere grants higher intellectual gifts to a few, who feel a secret leaning for a higher vocation. They know that the knowledge they have acquired at college is very limited, and wish to lay a more solid foundation for their future improvement. These would form the first nucleus of our post-graduate courses, and a sufficient number of pupils would be found for them.

The second difficulty, which must be looked into for a moment, comes from the choice of professors to be appointed for that object. It is known that it is not always easy to find able teachers for the higher classes of the ordinary collegiate course. The task must be still more arduous in this new undertaking. For this reason, no doubt, whenever a post-graduate course was heretofore added to the ordinary curriculum, it was limited to a single year, and a single professor was appointed for it. In the new arrangement, not less than two, and as much as possible three, will be necessarily required. This will be a serious difficulty in many places. But a couple of prudential measures can to a great degree obviate it. The first must be to establish permanently a small number only of those new institutions. The endeavor to annex a post-graduate course to every one of our colleges, which seemed for awhile to prevail, is evidently preposterous, and must always end in failure. It was probably suggested by the common fault of those Americans who blindly follow the dictum of fashion, and try to rival each other in dress, furniture, architecture, eating and drink-

ing, etc. But this strange mania is particularly hurtful in education, because it forms a mould for the mind which forestalls nearly all intellectual progress, in a country eminently progressive in many other points.

The second measure to be adopted will consist in placing these few establishments in large, or, at least, important cities, wherever there are day colleges with a considerable number of pupils, and a more imposing graduating class at the end of the course. It is invariably in such localities as these that it is more easy to find professors without calling them from distant places. These intellectual centres are better furnished with subjects who propose to devote their life to study and teaching. With these precautions it is not presumptuous to hope that the country at large, and the Catholic Church in the United States, would derive immense benefits from the proposed undertaking.

In concluding, however, it is important to make some remarks on the great object which must be chiefly kept in view. This is the raising of intellect in our young men to a higher level, more still than the total triumph of truth over error on the various questions studied in this superior course. This last result must be chiefly the consequence of the first. It was said that the course itself, developed afterwards, must furnish a "panoply" or a complete armor of defence against the aberrations of the day. But we must not conclude from this that we shall ever be able to convince our adversaries, and oblige them to confess their defeat. This would be a quixotic undertaking. We can produce conviction on those who have not yet embraced those errors. We can secure the faith of those who belong to its "household;" and this alone would be a great achievement worthy of a hard labor. As to those whose mind has been once totally imbued with modern delusions, all we can hope is to prevent them from openly boasting that their arguments have not been answered, and that their theories are faultless.

To give a proof of it it suffices to know the fact that there is not, perhaps, a country in Europe, where the Catholic side of those questions has been better and more strongly expressed than lately in France. How many agnostics and positivists have been converted by these discussions? I know only of one, namely, M. Littré, who died a Christian, after having been one of the most ardent positivists of the age. When M. Pasteur, one of the first scientific discoverers in France, and a thorough Catholic, was lately received as a member of the *French Academy* in the place of M. Littré, who had just died, he proclaimed openly his belief that positivism was absolutely false, and could not agree with the latest data of science; when, in the fervor of his zeal, he condescended

to give a short, but incontestable refutation of it, he was loudly applauded by the learned and most refined assembly that listened to him. His address was afterwards published by nearly all the great periodicals of France. Still we have not heard of any conversion from this great and noble speech.

It is but too true that when once the intellect of man has been vitiated by sophism, it loses its power of acknowledging truth, and cannot recover it but by the greatest efforts, seconded by the grace of God. Sometime this blindness of man's intellect seems to be an incurable disease; and since no one that I know has ever expressed this deplorable fact better than Donoso Cortes, in his *Essay on Catholicity, etc.*, I will end by a short quotation, more capable of making impression on the reader than all I could say:

"There is a secret and close affinity between human reason and absurdity. Sin has united them by the bonds of an indissoluble alliance. . . . You who aspire to subjugate people, to rule nations and to control human reason, proclaim not that you are the depositaries of clear and evident truths; above all beware of producing your proofs, if you have them, because the world will never acknowledge your authority, but will rather rebel against the rude yoke, which such evidence would impose upon them. Proclaim, on the contrary, that you possess an argument which will disprove a mathematical truth, which will demonstrate that two and two make five; that there is no God, or that man is God; that the world has until now been the slave of shameful superstitions; that the wisdom of ages is simply pure ignorance; that all revelation is an imposture; that all government is tyranny and all obedience slavery; . . . that good is evil and evil is good; that the Devil is God and God is the Devil; that beyond this world there is neither hell nor heaven; that the world we inhabit is, and has been, a real hell, but that man can transform it into a true paradise, which it is destined to become; that liberty, equality, and fraternity, are dogmas incompatible with the Christian religion. . . .

"Announce these propositions, and you may rest assured that, at the mere assertion of such things, the world will wonder at your wisdom, and, fascinated by such a display of science, will listen to your opinions with the greatest attention and respect."

Should any one find exaggeration in all this, he must nevertheless remember that these *suppositions* of the great writer are facts; all the absurd *propositions* mentioned here have been literally set forth, and we hear many of them every day. Donoso Cortes was not, therefore, in fault when he began by exclaiming: "There is a secret and close affinity between human reason and absurdity!" We cannot hope to convert many of our erring brothers, however irrefutable our demonstrations may be.

LABOR DISCONTENT.

The Relations of Political Economy to the Labor Question. By Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, etc. Boston. A. Williams & Co. 1882.

Elements of Political Economy, with Especial Reference to the Industrial History of Nations. By Robert Ellis Thompson, M.A. Philadelphia. Porter & Coates. 1882.

ONE of the serious questions of our century is the increasing frequency of collisions between labor and capital, not in one country, but in nearly every part of the civilized world. In the United States the rapid concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, the immense strides to power of great corporations, on the one hand, and the influence of the employed in associations on the other, render the collisions so continuous and serious that a solution of the difficulty becomes of vital importance to the welfare of the republic.

It has been treated as an abstract question; it has been treated from the standpoint of political economy; but the treatment in either case has left the question practically where it was before. In the abstract the possession of capital by individual or corporation, no matter by what means acquired, gives the right to obtain labor at the least possible rate, with no further obligation towards the one who supplies the labor required than the payment of the lowest stipend. Political economy, by professing to regard the general welfare of a community as a necessary element, limits to a certain extent the absolute power of capital, and makes some claim for labor. It seeks to render "labor more generally attractive and remunerative without impairing the efficiency of capital, so that all the workers of society may have their proper share in the distribution of profits."

That it has hitherto effected anything in this direction is very doubtful; its theories have produced no actual result. Political economy has virtually proved itself inadequate to the task.

Mr. Wright admits this. "Political economy," he confesses, "has failed to see that the highest industrial prosperity of nations has attended those periods most given to moral education and practices." He belongs to the new school which regards religion and morality as potent factors not to be disregarded by political economy in its consideration of living questions. "History," he continues, "is full of lessons from which the new school will attempt to teach that the growth of a healthy, intelligent, and vir-

tuous operative population is as much for the pecuniary interest of manufacturers themselves as for civilization; that the decline of the morals of the factory means the decline of the nation, and that the morals, the force, the higher welfare of the nation depend upon the welfare of the working masses." Yet, if we mistake not, Mr. Wright is the very man who, in an official document issued in the name of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, characterized the French Canadians, who as we shall see are by his own criterion the most moral and best of the factory population of the State, as "the Chinese of the Eastern States,"—a sad instance showing that neither philosophical studies nor high official position can raise a man from the slough of religious hate in which his race has wallowed for centuries, and that not even the new school of political economy can make him enough of a man to treat a subject with fairness or even decency, if there is a Catholic element in it.

If the older school failed the new school will, we fear, in its attempt to engraft morality and religion into the science, merely give it a factitious life by sectarianism and bigotry.

While the political economists thus admit their failure, and build hopes on new schools, a large class of men deride all attempts at reform, and hold that the question will right itself in the end, and that no control is required in the future to prevent great public disasters. These writers maintain that in a country like ours, if a man is sober, industrious, and economical he will acquire capital and pass from the ranks of labor to that of capital. But this again is mere abstract reasoning. An artisan may place the savings of his economy in a home for his family, but in most cases has to subject it to a mortgage to some capitalist, individual or corporate. The capitalists of the country by their gambling in stocks or produce bring on a panic, foreclosures follow, the homes of the artisans are sold and bought in by the capitalist, and the artisan sees all the petty capital he had acquired swept away, although he had been sober, industrious, and economical. Even where he succeeds in acquiring property free from mortgage, he is not safe; capitalists may project public improvements, which may be wild, but capital secures legislative authority, a municipal body carries out the work, assessments to an enormous extent are laid, the capitalist increases his capital, then the bubble bursts, the property is not worth the assessment laid, and the artisan sees the home acquired by his sobriety, industry, and economy swept away from him. This is not a case of rare occurrence; almost every city and town in the country can furnish hundreds of examples.

These constantly recurring financial crises add to the wealth of the great capitalists and corporations, who profit by the ruin of the small proprietors, mainly artisans, and recall the saying of one who

had seen great vicissitudes of fortune, that "gold is in its last analysis the sweat of the poor and the blood of the brave."

The prices of food, clothing, rent, depend on the great capitalists, and are kept constantly fluctuating by them. The government of the country cannot impose a tax on the citizens with the ease or collect it as surely as the railroads can by the concerted action of half a dozen men, who by adding to the price of freight can lay a ten per cent. tax on flour, coal, butcher's meat, or cotton.

All the quantities in the problem are variable, but variable at the will of capital. On capital depends the prices of the commodities of life, and capital fixes the remuneration of the artisan, by which alone he can obtain the commodities. When panics have swept away the savings of artisans, when their homes are confiscated by insurance companies, municipal corporations, or crashing savings-banks, and they find their wages inadequate to supply their wants, then comes the demand for higher remuneration. If it is not met, the laboring class sees the necessity of combined action to produce some result. This has led to the formation of Trades Unions, and the artisan makes himself a slave to a new organization in hope of obtaining what he deems just and equitable. He becomes a mere machine in the hands of the union; when it ordains a strike he ceases to work, and aids in compelling others by argument or by force to cease labor also.

The railroad strike a few years ago, and the freight-handlers' strike of 1882, paralyzed the whole transport trade of the country; strikes at the coal mines have frequently almost cut off the supplies of fuel; and strikes in manufacturing branches have in one locality after another arrested the great industries of the land.

We are now and have for some years been governed by those who favor and uphold a protective tariff, and the government by placing heavy duties on certain goods from foreign countries aids the American manufacturer here to obtain a remunerative price for the articles produced in his establishment. The repeated strikes of the operatives, however, show that the manufacturers in their dealings with the hands do not imitate the generosity of the government, but seem to consider the enhanced price a personal gift to themselves, not one intended to be shared with their employees.

When strikes become unusually numerous, or a general strike sweeps over the land, and violence and rioting ensue to such an extent that the militia have to be called out at the agonized cry of capital for help, movements are made in State legislatures to check strikes and prevent strikers from preventing those who are willing to work from continuing their daily labor; but in a system as corrupt as ours, the members of legislative bodies are then thrown into a quandary. Capitalists can give liberally and do spend lav-

ishly to secure legislation which will aid their projects ; but, on the other hand, in districts where there are many operatives, their votes are too numerous to be lost or even endangered. The result is the passage of half-hearted acts, that give promises with no intent to fulfil, that try to meet both sides.

The attitude of the sects towards strikes shows no strength. Protestantism in its multitudinous forms, all strong in negating doctrines and practices but essentially weak in carrying any out, can do nothing. It instinctively sides with wealth against poverty, and is fast losing the hold till of late possessed by some of its sects over the artisan class. Catholicity stands in a different position. It has definite doctrines, points that arise in daily life are decided by fixed principles, and logical deductions from truths already recognized, and when decided in the court of highest appeal are weighed far from the turmoil of the passionate elements which here on the spot may cloud the judgment.

The clergy of the Catholic Church in the United States can exercise little influence over the capitalists. The great corporations, soulless, with officers who disavow individual responsibility, under the system of dual conscience so prevalent among us, are not controlled by Catholics ; few of the great capitalists are Catholics, so that the influences of the Church cannot reach them. Where Catholics have acquired very great wealth, it seems especially to harden their hearts not only to divine grace but to the natural instincts of benevolence ; and over this class the minister of God finds that the promises and menaces of the Gospel have lost all power.

But the field of labor of the priest is especially among the poor ; he is known and welcomed in the apartments of the operative ; the children attend his school ; the parents approach the sacraments he administers ; he comes to know their hopes and their trials and naturally sympathizes with them. Where he sees them trying by legitimate means to obtain better wages for their labor, he cannot but encourage them to do so ; and he is hopeful as long as they remain within the bounds prescribed, but when he sees secret associations formed, oaths and grips introduced, he is compelled to warn his flock against the insidious poison proffered to their lips. As strikes go on, and are beginning to wane, his aid is sought on both sides to aid in effecting a compromise. The artisan or laborer losing faith in his union listens more calmly to advice ; while the capitalist finding it necessary to make some concession can do it more gracefully and with less sacrifice of pride, when he affects a virtue if he has it not, and seems to honor religion by yielding to its minister what no combination could extort from him.

The priest in these cases acts individually, and often uncertainly, but the matter is one that calls for attention. The appeals to the workingmen, the tracts he reads on the subject, emanate, as a general rule, from minds imbued with communistic ideas, minds that ignore Christianity and its lessons, that mock at the higher interests—the soul and its salvation. All tends more and more to alienate the Catholic operative from the practice of his religion, even when he is not tangled in the meshes of a secret society, or a society so framed as to lead him, by almost certain steps, to others clearly forbidden by the laws of God.

There is a want of sound Catholic treatment of the question in the grave and sober words of the prelate; in the more popular forms of discussion and explanation by those accustomed to address men with little time or training for serious and profound thought. We need sound popular tracts on the subject to circulate among workingmen.

The field of operation for the Church is with us more circumscribed than perhaps in any other country. In England, France, Germany, even in Italy, a Catholic view of any great question of the day is always to be heard in the halls of the great legislative assemblies. Laws that touch the condition of the workingman, or which his well-being, here and hereafter, require, are examined or framed in accordance with the justice which the Church defines, and with a regard to his immortal soul; but in our Congress, and even in our State legislatures, a Catholic treatment of a great question is something utterly unheard of. This does not arise from hostility or disinclination to hear; on the contrary, the view of any absorbing topic based on the sound conservative doctrines of the Church, presented in a masterly manner, would arrest the general attention, and would be listened to with respect and interest. As it is, however, the voice of Catholicity is silent in those halls.

Catholics are virtually unrepresented in our legislative halls, and the few Catholics who reach them, are in most cases morally afraid of treating a subject from a Catholic standpoint.

The press, constantly becoming more and more unchristian in tone and spirit, is equally unleavened by Catholic views, and where the topics are handled in our own periodicals, they reach only a very limited circle, and are no more known or understood by the general public than if they were published in Africa or China.

But if the field is thus narrowed, it calls for all the greater energy and activity on our part in creating a school of Catholic political economy, to convince the workingman that in the Church he will find his soundest and surest guide, and that the wisdom of God and the guidance of the Holy Ghost are not promised to secret societies, but that, as clear violations of sound principles of moral-

ity, they can but lead to evil. And, as against the increasing spirit of communism, the man of property will learn that only in the sound, unerring, and unwavering doctrines of the Church is there any guarantee for what he possesses.

As a Catholic exponent of sound political economy, there is, perhaps; in our day no one who has achieved more than the present great and illustrious Bishop of Barcelona. . . . A treaty with France was laid before the Cortes, in which he is a Senator. There were speeches upon it; some in favor, others in opposition. Meanwhile the Bishop of Barcelona was carefully studying the treaty in its bearings on the industry and the industrial classes of Spain, with all the light of thorough Catholic training in the highest school of ethics. When he rose and began to discuss the treaty, the superficial speakers and speeches were forgotten. With the hand of a master he showed that it struck a blow at the industries of Spain, which must lead to the impoverishment of the artisan, entailing want, beggary, temptation, and vice; transforming a contented and prosperous class into a source of anxiety and danger to the state; depriving them of all hope in this world and the next. In the older Cortes of Spain, by a most admirable arrangement, every class and interest was represented. Now the artisans had no distinct representative to look to their interests and see that they were not menaced, but to their delight they beheld their interests advocated with a learning and a skill that satisfied the statesman, while it was read and appreciated in every gathering of workingmen in Spain. The bishop's return to his episcopal city, busy, industrious Barcelona, was a triumph, and his public reception was an index of the feeling prevalent throughout the peninsula.

The movement of Bishop Ireland, in Minnesota, rests on sound principles of political economy. One of the evils of which Mr. Wright complains is thus stated: "Luxury—I speak of enervating luxury—depopulates the country and annihilates, by degrees, the class of husbandmen, for indolence and avidity tempt them to quit a laborious occupation for one which is more lucrative, though less certain. The ease in which the artificers of luxury live seduces the indigent peasantry, draws them to the manufacturing centres, and the country is deserted." Bishop Ireland sees all this, and sees that the peasant from abroad, landing here as an immigrant, is more likely to be demoralized in the great cities even than the American from the rural parts. He has for years been calling their attention to the rich fields of the West, and by his system he has led thousands to take up lands, and, by industry, temperance, and thrift, make themselves, in a few years, prosperous and comfortable farmers. Money invested in agricultural lands, though its

return may be comparatively low, is safer than when placed in savings-banks, stocks, or village and city property.

The new school which Mr. Wright represents recognizes "as fundamental elements of political economy the humanity of the world and its moral condition, because the best humanity is to be found where the best morality prevails. They recognize that it is by the labor of the people employed in various branches of industry that all ranks of the community, in every condition of life, annually subsist, and that, by the produce of this labor alone, nations become powerful in proportion to the surplus which can be spared for the exigencies of the state, and that, by the increase or diminution of the produce of this labor, states, kingdoms, and empires flourish or decay."

The author predicts that political economy will, in the near future, deal largely with the family, with wealth, with the state, as the three features of its doctrines, and not confine itself to wealth alone. Under family it will take cognizance of the relations of the sexes, marriage and divorce, the position of woman, and the education and employment of children. He admits that "in the sacredness of the family is found the strength of a people," but he deplores that "statistics prove three things conclusively: First, that for the past decade marriages have decreased in proportion to the increase of population; second, that divorces have increased; third, that illegitimate births have increased." He looks forward to the time "when the countless pulpits that, so far back as history can reach, have been preaching Catholicity or Anglicanism, Presbyterianism or Calvinism, or other isms, shall set to work to preach Christianity at last."

This is rather confused. The preaching of Anglicanism, Calvinism, Presbyterianism does not go back as far as history can reach; it does not even go back as far as the discovery of America—scarcely further than the settlement of St. Augustine. For centuries the Catholic Church has been preaching Christianity, a Christianity that, by its monastic orders, moulded the barbarous tribes of England, Belgium, Germany, Scandinavia, and Slavonia into civilized and Christian nations. If Christianity exists in any of those countries, even in a shadowy form, it is due to the old teachings of the Catholic Church. That the teachings of the Church and the safeguards it throws around innocence, the zeal it inspires for virtue, its jealousy of sacred family ties, all are the very elements for good which political economy craves, can be shown by the very statistics that reveal the sad state of affairs which this author deplores. In no part of the world had any form of Protestantism the field more completely and exclusively to itself than Calvinism had in Massachusetts. It controlled the State; citizenship was confined

to church members; no other form was tolerated; yet it is among the very people trained for generations in this school, that increased illegitimacy proves the wide spread of adultery and fornication, justifying the statement of Rev. Dr. Bacon, that the frequency of divorce in New England is the natural result of the deepseated immorality. It is worth noting, too, that in Scotland and Sweden, where a single Protestant denomination has been supreme and almost universal, the same low moral grade is shown by the statistician.

That this deepseated immorality, striking its deadly blows at the family, the matrimonial bond, and the sanctity of home, exists mainly among the Protestant portion of the community, is admitted, for in all discussions of the divorce question, in all calculations on statistics, the reserve is made of the Catholics, among whom divorces are never permitted. It was an old, stale charge that Catholicity opposed marriage, and, by its praise of a holy celibacy, tended to check the increase of population; but now statistics show that marriage among Catholics, although indissoluble, is more frequent than among Protestants, who, during the marriage service, can indulge the hope of a divorce if all does not go smoothly. That Catholic marriages are far more fruitful than Protestant marriages is no less clearly attested by statistics, for, even in Boston, the majority of infants born alive are baptized in the Catholic churches, although Catholics are not more numerous than Protestants. The very existence of a celibate clergy and religious of both sexes is in itself a perpetual lesson to the Catholic to control his passions, and sanctify by moral purity the unmarried or married life.

As we have seen, the writer stigmatized the French Canadians as "the Chinese of the East;" yet a writer in the *Atlantic Monthly*, treating expressly of the factory towns, bore testimony to the close, well-ordered home life of these people; their quiet, orderly character; their frugality, sobriety, and virtue. It contrasted the conduct of the French girls with the flirting, saloon-visiting American girls. They came from a colony coeval with Massachusetts; like it, under religious influence from its foundation; but, while Calvinism in Massachusetts has produced only immorality, divorce, illegitimacy, Catholicity in Canada, dealing with a more lively and excitable race, has produced a virtuous people, the sanctity of the matrimonial tie, a genuine home life, pure maidenhood.

Catholicity is thus counteracting the disintegrating effect of Protestant teaching and theory. Of late years the vehicle of this teaching has been the public school. By the exclusion of all moral instruction, it has sapped the morality of the last and the

rising generation. When, in the course of a school life, the pupil is never taught the commandments,—“Thou shalt not kill,” “Thou shalt not commit adultery,” “Thou shalt not steal,”—he grows up with no conviction of the necessity of respecting his neighbor's life, the sanctity of his home, or his property. As long as some of the traditions of old Catholic life remain the fatal result of this godless teaching is not immediately apparent, but when it is tried on a race like the freedmen of the South, the results are alarming. An experienced New England teacher, occupying a high educational position in the South, wrote recently, with all frankness, that, till he had witnessed the result of the New England system of public schools on the negroes of the South, he had no conception how utterly immoral it was; it excluded religious and moral considerations, and he found the pupils ignored what was not taught.

Where the working class have not a strong religious training to fall back upon, the loss of their savings by depreciation of real estate, foreclosure, excessive taxation and assessments, investment in unsafe depositories, or other injudicious employment, creates a despondency and often checks all further inclination to labor and get on. Men sink back into listless apathy, as we see in Ireland, where every encouragement to industry is removed by the glaringly unsound system of agricultural land tenure; or, as is more commonly the case in our large cities, men feel themselves wronged and robbed by society, and array themselves against it, swelling the ever-increasing army of the dangerous classes, an army that receives many recruits, but never loses by desertion.

The charge is often made that the artisan class is unthrifty and extravagant. This arises in most cases from mere ignorance. They are systematically imposed upon and overcharged by petty dealers; they never in youth are taught to judge the quality of goods, or the proper articles to buy. Every one accustomed to enter the shops frequented by this class has seen these poor people egregiously imposed upon, unsuitable goods forced upon them at extravagant prices, and every advantage taken of their ignorance. Mrs. Somerville, in her labors for the emigrants to Australia, found this ignorance to be the source of so much loss that she undertook systematic instruction, and saw the happiest results. Unfortunately the work she inaugurated died with her; but it would be a much more useful branch in our schools than many taught there, which cannot under probable combination of circumstances be at all useful to the working class.

If in our parish schools practical instruction could be given to enable pupils to judge of the strength, value, durability of cotton, woollen, silk and mixed goods; the relative price of pieces from

different parts of butchered animals, the best parts for particular purposes, the most economical cuts and ways of preparing them, a very large percentage of their future earnings would be saved, and they would escape the common charge of unthrift and extravagance.

The investment of savings is a subject that seems to have received little attention. Government savings-banks like those in England would be the safest for city and town workers, who are not trained to agricultural labors, and therefore cannot well or wisely invest it in farming lands; the only other really safe and judicious investment is in government bonds, but the proper preservation of these is itself a matter of difficulty. Depositing in the ordinary savings-banks, and investment in city or town real estate or in stocks of any kind, always involves a great risk, which should be discountenanced. As, however, thousands, of comparatively poor men, subsisting by their daily labor, own in all parts of the country lands subject to mortgage, a movement should be made for legislation that will prevent the present system of confiscation by foreclosure. No act can be passed to impair the obligation of contracts; and where a mortgage when it falls due is called in, the right of the mortgagee may be held sacred; but a law may define that if it is allowed to continue without being called in, for thirty days after the time of payment fixed in the bond, it shall be held to be extended for five years. It is manifestly unjust that the mortgagee should be free to watch his opportunity in time of financial distress, and demand payment when the debtor cannot raise a new loan on the property, then sell it by foreclosure and buy it in, sweeping away all the savings of an industrious man. Legislation on this point is one of the greatest needs of the time. In the case of loans on personal property the State steps in to protect the borrower, and there is no sound reason why it should not interpose its protecting arm between the borrower on real estate and the pawnbroker who lends the money but seeks to grasp the pledge. A table of the foreclosures in this country in the last ten years, showing the amount of property bought in by mortgage-holders, and the amount of money lost by the property-holders, would be one of the most valuable additions to the study of political economy.

The cause of temperance requires all the encouragement possible. The wages of the mechanic are diminished more by indulgence in malt and spirituous liquors, than by any other means. The Catholic colonization schemes of the West wisely make the sale of liquors impossible in the settlements formed under their auspices. Drunkenness is the prevailing evil of our day, and its repression by the somewhat arbitrary exercise of power has been

attempted in many States; but mere State law can never make men moral; and here again the Church has a field peculiarly her own in which to lay a religious foundation for conversion. When the workman finds proper food well prepared and a pleasant home he will have less temptation to frequent the saloon; so that instruction in the proper use of money, already referred to, will help the cause of temperance. Where the wife is no housekeeper there is no home, and where there is no home man will seek a pleasant place for his hours of rest. Societies, like that of the Holy Family in Canada, can do much to improve the homes of our Catholic workmen, and they will render the greatest service to God and the country. A writer on political economy bears this testimony to what the Church has done, and shows what the Church may yet do. "So long as the ginshop and the bar-room are to the modern workman what the Church was to the peasant of the Middle Ages, viz., the only clean, warm and well-lighted room that he is welcome to visit in his hours of leisure,—so long will he go to them" (*Thompson*, p. 132).

We return from these considerations on the means of improving the condition of the working classes in general to the question of insufficient wages, the point where the workman finds that his earnings are not sufficient to give him a support, much less provide for a season of enforced idleness, either from sickness or suspension of work. The usual plan has been to secure an advance by a strike organized in a trades' union. Whether in this country these strikes have benefited the workingmen or not is a grave question as to which opinions differ, the data being insufficient to form a positively accurate judgment. The unions come to us from England, and are generally managed by operatives from that country. They have some bad points. They put the poor and careless workman on a level with the most learned, skilful and careful, by requiring the same rate of payment for both. "They have," as Thompson remarks, "unquestionably checked the growth of some of our industries, by limiting too much the number of persons who may be admitted as apprentices, a rule that does far more mischief in a rapidly expanding country than in one that is nearer the limit of its industrial capacities." They assume a power of dictation to employers, insisting on the choice of foremen and superintendents, or on their continuance or removal against the wish and interest of employers. In practice the sober married operative seldom attends the meetings of the union. The idle, homeless, and more worthless attend, and by noise and numbers carry the union for a course or policy to which the better class of workmen reluctantly submit. They dare not act against the resolve, and know too little of the union machinery to modify or reverse it. From a moral

point of view this surrendering of individual responsibility is the worst feature. No man should belong to any union in which any demand for increased wages, any strike or line of policy is adopted, unless it be done in a general meeting of the trade when every member has a chance to vote. United action is, in many cases, the best and most effective means for labor to secure fair terms in dealing with capital; but it must be united action fairly agreed to by the whole body, not sprung on them by a few, and reluctantly acquiesced in by the many, under the pressure of a supposed obligation which they cannot avoid.

Strikes as against individual masters have not often succeeded; the late strikes in this country against great railroad corporations have failed; and it is not easy to see how they could have hoped for success. Where the strike is by highly skilled workmen not easy to replace, the probabilities of success are great; but as you descend the probabilities decline, and in unskilled labor are very slight, as the numbers requiring to be supported during a strike are very large, and the chances of the employer finding other workmen very great.

A strike is a time of great temptation to workmen. Habits of idleness are formed; a man loses self-respect by living on a kind of charity, that fosters a spirit of beggary; saloons thrive and homes are filled with despondent men. It is somewhat painful to see the helplessness of the general class of operatives. During a strike it is rare to see a striking workman turn his idle time to account by trying his hand upon some other work. There are fish in our rivers and bays, and men, as a relaxation, go off to fish; but who ever saw a striker go to fish to supply a meal for his family, or stroll over pastures to gather mushrooms for food, as many a man did in the South during the late war? That striking is a bad training must be conceded. It does the individual harm, and confers no corresponding benefit; as a means of attaining the object in view it seldom succeeds.

The just remuneration for labor is not easily fixed. In the old time most countries regulated by law the price of the necessities of life; but no attempt was made to fix the price for the countless forms of human labor, or make a scale for each trade and occupation; this will ever be impossible. Yet the price of the necessities of life regulate the wages, which must go up as they rise. When rent, food, and clothing grow dearer, the wages fail to meet the wants of the workman; he asks for more. In principle he is entitled to it; for the wages previously fair are no longer so. The machinery of the capitalist, the farming land of the landlord are unproductive till human labor makes them so, and in the profit both should share: how far, is a problem that there is no clear criterion

to solve. Law, science, fail to draw the line. Religion, that teaches moderation, a love of our neighbor, must assert her sway, and lead men to regard those working for them from a higher and nobler standpoint, to see in their welfare the best security for what they themselves possess. As an able editor remarks: "Labor was originally a curse; Christianity made it a blessing, a means of attaining merit. Take away the necessity of earning a living, or the desire to attain an advanced inequality, and there will be no wealth created by man. The ore will lie in the mine, the marble in the quarry."

The recent parade of workingmen in New York shows a widespread discontent among the operatives, and taken in connection with the recent strikes is a matter for serious thought. Catholics are largely represented, and the Church, if she is to retain her hold on them, must show them their danger, aid them in their lawful struggle, and sustain them in trial.

THE COMING TRANSIT OF VENUS.

NO astronomical problem was sooner attempted by the early scientists, none has more persistently resisted the most skillful efforts made to solve it, than that of the dimensions of the universe. In all ages the six thousand stars that may be detected by the naked eye, could not but arouse the admiration and excite the curiosity of the thoughtful. And in these days of scientific advancement and of the popularization of knowledge, when our highly improved instruments reveal to our gaze not six thousand merely, but about thirty million worlds, when astronomy has become the common property of men to such an extent that there are few not initiated into some of her secrets, inquisitive minds are still further stimulated in their endeavors to solve this problem.

It is not astonishing, then, that as men gaze into space, conscious that the bright specks in the sky are suns, many of them far exceeding our own in magnitude, whirling through space with attendant satellites like our planets, there should be a constant demand made for more accurate and thorough knowledge, and that astronomers should be urged and solicited to push to the very limit their prying into those mysterious depths, to measure, as well as may be, those huge distances which reveal to us more strikingly

than any other created object, the infinite glory and the unfathomable immensity of the Creator.

In answer to this demand our large telescopes, aided by that smaller, but not less admirable instrument, the spectroscope, tell us something of the chemical composition of the stars, make us acquainted in a measure with their relative temperatures, and even reveal in many of them a motion hitherto quite unsuspected, as is shown by the appellation *fixed* star; but notwithstanding these advances, the old problem of the heavenly dimensions still baffles all efforts. However, we are better off than the ancients, who could measure only the lunar distance, the single stellar distance known until long after the discovery of the telescope of Galileo. Now by means of Kepler's laws we can determine with mathematical precision the ratio of the interplanetary distances; so that taking the interval between the earth and the sun as our unit we may say that we know just how far away the planets are. In like manner taking the earth's mass, ascertained by direct observation, as our unit of weight, we can determine with like exactness the weight of the planets.

Unfortunately the length of our astronomical unit,—the radius of the earth's orbit,—is not known with all desirable exactitude. The progress of science has furnished us with several ingenious methods to calculate it, prominent among which are those deduced from the observation of the transit of Venus, but by none of these methods have we yet arrived at a precise and certain estimate of the distance sought for. Hence it is that every fresh opportunity of verifying or correcting results previously calculated is waited for with eagerness by astronomers,—and as on the 6th of December next an occasion of the kind presents itself, it is proposed in the present article to give the public as clear and plain an idea as possible of the methods which astronomers may employ on that day to determine the solar distance by the observation of the transit of Venus which will then occur.

Those unacquainted with the difficulties the astronomer has to encounter, may wonder that while by means of observations taken by the unaided eye of man, the moon's distance was pretty accurately known many centuries ago, with all our fine instruments and improved methods, of which the scientists of our day are with reason proud, we cannot readily measure the earth's distance from the sun. But though the latter space is only 390 times greater than the former, a little consideration will render evident the vast difference between the two problems. How, in fact, do we measure the lunar distance? By means of the well-known trigonometrical method of finding the distance of any inaccessible object. Having chosen on the earth's surface a suitable base-line, and it is not diffi-

cult to lay off one six thousand miles in length, the angles formed by the lines joining the centre of the moon with the verticals at the extremities of the base, are readily measured, and from these elements with the necessary corrections is deduced the moon's distance; or, to speak more exactly, we measure the greatest angle which the radius of the earth can subtend as seen from the moon—this angle is known as the horizontal parallax—and knowing this angle we at once deduce from it the moon's distance. This simple surveyor's method, skilfully employed at the two English observatories at Greenwich and the Cape of Good Hope (the latter was established for this special purpose by the British government), has given us our best determination of the moon's position. In order to apply this method to the sun we ought to have a base-line longer than any available line on the earth's surface. As the diameter of our globe is less than eight thousand miles, and as simultaneous observations of the sun cannot be taken at the extremities of a diameter, it happens that the longest available base-line is scarcely more than six thousand miles. Taking the sun's distance at ninety-two million miles, the base of our triangle would be less than $\frac{1}{15000}$ th part of either side. Suppose now a surveyor were to attempt to measure a distance of three miles on the earth's surface with a base-line of one foot, it is evident that his results would not be reliable. In this case his base-line would be about $\frac{1}{15000}$ th part of the distance to be measured, and his task would be comparable to that of the astronomer seeking by direct trigonometrical calculation to measure the sun's parallax. In either case the angle at the vertex of the triangle—the parallax, in astronomical language—would be too small to be measured with any satisfactory exactness. In the case supposed the surveyor would have far fewer difficulties, however, than the astronomer, for he could make both observations at the extremities of his base, and he could be sure that the observations were made under the same conditions of the atmosphere. The astronomer must rely on an assistant thousands of miles away, and has no means of telling accurately the amount of error caused by the different atmospheric conditions in the two places.

But these difficulties, which have rendered any direct calculation impossible, have been so far reduced in our indirect methods as not to prevent us from obtaining satisfactory results, as for instance in the case of Mars, Venus, and some of the asteroids. Besides the three great processes to which allusion is here made, science has had recourse to five other modes of solving this question, two founded on our knowledge of the velocity of light, and known as phototachymetrical methods; and three called gravitational, deduced from the attraction existing between the earth, the sun, and the moon. The latter, though complicated, promise to afford in

time the most satisfactory and exact knowledge, when results can be deduced from a longer series of observations, and when we shall be better acquainted with the parallaxic inequalities of the moon.

It would evidently be impossible to consider all these methods even cursorily in a single article. We shall confine ourselves to the method of indirect survey as applied to Venus at the time of her transits across the solar disk. Allusion may be made to the other plans where they serve to throw light upon the one under consideration, which is by far the most celebrated of them all.

When the planet Venus passes between us and the sun, it has the appearance of a blank disk moving over the face of the sun. These passages or transits as they are called, occur, as we know from astronomical tables, in the months of June and December, and for the last four centuries have come in a regular cycle, four times in every 243 years. The intervals between the four transits occurring in one cycle are, in order, $105\frac{1}{2}$ years, 8 years, $121\frac{1}{2}$ years, and 8 years; after which the intervals are repeated periodically, and will be so repeated for some centuries to come.

The dates of occurrence for eight centuries, four preceding and four following our own times, are, in Greenwich time,

1518, June 2d.	1882, December 6th. ¹
1526, June 1st.	2004, June 8th.
1631, December 7th.	2012, June 6th.
1639, December 4th.	2117, December 11th.
1761, June 5th.	2125, December 8th.
1769, June 3d.	2247, June 11th.
1874, December 9th.	2255, June 9th.

The first two transits in this list, those of 1518 and 1526, passed unnoticed. Kepler was the first who predicted a transit, that of 1631; but it happened at night for European astronomers, and at that time only in Europe could observations of such an event have been attempted. The very inexact tables of Venus then employed made Kepler and others overlook the next transit, that of 1639. This oversight is easily explained, because though in the table above given the transits are seen to occur in pairs at intervals of eight years, it is always possible that one of the pair may fail, and hence that several successive transits may be separated by intervals of over one hundred years' duration. Their recurrence at intervals

¹ The times of the beginning and the end of the transit for December next are as follows: For Washington the first internal contact will be at 9h. 17m. A.M., and for the States east of the Mississippi within a minute of that time (Washington mean time). The second will be at 2h. 39m. P.M. for Washington, for the Eastern States within one minute of that time, and one minute later for the Mississippi Valley. The first external contact precedes the first internal one by about 20 minutes, and there will be the same interval between the two last contacts.

of eight years arises from the fact that thirteen revolutions of Venus about the sun, are effected in nearly the same time as eight revolutions of the earth, the times of revolution being respectively for Venus 0.615 and for the earth 1. Now the path of these two transits is not precisely the same. In the June pair the path of the second transit remaining sensibly parallel to the first is twenty minutes north of it, while in the December pair the parallelism holds, but the path of the second is about twenty-five minutes south of the first. From this it follows that if the planet passes within four minutes of the sun's centre at a June transit, or within eight minutes of it at a December transit, the second supposed transit of that pair will not really occur, the planet passing without the sun's disk. For the sun's apparent disk being only of about thirty-two minutes diameter, it is clear that in the case supposed the path of the second transit in each pair cannot touch the sun's face. Hence we can readily understand how the small errors in the Venus tables used in the 17th century may have led astronomers into error as to the second transit of that pair, that is to say, the one of 1639, as they had misled Kepler with regard to the hour of its occurrence in 1631, when he looked for it during the day, while, as we have mentioned, it actually occurred at night.

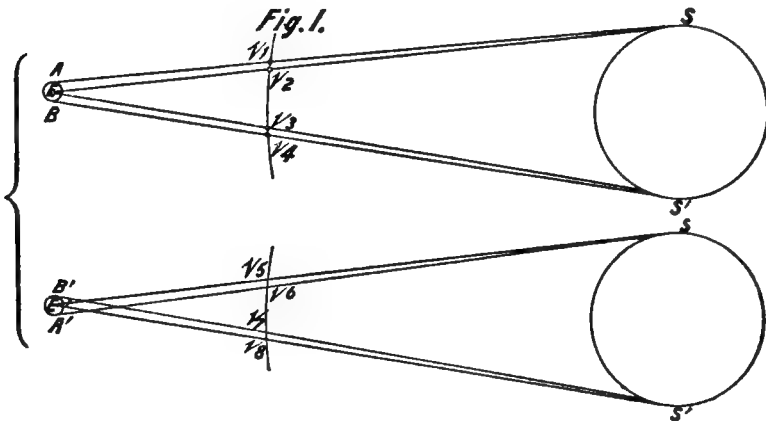
But happily the transit of 1639 was observed, though very imperfectly. What astronomers of the time overlooked was foreseen by a young clergyman, by name Horrocks, of Hoole near Preston, England. Unfortunately the transit occurred on a Sunday, professional duties prevented him from keeping a constant watch, and he only witnessed the end of the transit. He had time, nevertheless, to determine the exact position, and his observation is still a very valuable one.

Before passing to the first transits observed after careful preparation—those of the 18th century—we must endeavor to explain as clearly as the nature of the subject will permit, how, from the observations taken, we can pass to a knowledge of the parallax. This explanation is necessary to understand not only the nature of the observations themselves, but also the motives which lead to the choice of stations and instruments.

By solar parallax, as said before, is meant the angle under which the earth's radius is seen from the sun. If this body is not on the horizon, then the angle is simply called solar parallax, or actual solar parallax, while it has received the name of equatorial horizontal parallax when the sun is on the horizon, and the radius seen from it is the equatorial radius of the earth. In order to ascertain the solar distance, astronomers determine this last parallax, but as this cannot be found directly, they find some other parallax, and by calculation pass to the one sought for. Now there are three

different methods for determining this parallax by the observation of the transit of Venus; those of Halley and Delisle, and that of *position*, called sometimes Halley's modified method. As it is this last which is now principally employed, both in connection with photography and the heliometer—means unknown to the astronomer of the last century—we shall give an explanation of it, after having briefly outlined the two first, which are often called *methods of time*. This term has been applied to them on account of the ingenious device of their inventors, by which the measure of the angle of parallax has been replaced by one of time, at the moment when the planet is projected on the sun's disk as on a dial.

In 1677 Halley, the celebrated English astronomer, who gave his name to one of the periodic comets, proposed, for the first time, to deduce the solar parallax from the observations of the transit of Venus. This idea was suggested to him by his observation of a transit of Mercury. It is very difficult to explain his method briefly, and at the same time accurately, but the following considerations will serve to point out its nature. From well-known observations it has been ascertained that the earth revolves round the sun in a little over 365 days, while Venus performs its revolution in 224 days. If we suppose the earth to be fixed, then the revolution of Venus relatively to the earth, which is called the synodical revolution, would be in 584 days. As in one revolution Venus passes over 360° , the planet apparently moves in one day $\frac{1}{584}^\circ$, or about $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a second in a minute of time. This presupposed, we are ready to understand the method proposed by Halley.



Let A be the position of an observer on the earth's surface at the time of the first contact. S represents the sun, and V the position of Venus. Of course he would see the first contact earlier than a hypothetical observer placed at the centre of the earth,

which we denote by E , by the time that Venus takes to pass over the arc $V_1 V_2$. If we knew by calculation the exact instant that it would be visible from E , we could determine the arc $V_1 V_2$ by multiplying the time in minutes by $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a second, and this arc would measure the actual parallax of the sun, or the angle subtended at the sun by the distance $A E$ in that position. From this angle the equatorial horizontal parallax can be readily calculated.

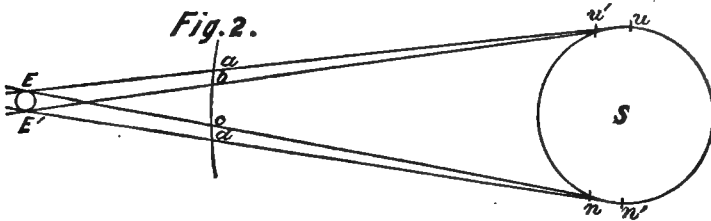
In a similar way the same observer, when brought in the afternoon to B by the earth's rotation, would see the end of the transit later, with reference to the hypothetical observer at E , by the same amount that it was seen earlier at A , if B be symmetrical with A . The difficulty is we cannot determine the precise time it would be visible at E , because we do not know with sufficient exactness the sun's and Venus's diameters. Halley overcame this difficulty by taking another station, where the observer would be at A^1 one afternoon at the beginning of the transit, and at the end would be at B^1 on the following morning. For such an observer the total duration with reference to the hypothetical observer at E would be shortened by the time that Venus would take to traverse the arcs $V_5 V_6$ and $V_7 V_8$, each of which measures the angle subtended at the sun by $A^1 E$, $B^1 E$, or the solar parallax at that time. And if we imagine A, B, A^1, B^1 to be symmetrically placed, the time of transit for the observer at $A^1 B^1$ would be shortened by precisely the same amount that it was lengthened for the one at $A B$. The difference of duration of the two transits would, consequently, be equal to four times the interval taken by Venus to pass over an arc measuring the sun's parallax, which would be the same for all the four symmetrical positions. Multiplying one-fourth of this difference in minutes by $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a second of arc we shall obtain the parallax.

It must be noticed, however, that we have supposed that the places from which the observations were taken were symmetrically situated on the earth's surface, but this is not necessary, because astronomers can take into account the difference of position. This hypothesis was only introduced to simplify the explanation. One who has followed it will perceive how this method can be applied in actual cases.

The stations for the observations of 1761 and 1769 were named by Halley himself, and as far as the planetary tables then employed could guide him he was correct in his prevision. This method, unfortunately, cannot be applied except when the planet passes near the centre of the sun, because then only is the duration of the transit long enough to allow the observation to be taken from the second place, which we have designated as A^1 . Besides this there are other difficulties which prevent the application of this method, not the least of which is the fact that the possibility of

finding such a station depends upon the parts of the earth's surface from which the transit is visible. Thus in 1874 there was no station whence the beginning of the transit could be observed in the afternoon and the end in the morning of the following day. For the transit of 1882, however, it is our good fortune to have a station in Sabrina Land, near the southern Pole, available for this kind of observation.

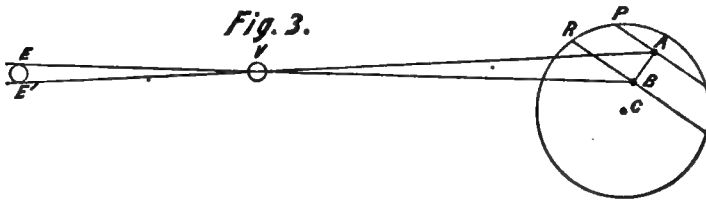
Another method was proposed by the eminent French astronomer Delisle, on account of the difficulties above mentioned. His method, in which the same device is kept of replacing the measure of the angle of parallax by that of time, affords us the advantage of being able to take one observation at a time only at each station, that of ingress or that of egress, or, in other words, this plan enables us to note the exact moment when the planet's dark point begins or ceases to pass over the solar disk. We can conceive this method in the following way: Let us suppose, for the sake of simplicity, that the earth is fixed, and that two observers are placed at E and E' . Let us, moreover, suppose that these stations are at



the earth's equator. It is obvious that the two observers would see both the beginning and the end of the transit at different times, namely, when the planet would be at a and c , and when it would be at b and d . Now if the longitude is very exactly known,—a thing possible, but by no means easy,—then we know the distance EE' , and by observing the difference of time it is possible to find the arcs ac and bd . Each of these arcs measures the angle under which the distance EE' would be seen from the sun, and we have thus the means of immediately solving this important problem. The advantage of this method is that it can be applied even if only the beginning or the end of the transit is visible. Hence the danger of failure is considerably diminished. In practice, however, the calculations are somewhat more complicated than those we have pointed out. For it is well known that the earth is not at rest, still its motion can be easily taken into account. Allowances can also be made for the difference of the stations, even when they are not at the equator, provided always that they differ considerably in longitude. One will readily perceive that if more than two

stations are selected, either for Halley's or Delisle's method, the chances of success are increased, and means are thereby obtained to control the results. Besides, the observations taken at stations where the beginning and the end of the transit are visible, can be utilized in connection with either method.

But we must pass to a brief consideration of the *method of position*, or Halley's modified method. To understand this well we should bear in mind the third of Kepler's laws, namely, that "the squares of times of revolution of the planets are proportional to the cubes of their mean distances from the sun." Applying this law, which was established independently of the dimension of the solar system, to the case of Venus and the earth, we conclude that the ratio of their relative distances from the sun is 0.72 and 1; because, as we have already said, their times of revolution are respectively about 224 and 365 days. This premised, let us now pass to the consideration of a diagram representing the method employed at present, either in connection with photography, with the heliometer, or with a measure of time.



Let us imagine the earth fixed and two observers placed at E E', the extremities of a diameter perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic, and let us, likewise, imagine the planet reduced to a single point V, which coincides with its centre of figure. Let us also replace the round surface of the sun by a single plane disk, perpendicular to the line joining the centres of the sun and of the earth. In this supposition the observers would not see Venus projected on the same spot of this disk. One would see it projected at A, the other at B, and the two triangles E V E', A V B, formed by the visual rays intersecting at V, would be similar. Now A B and E E' are in the same ratio as B V and E V; that is, as stated before, approximately in the ratio of 0.72 and $(1 - 0.72)$ or $\frac{0.72}{0.28} = 2.7$. Consequently, if we can measure from the earth the angle under which A B is seen, then, by dividing it by 2.7, we shall have the angle under which E E' is seen from the sun, or twice the sun's parallax.

But the difficulty is, how can we measure this angle? The observer at E sees Venus passing over the chord R S; the one at E' over P O. But since each of these chords can be considered par-

allel to the plane of the ecliptic, the line A B, perpendicular to that plane, measures their distance. If, then, we can find the exact position of those two chords on the apparent disk of the sun, we can determine the distance A B in relation to the sun's apparent diameter, which subtends an angle of about 32 minutes. This gives us the means of knowing the angle under which A B is seen from the earth. During the last century the exact position of R S and P O was thus determined by a measure of time, and it is owing to this fact that the *method of position* was also called Halley's method. In the present case, the time to be measured being that which the planet apparently takes to traverse the chords P O and R S, the observers at E and E' note the exact intervals between the ingress and the egress of the planet, or, in other words, the precise moments at which the supposed dot V begins and ceases to pass over the solar disk. Knowing the rate of Venus's apparent motion, from the above result, we can find the arc subtended by the chords P O and R S, and consequently their relative distances from the sun's centre. The length A B is the difference of these two distances.

This was the only method available during the last century to find the angle under which A B is seen from the earth. Now we possess another entirely unknown to our ancestors. This consists in taking, at the different stations, several photographs of the sun's disk while the planet is in transit. From these photographs we can determine the path described by Venus, and, consequently, we can also determine the chords P O and R S. In addition to this method, which was employed by astronomers during the transit of 1874, we have also the heliometric one, and to this allusion will be made presently.

In reality the two chords, P O and R S, are by no means as far distant from each other as one might be inclined to conclude from the diagram. It is well known that the solar parallax is not far from $8.83''$, and, therefore, the diameter of the earth seen from the sun is about $17.66''$. It consequently follows that the apparent magnitude of the distance between P O and R S, as seen from the earth,—which is obtained, as we have seen, by multiplying $17.66''$ by 2.7,—is nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a minute, or $\frac{1}{12}$ part of the sun's diameter. It is evident from this that the position of the chords, which are generally on the same side of the sun's centre, must have a very great influence on the exactness of the result. The nearer these chords are to the centre of the sun the greater is the difficulty of observation, because, in such cases, their lengths differ very little, while if the chords are far distant from the centre their difference in length can easily be detected.

Here we may notice in passing that all the transits are not

equally favorable for the purpose; happily, that of 1882 will be especially advantageous, as was also that of 1874.

We must also remark that, according to our hypothesis, the two observers were placed at the extremities of the same diameter of the earth, perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic. It is not necessary, however, that it should be so, for even if the places of observation were situated on a chord, provided it be perpendicular to the ecliptic, we could find under what angle this chord would be seen from the sun, and hence pass to the solar parallax. Neither is it necessary that the places should be on the same chord perpendicular to the plane of the ecliptic. If the position of the stations is definitely known, and they differ sufficiently in longitude, by making a few reductions the observations there taken can be readily utilized. When more than two stations work together, the results are more correct. It will be noticed that in the explanation we supposed the planet to be reduced to a point. This was only to render matters more simple. But since Venus has an apparent diameter, the duration of the transit is not what it would be in the above supposition. In order to pass from the observation of contacts, if the internal ones are observed, to the length of the chords, we have to diminish the apparent diameter of the solar disk by a quantity equal to the diameter of the planet, as every one will perceive with a little consideration.

In 1761, a generation after Halley's death, his method was employed for the first time together with that of Delisle, most of the observers preferring the latter. Astronomers of the principal European nations—England, France, Denmark, Sweden, and Russia—had a chance to observe the transit in their own countries, and, besides, many expeditions were sent to stations in southern and extreme northern latitudes. English astronomers went to St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, Madras, and Calcutta; the French were stationed at Tobolsk (Siberia), Rodrigues (near Mauritius), and Pondicherry; while Russia chose the confines of Tartary and China, and Sweden Lapland. No less than 117 stations were occupied by 176 observers, and of these over one hundred published their observations, not a few being prevented from taking them either by bad weather or by not reaching their destinations in time. Remarkable was the misfortune of the eminent Le Gentil, sent by the French Academy to observe the transit in the East Indies, who was unable to reach his station owing to the war with England. "Finding the first port he attempted to reach in the possession of the English, his commander attempted to make another, and, meeting with unfavorable winds, was still at sea on the day of the transit. He, thereupon, formed the resolution of remaining, with his instruments, to observe the transit of 1769. He was enabled to

support himself by some successful mercantile adventures, and he also industriously devoted himself to scientific observations and inquiries. The long-looked-for morning of June 4th, 1769, found him thoroughly prepared to make the observations for which he had waited eight long years. The sun shone out in a cloudless sky, as it had shone for a number of days previously, but just as it was time for the transit to begin a sudden storm arose and the sky became covered with clouds. When they cleared away the transit was over. It was two weeks before the ill-fated astronomer could hold the pen which was to tell his friends in Paris the story of his disappointment."

The observations taken on the occasion of the transit of 1761 presented not a little discord on account of the apparent distortion of the planet at the moment of contact. This difficulty, unforeseen then, was studied very accurately later on, and has been discovered to come from irradiation. It is found that Venus, and the same must be said of Mercury at the time of its transit, when she has entered almost completely within the sun's disk, does not retain her round aspect, but becomes pear-shaped, or at least connected with the sun's limb by a "black drop" or "ligament," a phenomenon which renders the determination of the exact time of contact very doubtful. As to the cause of the occurrence of this "black drop" there has been much discussion. Lalande ascribed it to irradiation, that curious phenomenon in virtue of which a star or any bright object appears larger than it really is; in this way the sun's diameter seems to be increased, and the sun's light encroaches upon the disk of the planet and makes it appear smaller than it is in reality. But at the moment when Venus and the sun have their edges almost in contact, the sun's light does not diminish the size of the planet on that side of its diameter, and consequently it appears to be longer. Others attribute it to other causes, which, at least, partially influence its appearance. The condition of the atmosphere and the perfection of the instruments used have great influence, and besides there is a factor coming from the perfection of the observer's eye and his practice, so that it may happen that several observers looking at the same time see it in very different ways.

This difficulty, and others, rendered the mass of observations so doubtful, that the results of the first calculations were very discordant, but it did not prevent preparations for the second transit of the eighteenth century. As astronomers fancied that most of the uncertainty was due to the use of Delisle's method, they decided to follow principally Halley's, or rather, that of position. The conditions of the transit of 1769 were carefully discussed, and as it was found that its duration was to be greatest in Lapland and Kamt-

chatka, and the least in the Pacific Ocean and on the Western coast of our continent, expeditions were sent especially by France, England, and Denmark, to these as well as to other most desirable localities. The ingress of Venus on the sun's limb was visible in Western Europe, hence a number of observations were made especially in France and Spain. The commencement was also visible in America, in the Eastern and Middle States, and was observed for the first time in our country by different parties, among whom was the celebrated Rittenhouse, stationed at Norristown, Pa. The data obtained in 1769 were much more concordant than those of 1761, but, strange to say, complete results were not published till half a century later. In 1824 Encke, the German astronomer, after a profound discussion, gave as his results of the parallax $8.5776''$, but in 1835, examining over again the question, corrected his result to $8.59''$, which would correspond to a distance of the sun from the earth, in round numbers, of over 95,000,000 of miles. As can be seen in all astronomical works published for several years after this date, this result was accepted by all. The first who threw doubt on it was Hansen, who, in 1854, completing his investigations on the motion of the moon—the parallactic equation of the moon—found that the result obtained by experiment could not be accounted for, except by admitting this distance to be too great. The existence of the error has since been confirmed in several ways by the calculations of Leverrier, Stone, Newcomb, and others, but any allusion to these would bring us too far from our subject. We may, however, outline briefly the confirmation which has come from an unexpected source,—the direct observation of the velocity of light, a method which is as ingenious as it is simple in its principles.

The velocity of light, as is well known, was determined long ago by two astronomical methods, the observation of the eclipse of Jupiter's satellite, and that of the aberration of the stars. When the earth is in conjunction, that is, in the part of its orb nearest to Jupiter, the eclipse occurs earlier than the predicted time, when, on the other hand, it is in the more remote part or at the opposition, the eclipse occurs later than the time computed from theory. As first proposed by Römer, the well-known Danish astronomer, this discordance could only be explained by assuming that light is not propagated instantaneously, but on the contrary occupies some time in passing through space. Now it is found in this way that light occupies a few seconds over sixteen minutes, or nearly one thousand seconds, in travelling the diameter of the earth's orbit. Assuming that this diameter is 190,000,000 of miles, as stated by Encke, light would traverse space with a velocity of about 190,000 miles in a second. The other method, in which the aberration of

the stars is considered, from the same assumption that the solar distance is 95,000,000, is deduced a similar result, giving to light a velocity, per second, of about 192,000 miles.

For a very long time these were the only methods proposed to find the velocity of light, but all are familiar with the fact that Foucault, by applying the Wheatstone method of revolving mirrors, some forty years ago, first made on our globe an estimate of the velocity of light; a method which has been lately repeated with the utmost precision at our Naval Observatory at Washington. By this method, as well as by that proposed by Fizeau, which latter has been more accurately repeated by Cornu in France, and Michelson, U.S.N., at Annapolis, it has been found that the velocity of light is less than that deduced by the two astronomical methods. Hence it follows that the assumed distance of the earth from the sun, the distance deduced from Encke's parallax, which is the starting-point of the calculations taken in these methods, is too great a quantity.

From this will readily be understood and explained the interest that the transits of Venus of 1874 and 1882 were destined to excite in the scientific world, an interest which was increased by the consideration that while most astronomical observations are now made with a precision that astronomers of a century ago never thought possible, yet this particular one of the internal contact of the planet with the limb of the sun has never been made with anything like the accuracy which Halley, two centuries ago, supposed attainable in this case. Plans of observation began to be prepared very far in advance. In 1867, the Astronomer Royal, Airy, sketched a general plan of observation, and indicated the regions where the transit could be observed; and in 1870, he had already prepared the huts which the English astronomers were to occupy four years later. In 1869, also, the Prussian and Russian Governments appointed commissioners to devise plans of operation—the latter preparing several stations in Siberia. France, too, though at the time drained by the great losses incurred on account of the war, still did not neglect to co-operate; and it is gratifying to us to mention briefly what our astronomers did on this occasion.

First, all the places of observation were chosen after a suitable discussion of the chances of fair weather for the 8th of December (Washington time). As on our continent the transit was wholly invisible,—just the reverse of what will happen next December,—the stations chosen were all placed in foreign countries. In the Northern hemisphere, Professor A. Hall, U.S.N., was sent to Wladiwostok, Siberia; the late Professor I. C. Watson, to Peking, China; Professor G. Davidson to Nagasaki, Japan; the southern stations were at Kerguelen Island, with Commander G. P. Ryan, U.S.N.,

as chief of the expedition; at Queenstown, New Zealand, Professor C. H. Peters; at Campbelltown, Tasmania, Captain C. W. Raymond, U.S.A.; and at Chatham Island, Professor W. Harkness, U.S.N. One special feature was noticeable in this preparation. The greatest care was taken to train the observers, and they were prepared both for the contact, and the photographic observations, which were made by a method preferable to that used by astronomers of other countries. For the former, the training consisted chiefly in observing an artificial transit, or a round black body which moved in front of a white disk, at a distance of over half a mile, at the rate at which Venus moves in front of the sun. Thus observers were prepared for the phenomenon of the distortion of the planet or "black drop." For the photographic observations, all parties were furnished with similar apparatus, in order to have perfectly comparable results. Each observer practiced with the instruments that he was to use at the transit, employing them in the manner that was to be followed at the stations.

Photographs were taken in this way many times by the photographers accompanying each expedition, which, beside these, had a chief of party directing every detail, and an assistant astronomer. The English and other astronomers also prepared themselves in a similar way, but their method was to photograph the sun directly by the photo-heliograph, consisting essentially of a camera obscura attached to a telescope mounted as an equatorial; while the Americans used a very long fixed horizontal telescope into which the sun's rays were reflected by a heliostat, the mirror of which was formed by a simple unsilvered glass.

The great advantage of the photographic method is, that the photographs can be measured at leisure, and thus, from many of them, the exact position of the planet on the solar disk can be deduced. But when European astronomers came to the practical work of their measurements, it was found that they were more discordant than had been expected. The photographs, when magnified by a microscope, lost entirely the well-defined appearance they possessed when looked at with the naked eye. It was, therefore, impossible to make very reliable measurements of the distance of the sun's and the planet's centres, as has been stated with regard to the English photographs of 1874, by the Astronomer Royal himself. The issue seems to have been the same with the German and French photographic observations. Concerning the American photographs, Professor Harkness in his late address to the American Science Association asserts that, after several trials, having at last chosen a microscope whose magnifying power was in proportion to that of the photographing apparatus, they have

given exactly the position of the planet on the sun's disk, from which, as we have mentioned, the solar parallax can be deduced.

In 1874, to determine this exact position, together with photography, the heliometric method was used with success by the German and Russian astronomers, though not by the American nor by the English, except in the private expedition of Lord Lindsay. To indicate briefly the method we must first describe the heliometer. This is a telescope whose object-glass is divided into halves along a diameter. When these two halves are exactly in the same position as they were before the glass was cut, they give, of course, a single image of the object, or, to be more precise, two images which are perfectly superimposed; for, from the nature of astronomical telescopes, each part of the object-glass gives a complete and perfect image of the whole object. But if, without separating the straight edges of the glass, one be made to slide along the other, the two images do not coincide any longer. Thus, if we are looking at a planet or at the sun, we see two overlapping disks, which may be separated or rendered tangent by moving a screw attached to one part of the object-glass. Now, if we measure how far the half lens has been advanced, or what the angle is that the optic axes of the two halves make, we can determine the apparent diameter of the body examined. And this method can be rendered still more exact by moving the half lens to one side, so as to render the two disks tangent; then, by bringing it back and arranging the position of coincidence so as to have the contact on the other side. By this means the entire angular space traversed by the half-lens will measure twice the apparent diameter of the object, and all instrumental errors can thus, in a great measure, be avoided. Now the heliometer can be used to determine the position of Venus at any given moment upon the solar disk. For this purpose, the observer has only to apply it to measure the distance of the planet from the opposite limbs of the sun.

In 1874 all the methods were used, and the different governments spared no expense which might serve to render the observations successful, so that those unacquainted with the importance of the problem at issue must have been at a loss to understand why such costly expeditions were set on foot. Great progress has no doubt been made, but complete returns of all the observations have not as yet been given; the Americans in particular have not published the results of their observations made eight years ago.

The only partial results which, to our knowledge, have thus far been published, are those calculated in 1875 by Mr. Puiseux, a member of the French Academy of Sciences. They were deduced from the French observations taken at Pekin and at St. Paul's Island, and lead to $8.88''$ as parallax. In 1877 the Astronomer

Royal published the result obtained by a reduction of some of the English observations, of those, namely, which could be considered as a whole by themselves, some being unavailable except in connection with those of other observers. The result arrived at is remarkably low, giving as parallax $8.76''$; but Mr. E. S. Stone, starting from the same observations, but proceeding in a different way with his calculations, deduced the value $8.88''$, the same as that of Mr. Puiseux. This difference of results makes astronomers the more anxious to see the observations of the present year fully successful. Moreover, the delay of the Americans, and of other astronomers—a delay fully justifiable, since at the meeting of the International Astronomical Society, held in Leyden, it was voted that the publication of partial results should be discouraged as injurious to science—has still further excited the interest of scientists, and aroused them to fresh efforts. Not only are different nations preparing for the observations, but an International Conference on the subject was held in Paris, from the 5th to the 13th of October last. "Representatives of fourteen nationalities were present at the Conference, but regret was expressed that the United States had no delegate present. Russia also was unrepresented, but it has been understood that the government of that country does not propose to organize expeditions beyond the limits of the empire. . . . The president of the Conference, Mr. Dumas, perpetual secretary of the French Academy, pointed out the great utility of co-operative arrangements of different nations for the observations of the transit, and directed special attention to the desirability of coming to some definite conclusion as to the employment or otherwise of photography on that occasion. In the discussion which followed, Professor Foerster announced that the German commission had resolved not to employ photography in 1882, and Mr. E. Stone, the Radcliffe observer, directing astronomer of the British Commission, which he represented at the Conference, stated that it was not seriously intended to introduce photography in the observations of 1882, remarking that the French results from this method were not encouraging, and the American results had not been published in time to allow of a due discussion before the British Commission." In regard to the American photographs, we would here recall what we before remarked, that the results they gave were perfectly satisfactory.

One of the principal points under discussion, was as to the selection of suitable places for observations on the part of the different nations in both hemispheres. The choice of positions for December next is a very wide one, since the transit will be at least partially visible throughout more than half of this country; unlike the last one of 1874. The coming transit will be entirely visible in

Canada, in all of the Eastern, Middle, and Southern States, in Central and South America. In California and some of the Northwestern territories, in nearly all the islands of the Pacific, in New Zealand and the western part of Australia the end only will be visible, while only the commencement will be seen in Newfoundland, in the western half of Europe, comprising England, France, Spain, Germany, and Italy, and also in the north of Africa, with the adjacent islands.

No doubt in all regular observatories situated where the transit is visible, very careful observations will be taken, and this may explain the seeming neglect of the Americans in making preparations, since no better stations could be had than the numerous observatories throughout the country. Still American expeditions are to be sent to places beyond the limits of our territories. Of the stations in the Southern hemisphere, two will be in South America, one in South Africa, and one in New Zealand. The southernmost of the South American stations is to be at Port Santa Cruz, on the east coast of Patagonia, in 50° of south latitude. The other South American station will be at Santiago, in Chili, or at some point in the interior. The exact locations of the stations in Cape Colony and New Zealand have not been fixed, but will depend upon the weather probabilities as learned by the observers after their arrival. The principal stations in the United States will be Cedar Keys, Fla.; San Antonio, Texas; and Fort Thorn, New Mexico, besides the Washington and other regular observatories.

European astronomers must, for the most part, proceed to foreign countries, as ours did in 1874. There are to be many expeditions, and it is believed that never were there so many stations established as there will be in December. France, Germany, and England take the lead in the number of their expeditions, the last-named nation having stations at Bermuda, Jamaica, Barbadoes, Cape Colony, in Madagascar, New Zealand, Falkland Islands, besides those of the Australian observatories. In this country Germany will have stations at Hartford, Conn., and Aiken, S. C.; France, one in Florida, one at Martinique, one in Mexico; and Belgium, one in Texas.

So many joint efforts will, no doubt, kind Providence favoring, lead to a more definite result. Unhappily at many stations, observations will surely fail on account of unfavorable weather or unforeseen difficulties, but the very large number of stations, the skill of the observers, not a few of whom witnessed the transit of 1874, the perfection of the instruments, and the care brought to the observations, cause us to expect much better results. The American observers will depend chiefly upon photography, the German upon the heliometer, and the French, English, and Belgians, upon con-

tact. As far as we know at present from all the methods used, the equatorial horizontal parallax is comprised between 8.76'' and 8.88'', the most probable measurement being about 8.83'', which corresponds to a distance of 92,570,000 miles from the sun to the earth, with a very small possible error. After some years we shall know this distance with greater approximation. But this will not be the only advantage of the present efforts. Where so many powerful minds are engaged in so noble a work, we may hope that more ingenious and perfect methods will be thought of; and as the ingenuity of astronomers has found nearly a dozen methods for solving the problems of the solar distance in spite of difficulties which were looked upon for ages as insurmountable, so they may be equally fortunate in dealing with a grander and wider problem, and one much more important also,—the calculation of the distance of the stars and of the dimensions of the universe.

ENGLAND'S LATEST CONQUEST.

"THE land with the winged cymbal," as the prophet so graphically styles it, is still expecting, expecting. The symbol which has become so familiar to us as characteristic of that land, looks down once more from almost prehistoric monuments, on plains where Assyrian and Persian, Greek and Roman, Crusader and Moslem, have contended for the mastery of the world, and yet her own Sphinx never propounded a riddle more difficult of solution than the future of Egypt at the present time. A dynasty of vassal rulers, founded by the sword, was about to perish ingloriously by the sword, without leaving on the monument-studded valley of the Nile a single moral, civil, or architectural work to commemorate its existence. For a term the sword of a stranger upholds the tottering dynasty:

Mehemet Ali, a man of energy and ability, had built a power in Egypt, and developed the resources of the country, so that his mind was filled with schemes of conquest. Disdaining longer to be a mere ruler of a province, he aspired, if not to the Khalifate, at least to the dominion over most of the Sultan's territory. The arms of Christian Europe checked his advance on Syria and rolled back the tide of conquest; but he wrung from the Sultan the recognition of almost absolute independence for Egypt, and the

hereditary rulership in his own family. The Khedive of Egypt became a recognized power, treating with foreign nations, exercising complete authority in the land of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies, and bearing as lightly the nominal collar of vassalage to the Sultan, as the Emperor of Morocco. But the power acquired by Mehemet Ali descended without his ability to exercise it. The love of pleasure, of show, and ostentation, enfeebled the new dynasty; nothing was done to develop the resources of the new state, to deliver the wretched peasantry, the fellaheen, from the oppression under which they had groaned for centuries, and which rendered them hopeless toilers, with no incentive to improvement. The country, rich in itself, was poverty stricken; the money wrung from the fellaheen went to enrich a caste, the greedy and unpatriotic Turkish party, so that ere long the Khedive and his government began to feel the pressure of want. A national debt, swelling from year to year, appeared on the bourses of Europe, and sold at any ruinous rate to obtain momentary relief, soon brought Egypt to bankruptcy. Then in the days of Ismael Pasha came foreign intervention, and the Khedive was forced to take a representative of England and a representative of France into his ministry, and to render the financial management of affairs subject to their action. The Khedive was restive under this restraint, and soon struck a blow at this tutelage, by dismissing his Prime Minister, Nubar Pasha. The two powers then insisted that their representatives should have a joint veto on any step they disapproved, and, though the Khedive yielded, he was emboldened by success, and in less than two months dismissed both those ministers in the most contemptuous manner. France proposed armed intervention, but England hesitated. The Khedive, surrounded by extravagant Pashas of the Turkish party, began a new career of exaction and extortion. The Sultan, anxious to make a show of power, offered to depose him, but France and England gave no assent. Ismael Pasha was, apparently, completely master of the situation, when, unexpectedly, Germany, which had but trivial interests in Egypt, declared that the Khedive must not be allowed to destroy those interests. The Sultan, as agent of the powers, deposed Ismael Pasha, while he was vacillating about a voluntary abdication. Prince Tewfik assumed the guidance of the destinies of Egypt as the nominee of the Porte, but really not by the Sultan's choice.

England and France had punished Ismael for dismissing their representatives in his ministry, yet strangely enough, they did not insist on their being admitted to the ministry of the new Khedive. Two controllers were appointed, who were to be irremovable; but even in their hands, owing to a host of complications and legal difficulties and quibbles, the finances of Egypt were soon in a most un-

satisfactory state. Although the Khedive was honest and sincere, discontent spread. The Turkish party, court favorites, wealthy Turks, or others, who, by official means, have acquired wealth, ever and forever the instruments of oppression and exaction, these notables began to plot, encouraged by Constantinople. The army began to show discontent. The higher officers, trained by American generals, conceived themselves masters of the modern art of war, men destined to lead the Moslem hosts to victory. To them Tewfik was not their ideal ruler. A revolt of the army made the Khedive really a prisoner, and Arabi Pasha, the most prominent of the colonels who began the revolt, was soon the ruling spirit of the ministry. The reforms initiated were to be checked; the old influence of the Turkish party, the oppressors of the real native population, was to be upheld, and to blind the outside world they assumed to represent the native population. They represent it in the sense that the landlords and police in Ireland represent the people of Ireland. So far from being a national party, they represent the very element that has kept the peasantry, the fellaheen, in a state of poverty and insecurity, deprived them of all incitement to progress, improvement, industry, or thrift.

The revolt of February, 1881, revealed a new danger, and placed at the disposal of the Turkish party the whole power of the army, such as it was. The joint Anglo-French control had sought to establish fair and honest government, and the movement was a direct blow at it. The Khedive became powerless, and things drifted from bad to worse, all showing that the Anglo-French interposition had proved an absolute failure.

The whole country was leavened with anti-European feeling, and Arabi and his followers were evidently exciting, through the ministry of religious fanatics, the dormant Moslem hatred of Christians. This soon had a terrible exposition. Alexandria of recent years had become a centre of European trade. It had a fine quarter built up in modern style, where people of all Christian nations lived in fancied security. On the 11th of June, 1882, the quarter was suddenly startled. The wilder Arab population of the city and neighborhood, egged on by Moslem fanatics, and joined by the miscellaneous horde of the dregs of the city populace, began its work of murder, pillage, and arson, in the elegant homes of the European quarter. The streets ran with blood, the flames were soon roaring and spreading from house to house, and the affrighted inmates rushed from death by fire to meet the bullet or the steel of Arabi's tools on the street. Some fought their way to the shipping in the harbor; some barricaded themselves in their banks or solid buildings, and defied the howling mob.

As the telegraph flashed the terrible news around the globe, war

vessels of England and France,—the self-constituted guardians of Egypt,—of Italy, and America, steamed to Alexandria. The Khedive, too, hastened to the city, and took up his residence at his palace of Ras el Tin. Arabi too was there, exulting at the progress of events, and dreaming of his coming rule as sovereign. But the men-of-war, with their cannon bearing on the town, were a menace, and he met it by throwing up fortifications. It was for England and France to act. France had hitherto taken the lead in Egyptian matters, now she hung back. England had hesitated before, now there was no vacillating. A new element had entered into the Egyptian question. This was the Suez Canal.

Conceived and carried out by France, England had found it a duty to acquire control of the land. Once accomplished, the building and successful use of the canal had in some sense changed the world. England had her fleet of swift ocean steamers bearing her sons to and from India by the route of Vasco de Gama, a voyage of thirteen thousand miles. Here was a highway by which nearly half the distance was saved. Actually one week is gained in time, and two can easily be gained.

The Suez Canal is the pathway to India, and England must either control or close it. She cannot allow any power, be it the Czar of all the Russias or a rebel colonel in Egypt, to bar her way through that new ocean channel—a highway of the sea as much as the Mediterranean or that where Pharaoh's hosts lie whitening.

France's interests in the East are of less magnitude, yet her possessions in Cochin China, her growing empire there, which seeks to absorb Anam and Laos, and to which Siam has long paid respectful homage, should have made her alert; she should have seen the importance of Egypt and of the canal as a means of communication. Under Bourbon or Bonaparte her interests would have been seen and guarded. The Republic, which gave up the Bourbon conquests to Germany, was blind to France's interests in the East.

England asked her to co-operate in compelling Arabi to suspend his hostile demonstrations. France refused. Her Chambers refused to pass the credit, to appropriate means for a French expedition to Egypt, evidently regarding intervention as the prelude to a long and protracted struggle.

The English admiral has been censured for taking any active measures till he had an army to land and follow up a bombardment; yet all depended on his immediate action. England was, for the moment, free to strike, and, looking only to her own interests, her policy was to strike.

Admiral Seymour demanded the suspension of the fortifications, and on Arabi's refusal, after due notification, to allow non-combat-

ants to withdraw, he opened fire. The boats had scarcely borne the last of the European and American residents to the shipping in the harbor, when Seymour, on the 11th of July, the month's mind of the victims of the massacre, began the bombardment. All that ingenuity in naval architecture and marine ordnance has achieved in a score of years was to be tried against the rude earth-works of the Egyptian colonel, trained in the school of our American General Stone.

It was something to defy the power of England, and, wherever the iron has entered the soul of the oppressed, driven by the hand of that government, which talks most of freedom and practices more tyranny than the world has ever seen,—from India, Africa, Ireland,—sympathy went forth to Arabi; not that his course was right or his cause just, but that every blow struck at the selfish hypocrisy of that tyrant and hypocrite land was a gain for humanity.

The terrible cannonade silenced the forts. Arabi retreated, leaving Alexandria to a rabble whom he instigated to complete the work of June, and even to murder his master, the Khedive. When, after a day's delay, the English marines landed, the city was in flames; rapine, murder, and arson reigned. With the forces at his command Seymour checked the conflagration, stopped the plundering, and punished all caught in the act of robbery or incendiarism.

France, meanwhile, had called for a European conference to settle the affairs of Egypt, and thus virtually withdrew from all direct intervention in a land where she had so long exerted her influence. This unwise step left England master of the whole work of restoring the Khedive to power. It is not easy to understand this change of policy in France. Apparently misled by De Lesseps and other Frenchmen in Egypt, the government at Paris overrated immensely the power of Arabi and the hold he seemed to possess over the native population in Egypt; even De Lesseps, who first figures in history as a marplot, a wretched, little, mischief-making diplomatist, seems to have been true to his nature in his whole conduct in Egypt, and to have done all in his power to exclude France and rivet firmly on Egypt the fetters of an English protectorate.

The Conference of the Powers met at Constantinople, and, as usual, discussions dragged on. England, represented by the shrewd, trained diplomatist, Dufferin, insisted that the Sultan should proclaim Arabi a rebel. This would be a blow to his influence with every good Mussulman. The Porte temporized; it could scarcely be expected to stigmatize as a rebel and enemy of the Moslem faith, a man on whom the Sultan had just conferred

the Order of the Medjidić. Dufferin skilfully protracted the discussion. He urged the sending of a Turkish army to aid in restoring the Khedive to his rightful authority, but insisted on the prior step of proclaiming Arabi a rebel. Then the question arose whether the Turkish army was to be under the supreme commander of the English general-in-chief in Egypt or was to act independently. The Anglo-Turkish Convention was discussed and discussed, but no troops went.

Meanwhile England, conscious of all she had at stake, with the great Powers all in check, and not one, except Turkey, showing any disposition to intervene in Egypt, hastened the transport of troops to Alexandria. The Coldstream Guards, the Household Troops, the Black Watch of Edinburgh, with regiments that had won recent laurels in other lands, were on their way as fast as steam could bear them, and the command of the expedition was confided to her only brilliant general, Sir Garnet Wolseley. A man of resource, a trained soldier, a general who plans carefully and acts coolly, he had made his mark in Manitoba, Ashantee, and in the Zululand. The task before him seemed much greater than any he had undertaken, and the numbers, efficiency, and valor of the Egyptian army were vaunted on every side. Wolseley seemed to act with indecision. Arabi had taken up a strong position at Kafr-el-Dwar, near Alexandria, and Wolseley made reconnoissances and brought on skirmishes at Mahuta, Meks, and Ramleh. The Egyptian general seemed too strong to attack.

Suddenly, however, he embarked most of his force, giving no clue as to his destination. It was Aboukir or Damietta, according to many, but, on the 20th of August, he occupied Port Said, and the English men-of-war entered the canal. De Lesseps, who had kept up the closest correspondence with Arabi and identified himself with his cause, was wild with excitement. He expanded till he was, in his own eyes, one of the great Powers of Europe. Treating his protests and his vehemence with the utmost indifference, Wolseley pushed on and, on the 24th, occupied Ismailia as the base of his operations. The next day he captured Ramses, where Rameses once had a magnificent palace, and where, in later times, when the temple of Jerusalem was profaned by heathen rites, the High Priest Onias reared a temple to the living God, in which the sacrifices of the law were offered.

Leaving this historic spot behind, dragging cannon through a sandy desert, he occupied Kassassin. Arabi Bey saw the toils gather around him. He hurled his Bedouins on Kassassin to crush the advance there; a few days later he again engaged the English, and on the 9th of September, repulsed in an important engagement, he fell back to his intrenchments at Tel-e'-Kebir.

Wolseley made all his preparations for the final attack, carefully and judiciously. The army moved by night on Tel-el-Kebir, entirely unnoticed by Arabi, who seems to have taken no steps to watch the English movements. Halting to sleep for two hours in the sandhills, at five in the morning Wolseley's forces moved on Tel-el-Kebir. The Egyptians at last discovered that their foe was upon them, and opened fire with their seventy guns and twenty thousand rifles. But they were taken by surprise, and the wild fire did little execution on the grim soldiery who moved steadily on without firing. Then with a rush the Highland Brigade and the Royal Irish dashed into the entrenchments, the Scots for a time checked by the stubborn resistance of the Egyptians, but the battle lasted only twenty minutes; and as the cavalry struck their right and the troops from India the left of the Egyptian line, Arabi's whole army was annihilated. More than a thousand fell, thrice as many surrendered; the rest fled in all directions shattered into mobs, cut down in hundreds, charged, dispersed, and slaughtered by cavalry. The entrenchments were captured with all the war material. Without losing a moment the cavalry seized Belbeis, the Indian Contingent Zagazig, and Sir Garnet advanced on Cairo, to which Arabi Bey, hooted by the people, had fled on a special train. When Wolseley reached Benha he learned that Arabi was in the hands of the Cairo police. Cairo was immediately occupied; the Khedive, but yesterday deserted in Ras-el-Tin by official and subject, now escorted by his deliverers entered Cairo in triumph with the victorious General, and is surrounded by professions of loyalty. Thus, within forty-eight hours after the march began on Tel-el-Kebir, the war was ended. The Egyptian troops at Cairo, Kafr-el-Dwar hastened to make submission. Aboukir and Damietta, after a little show of resistance, yielded also.

The sage debaters at Constantinople were left stranded in their discussions. Lord Dufferin intimated that it was useless to say anything more about an Anglo-Turkish convention, as the war was over and the Khedive's authority restored.

France must feel deeply mortified that she had not by a two months' campaign upheld her old influence in Egypt. The Porte has lost her last opportunity of making her power there real when it has long been nominal. Now, when all is over, they see how weak was the strength they had overrated, and how easily the whole thing was accomplished.

Now comes up the great question: What is to be done with Egypt?

England is in Egypt, and as the pathway to India England must be sure of the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. France, with Asiatic interests, has virtually renounced all intention of further interfer-

ence in Egypt; Italy, Germany, Russia, have but slight interests in Egypt, and no colonies in Asia to which the canal is the route. De Lesseps, with short-sighted folly, has forced the question to an immediate decision,—England must remain virtually as warden of the Suez Canal. No power will go to war to dispute her right. Port Said, Ismailia, and Suez are now garrisoned by English troops, and will in all probability remain in their hands under a general authority of the Powers, who will make the canal an open seaway.

The Khedive is restored to power by British arms, and for many a day must be upheld there till a new government is reorganized and the people so roused to support it, that foreign military force will not be needed. The Turkish party is broken, and as the Khedive will not be disposed to allow it to recover its influence, it will soon vanish. The army is gone. Two bad elements are thus eliminated, and Tewfik has a grand opportunity to make himself the head of the real people of Egypt. His dependence on Turkey is virtually gone. His real suzerain is now the ruler of England.

England cannot forego the advantage she has gained or allow any other state to intervene. She must keep up a force in Egypt and a fleet in its waters. All this entails new and increased expenditures without any immediate return, a position of affairs that her people never enjoy very heartily. Her conquest brings no additional resources, or territory or trade to England or to India. It will be a heavy drain, and be one more place to defend against emergencies. She acquires no new territory, simply trouble and difficulty. The expenses of her expedition must be paid by Egypt, but there is no part of her territory which England covets.

Russia will doubtless make the new influence the basis for a claim to new territory. It has been the belief of many that the Sultan would soon evacuate Europe and withdraw to Asia Minor. The recent escape from Constantinople of the great Kurdish sheik who, as a friend of Russia, was held in captivity, menaces trouble to the Porte, and may be the first scene of a revolt which will terminate in adding a new territory to Russia's power on the Black Sea. This will excite no alarm in Europe, and can be acquired and held without a Plevna or a Sebastopol. England from the Red Sea will watch against too near an approach to Syria. The Asiatic dominions of the Sultan seem most threatened, and they may melt away.

From every point of view the brilliant campaign of England in the land of the turbid river seems barren of substantial advantages, and rich only in increased responsibilities and obligations, from which she may soon seek to be relieved, but from which there is no escape so long as the Suez Canal remains open.

In the reconstruction of Egypt which in a manner devolves upon her, she will be sharply criticised, and lay herself open to the

claims of bondholders in other countries, whose interests their respective governments will espouse. They will insist on their pound of flesh, though it must be cut from the very heart of Egypt. If England could take some rich province to satisfy her bonds and outlay, the question would be simplified, but there is none. Money must be raised, and to secure a stable government taxes must be diminished, and prosperity created. The unjust exemption of foreigners from taxation will vanish. They too must bear their share in the public burdens. The useless and dangerous but expensive army will give way to a well-organized gendarmerie; and the leaders of the Turkish party, all implicated in Arabi's revolt, may be compelled to disgorge the millions they have wrung from the people and withheld from the Khedive.

England needs too her skilful diplomacy in Constantinople, to induce the outwitted Sultan to lend his sanction to the new organization of Egypt.

Victoria has conquered Egypt, but cannot consider herself the successor of Cleopatra.

IRISH CRIME AND ITS CAUSES.

Encyclical Letter of Pope Leo XIII. to Cardinal McCabe and the Bishops of Ireland.

A Political Tour in Ireland. From the London Times.

Report of the Proceedings of the British Social Science Association.

THERE seems at present to be a lull in Irish affairs, and matters, on the whole, are progressing favorably—much more favorably than might have been expected after the "Treaty of Kilmainham" was answered by the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Bourke. This peculiarly atrocious and un-Irish deed threatened, for a time, to destroy all prospects of peace between the English and Irish peoples. The very man who went with peace in his hand was, together with his chief assistant, cut down almost at the moment of his arrival. Irish murders of conspicuous personages there had been in the past, and the murderers generally escaped with impunity. All the bribes that the government could offer never induced a betrayal of the criminals. This, of itself, indicates that there is something deeper in the class of crime than a mere personal spite or desire of vengeance. In the

history of most peoples there have been times when the oppressed, despairing of law and justice, finally take the law in their own hands with the deplorable results that have been witnessed in Ireland—results against which the government was fairly warned by the representatives of the Irish people; and the government's answer was to clap those representatives in jail. It was the old story of sitting on the safety-valve.

But the murder of the two Irish Secretaries came at a crisis and with an ingenuity that was truly fiendish. The government having tried coercion—the suppression of the free voice and action of a free people—to its heart's content, though scarcely to the content of Mr. Forster, voluntarily undid its own work, proclaimed the failure of coercion as a remedy, opened the political jails, and did the only sensible thing they could do,—let out the representatives of the Irish people and invited their co-operation in laying the evil spirit that the government's own action had evoked.

What was the result? From end to end of Ireland went up a national cry of rejoicing—a cry re-echoed by that other and, in some sense, greater Ireland over here. Mr. Forster, whose working of his pet coercion had been as brutal as it was unwise, resigned his office, and a gentle, amiable man was sent to succeed him, with Earl Spencer to succeed Earl Cowper, who had been hand-in-glove with Mr. Forster in all the latter's measures for improving Ireland by the lash. Just in the very act, on the threshold of real conciliation, the messengers of peace and goodwill were slain, whether by Irishmen or not none can say to this hour. The deed was a desperate blow of desperate men at all possibility of peace between the two countries, and was deplored as deeply in the United States as in Ireland itself. Coercion was applied anew, and in harsher form than before. Other murders followed of scarcely less desperate a character, the silence of the grave covering them up and the government suspecting a sullen sympathy with them through all the land.

Happily the first feeling of revenging such crimes on the whole body of the people yielded to calmer councils. Mr. Gladstone was one of the first to acquit the Irish people of complicity with such deeds. There was a new element in them partaking of the character of Continental secret society crimes, the method of redress or overthrow of existing institutions preached and promulgated by patriots of the Mazzini and Garibaldi order, who always found honor and welcome in England, and who were made heroes of by English society. Murder followed murder in spite of all the coercion acts, the most horrible of all, and one of the most recent, being the attempted extermination of the Joyce family, in a remote district of Connemara, in a neighborhood that has been the scene

of the worst cases of agrarian murder and outrage. Five persons, three of them women, were there brutally murdered by masked men as late as the middle of August. In this case, however, it appears that the murderers will be discovered and speedily brought to justice.

There is no denying that the catalogue of crime in Ireland, within the past year alone, makes a list blacker for its intensity than it is great in number. It is only the other day that Professor Leone Levi, a famous statistician, startled the British Social Science Association, assembled at Southampton, by proving beyond question or possibility of doubt, unless figures lie very badly indeed, that, for the ten years ending 1879-1880, crimes against life and property were considerably less in Ireland than in England and Scotland. The offences that in Ireland were in excess were always of a semi-political stripe, and plainly resulting rather from the political institutions of the country than from the nature or character of the people, which really shows itself more loyal and conservative than either the English or Scotch; while as for drunkenness, which is esteemed a vice to which the Irish are especially addicted, the statistics show that the consumption of alcoholic liquors is proportionately greater in England or Scotland than in Ireland. A brief synopsis of Professor Levi's figures shows that in Ireland, during the ten years, offences against public order and justice—riots, breaches of the peace, etc.—were 1.24 per thousand; in Scotland, 5.13; and in England and Wales, 16 per thousand. Offences against morals were 0.21 per thousand in England, 0.08 in Scotland, and 0.04 in Ireland. Assaults were highest in Scotland, lowest in England, Ireland standing about midway. "Honor and prosperity," says Professor Levi, "are safest in Ireland." Mr. Sclater-Booth, M.P., who presided over the discussion, was evidently staggered, as was also the London *Times*, by the array of proportions. He closed the discussion by saying that, though "it is true that the Irish race, as a whole, in the general way, are superior to ourselves (the English), and in some very important points of morals, that should not blind us to the frightful moral obliquity in regard to the awful crime of murder which prevails in Ireland."

Every one will agree with Mr. Sclater-Booth in the main, and, as he himself says, "in the general way," but it is for statesmen and those who have the public weal and the cause of the whole human race at heart to seek out and determine, if possible, why a people that is really so superior should be so persistently disloyal to the British government, and why the great mass of their crimes runs in an anti-English direction; why, also, the centres and circles of these classes of crime should be almost fixed in their loca-

tion and radius. The scenes of agrarian crime in Ireland have been, through all these trying times, confined to the poorest localities. Where the people can live they do not molest their neighbors, or shoot landlords and agents, or shoot one another for suspected betrayal. They may join the Land League Association; they may agree to "Boycott" obnoxious parties; but they will not, in most instances, consent to crime. "Why don't you pay your rent?" was asked of a patriotic tenant-farmer. "Oh! sure, we couldn't pay it now." "Why not? You paid it regularly enough all these years, and the crop is as good as ever it was." "But, sure they tell us to pay no rent while Mr. Parnell is in jail." And then (*sotto voce*): "*May they keep him there seven years!*"

The story is a good one as illustrating a certain side of the Irish character; but, to say truth, there is not much room for laughter in the present position of Ireland, and the lull now prevailing there may mean a prelude to a new storm as much as a subsiding of the old one. It is satisfactory to know that the Land Act is, on the whole, working fairly well, and is being loyally accepted, while an exceptionally fine harvest is reported. The Land Court has had upwards of 100,000 applications before it, representing half a million of the agricultural classes. This shows how eager the people are to avail themselves of any opportunity of settling their troubles rationally and quietly under the law, if the law will only give them half a chance. While Mr. Gladstone has, on the one hand, shown a disposition to slacken the lines of the coercion measure, he has, on the other hand, urged forward, with all his power, the working of his better act. It may as well be known that Mr. Parnell believes in Mr. Gladstone's personal good faith in wishing to relieve Irish disabilities and Irish distress, which, after all, is the best policy for England; but Mr. Gladstone has to drag after him a fractious cabinet, a partially hostile Parliament, and the inert mass of the English people. The Arrears Act is also in full working order. Under it, two millions and a half pounds sterling are to be applied to relieve both classes,—landlords and tenants,—and to stop, as far as possible, evictions. It is to be hoped the government will see to it that the landlords do not get the lion's share of this relief act, and, indeed, the indications are that such a miscarriage of justice will be vigilantly guarded against.

There are rumors, not yet clearly defined, of the Land League agitation, which, having secured much good for Ireland, is now spending its force, in some measure yielding or expanding into a labor league. Illustrative of the state of labor in Ireland, and of the condition of the people generally, comes a very interesting article entitled "A Political Tour in Ireland," which was recently published in the London *Times*. The author travelled over a large

portion of the country and questioned every person he came across, from an Anglican bishop to a Catholic peasant, who might be able to furnish him with any useful information about the country and the condition of things there. He went with open and intelligent eyes, landing in Dublin, as he says, "with that large amount of ignorance of things Irish which is usual among educated Englishmen, and a receptivity of mind which was ready for a complete saturation of knowledge." The landlords staggered him by their bitter abuse of Mr. Gladstone, his Land Commission, and the Irish tenants generally. The Commissioners were altogether too sweeping in the extent of their reductions, and the Irish tenants were all idle and thriftless. He, in company with an American (suspected to be Henry George), visited the rooms of the Ladies' Land League, in Dublin, and found those active agitators carrying on a very extensive correspondence with all parts of Ireland, chiefly with a view to the relief of evicted tenants, erection of huts, etc. He there saw an immense number of writs, processes, and ejectments, until he expected hardly to find "a single inhabitant of the country who had not been 'dishomed' by some absentee landlord." One of the young ladies, a Miss Reynolds, had twice been imprisoned under the Coercion Act, her offence being "intimidation of the police." She intimidated that doughty body by telling them on one occasion that though they might take a man's cow they could not compel him to drive it, and on another she shook her head at them when witnessing an eviction.

The Protestant bishop told him that the Protestant Church in Ireland depends chiefly on landowners, and is consequently bound to stand by them—a characteristic admission. He visited Galway with his American friend, travelling through districts that were in ill repute for order. Around them was a region celebrated for "many cruel evictions on the one side and some cruel murders on the other." Here was Loughrea, where Mr. Blake was murdered and Mr. Bourke and the soldiers accompanying him were shot. Here Clifford Lloyd was administrator of the public peace. On the train to Ballinasloe he fell in with a laboring man who had gone to England for the harvest because in England he could earn four shillings a day, whereas at home he could only earn one shilling a day when work was to be procured. He was an intelligent, sober man, travelling home to Westport with a dreadfully wounded leg from a scythe cut, which he refused to have tended till he got home, in order to save the money for his wife and children. The English visitor wondered if this could be called idleness, wastefulness, or extravagance, which the landlords say make the curse of the people.

At every station where the train stopped there were police

watching all who came and went, even at the most remote stations and in peaceable districts. There are 12,000 royal constabulary alone in Ireland, and it was among this body that the revolt took place recently, leaving Dublin, Limerick, and other places without guardians of the peace for the time being. The men had certainly reason for complaint against the penny wise and pound foolish policy of the government. But to return to our travellers. Riding on to Loughrea, they drove through a rich tract of country, where they saw "scarcely a single house. The district had formerly been full of people, and was now inhabited by sheep." Ruins of houses they saw, but little else in the shape of human habitation. A herdsman, "one of those courteous and gentlemanly peasants of whom there seem to be so many specimens in Ireland," informed them that he tended for his landlord 180 acres of grass land with 100 sheep and 50 cattle. In return for this labor he was rewarded by a cottage and three acres of land rent free. Out of the three acres and the time he could spare from his charge he "managed to make a fair livelihood."

On reaching Loughrea, these two peaceable gentlemen were arrested under the Prevention of Crime Act, taken to the police barracks, searched, their papers seized and perused with much edification by the police. They were detained prisoners, without food or permission to procure any, until a magistrate could be found or spared to sit on their case, when they were finally released. They passed through other scenes of a like character, and the writer's conclusion is: "I could hardly consider that system of law and government satisfactory which had made it possible for the present state of things to arise."

"Fit to govern! no; not fit to live!" was Judge Jeremiah Black's strong arraignment of English government in Ireland, and no reasonable man will consider it too strong. What stuff the Irish people are made of is shown by the calm and sensible attitude of the people during the recent police revolt. The people governed themselves without police, and, save a little stone throwing on the part of mischievous lads, there was no outrage to mention. The Dublin Industrial Exhibition was in progress; there were many moneyed visitors from outside; the city contains a population of about 350,000. For three days and nights the police were away from their posts. Imagine the city of London, or New York, or Paris, with only an insignificant guard for twenty-four hours. Would any one of those cities pass through so trying an ordeal so calmly as Dublin did?

It must be plain to Mr. Gladstone by this time, even if he ever doubted it,—it ought to be plain to the English people,—that in Ireland it is the system of government, the absence of local self-

control, the paucity of fair chances of improvement among the people, the cruelty and exactions of the landlord class in the past, and not the people, who are bad. When men have to travel to England during harvest-time, to "raise the rent" by earning four shillings instead of one shilling a day at home, the wonder is that they are not all in revolt; and when herdsmen have to depend on three acres and a free cottage for the support of their families, while giving the labor of their lives to the landlord in return for such a pittance, a people cannot be expected to be loyal or devoted to the government. When Christians have to make way for sheep, and cattle, and grass; when they are evicted from their homes for not being able to pay rents that the Land Commission is beginning to cut down about an average of one-fourth, as fast as it can meet the cases, is it any wonder that some desperate and some wicked men go to the last resort of taking human life, and band together for the purpose of making a law unto themselves? Why have so many landlords hastened of their own accord to compromise with their tenants without the intervention of the Land Commission? What has suddenly quickened their sense of justice? The rent that to-day they hasten to remit they would have spent their reputation and, if necessary, exhausted every resource of the law in exacting a year ago.

But, as said at the opening of the article, there is at present a lull in the Irish question, which it is to be hoped Mr. Gladstone will avail himself of to push forward his remedial measures. His hands have suddenly been strengthened by the victorious close of the Egyptian campaign, where an Irish admiral commanded his fleet, an Irish general his army, while an Irish statesman was playing off the representatives of the Powers at Constantinople in order to give England time to accomplish her work alone. At least a third of England's forces, by sea or land, is composed of Irishmen. In the charge at Tel-el-Kebir, that destroyed the Egyptian force and ended what threatened to be a dangerous war for England, an Irish regiment (the Royal Irish) was especially singled out for gallantry in Sir Garnet Wolseley's dispatch. The same loyal, strong stuff out of which Irish generals, and admirals, and statesmen are made forms the rank and file, digs the potato trenches in Connamara, or charges the trenches before Sebastopol or Tel-el-Kebir. For safety's sake, for the peace and prosperity of the Empire, English statesmen and the English people should persevere in their effort to give Ireland—to give this loyal and moral people—justice at last, and a chance to live and thrive in peace and contentment in their own land. If this be not done, if this wise policy be not largely carried out, the new element, the dynamite, the diabolic element, which is essentially foreign to Ireland's name, and nature,

and to the whole character of her history, will strengthen and grow. The great mass of the people is sound in heart and soul. They only want fair play. But never again will England have to deal with the Ireland of the past. The thought of fighting England and securing national independence by force of arms has probably died out of most Irish minds, while the purpose to achieve practical independence has taken deep possession of Irish hearts. Coercion, and fleets around the coast, and armies of soldiers and police quartered on the people will never eradicate this fixed purpose. Coercion Mr. Gladstone proclaims a failure. It only fostered and added to violence and crime. "Blood hath bought blood and blows have answered blows." It is the time and opportunity for the reign of peace and goodwill to set in between these peoples. At such a juncture the wise and fatherly letter of the Holy Father to the Irish Episcopate comes with special force. Warning the Irish people to remain always the faithful Christians they have been, and standing within that ground, he tells them: "It is lawful for the Irish to seek relief in their misfortunes; it is lawful for them to contend for their rights, for it cannot be thought that what is permitted to every other country is forbidden to Ireland. Nevertheless, interest must be directed by justice, and it must be seriously considered that it is base to defend by unjust means any cause, however just." He warns the people especially against secret societies, "which, under pretext of vindicating a right, generally end in violent disturbance of the public peace." He expresses his confidence that the statesmen who preside over the administration of public affairs "will give satisfaction to the Irish when they demand what is just," and that this "not only reason advises, but also their well-known political prudence, since it cannot be doubted that the well-being of Ireland is connected with the tranquillity of the whole Empire."

BOOK NOTICES.

ELEMENTS OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW: Compiled with reference to the Syllabus, the Const., "Apostolicæ Sedis" of Pope Pius IX., the Council of the Vatican, and the latest Decisions of the Roman Congregations; adapted especially to the Discipline of the Church in the United States. By *Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D.*, formerly Professor of Canon Law, Author of "Notes," "Counter Points," etc. Vol. II. Ecclesiastical Trials. New York: Benziger Bros., 1882. Octavo, pp. 455.

The first volume of the "Elements" appeared some five years ago. In our copy (of the second edition) we find the approbation of the author's Ordinary and of the Cardinal Archbishop of New York, together with letters of commendation from many bishops. The volume reached a fourth edition, which we have never seen, but which contains, as the publishers state, the approbations of Cardinals Manning and Newman, with the Reports and Animadversions of the Roman Consultors. The second volume bears simply the approbation of the author's Ordinary, Bishop Wigger, of Newark.

We regret that the late hour at which we have received this book does not allow us sufficient time to read it with the careful attention such a work deserves. That it shows great learning and research is evident even from a cursory perusal. It shows further how much literary or theological work can be accomplished by patient toil and proper use of leisure hours even amidst the busy cares of the pastoral charge, and thereby points a useful moral to those of our clergy, who possess cultured minds and knowledge acquired by much reading. Their parochial duties, however numerous, can only in very few cases furnish sufficient ground to excuse the indolence which prevents their turning to account, by patient industry, for the good of the Church and her children, the talents intrusted to their hands by the Great Master.

To find any fault with a book, to which its author has devoted five years of assiduous study, and that in his own choice field of labor, is no pleasant task to the reviewer. The CATHOLIC QUARTERLY, if it has sinned hitherto, has sinned in the direction of indulgence and complimentary praise bestowed by way of kindness and encouragement, rather than by harshness or undue severity. Yet it has incurred the ill will of more than one Catholic author, in whose books it failed to see perfection. And a sad experience has taught us that those who are the most willing to claim for themselves freedom, or perhaps boundless latitude of speech, are too often the least inclined to allow free speech to others who venture, however modestly, to disagree with their opinions. Dr. Smith, we are willing to believe, is a scholar of too much good sense, and an author of too many years' standing, to retain any undue sensitiveness, where it is question of investigating and ascertaining theological or canonical truth. Hence we have no difficulty in submitting, with all deference, to his own candor and to the judgment of his readers, a few reflections on what may be called the American portion of his work, viz., the "Instructio Sac. Congr. de Prop. Fide" of 1878, and the "Responsio ad Dubia Quædam" of the same Sacred Congregation in 1880.

Rev. Dr. Smith argues skilfully and logically, and it would be very hard to discover any lack of *consequentia* between his premises and his conclusion. But he is not always careful or fortunate in the choice of his premises. More than one example of this might be given, but one will suffice, especially as under his pen it puts on a Protean variety of

shapes. Dr. Smith assumes over and over again, as the basis of his reasoning out certain conclusions, that "the Commission of Investigation is a judicial body, vested with judicial functions." Its "trial" may lack indeed "the various and complex formalities of canon law," but it "is in every other respect a canonical trial or judicial proceeding." Its members "are charged with the absolute and exclusive hearing of certain kinds of causes" (cf. pp. 8, 37, 269, 298, 299, amongst others).

Now, is all this true? And if true, is it so in a strict and technical, or only in a loose sense? The answer to this question is more important than may appear at first sight. For, it is needed not only to sweep away many annoying cobwebs of canonical casuistry, but to reconcile the apparently discordant decisions of Roman tribunals. We, therefore, unhesitatingly make answer that it is true only in a loose, partial sense, and therefore ought not to be laid down as "the law" in what was intended as a textbook for students, in which accuracy must be pushed to its most rigid limits.

Are the members of the Commission judges, or do they act as such? Dr. S. affirms this more or less plainly (pp. 29, 30). But we think he is mistaken. For, a judge in the ecclesiastical or secular forum is defined "Qui utrique parti (actori ac reo) jus dicit," *i. e.*, one who applies the law or decides between two parties (plaintiff and defendant). And what is his *judicium* or official action? It is defined to be "the judge's legal sifting and deciding of an issue between plaintiff and defendant," "*Legitima causæ*," says Vecchiotti, "*inter actorem et reum controversæ per judicem facta discussio et definitio*" (*Institutiones Canonicae*, Aug. Taurinor, 1878, vol. ii., p. 662). Dr. Smith himself, after Schmalzgruber, defines a judge "a person vested with legitimate power to hear and pronounce upon (decide) litigious issues" (p. 19). Now, we respectfully ask, where is there any "deciding" on the part of our Commissioners? None whatsoever. And the Sacred Congregation (*Respons. ad Dubia num. 3*) states expressly that "*votum a consilio datum est semper consultivum*," lest the counsellors should for a moment forget that the opinion they form is restrained within the narrow bounds of mere "advice," and can never aspire to the height of "decision." They cannot decide, and therefore are not judges. They hold the place, as it were, of assessors in the Bishop's court, they investigate the truth of alleged facts, they reach a conclusion, put it in writing and hand it over to the Bishop, that it may aid him in his decision. With this last step their official connection with the case comes to an end. The Bishop alone decides, and therefore is the only judge. His decision is legally (we do not say morally) untrammelled by their opinion, since he has the full right to follow them or to differ with them. But why argue the point further? Dr. Smith himself, after maintaining (pp. 29, 30) that "the Commissioners and the Bishop act as judges, each in his own sphere," and that as far as the hearing of the case is concerned, "this part of the judicial proceedings has been transferred from the Ordinary to them," becomes more moderate as he proceeds, and candidly acknowledges (pp. 131, 283) that the members of the Commission "are not judges proper, but only assessors or auditors of the Bishop," and that "the Bishop remains the sole judge in the proper sense of the term."

But is not the "trial" or investigation a "judicial proceeding" as the author so frequently states? In the strict sense of the word we think not. Nor can any one think otherwise after Rome's explicit declaration to the contrary. For she expressly (and this makes it an indispensable legal formality) enjoins on the bishop who convokes the commissioners that, after binding them to secrecy, he shall warn them

that their investigation is NOT a judicial proceeding. Moneat investigationem NON esse processum judiciale (Instructio, Num. V.).

Still, it will be urged, does not Rome herself say that the function of the commission is *judicial*? (Resp. ad Dub. Num. III. *Ex quibus patet.*) It is true, and no one pretends to deny it. But here comes in the distinction we have already made between words used in a technical and in an informal way between the *sensus strictior* and the *sensus latior*. Rome never contradicts herself. If we imagine that we find contradictory assertions in her documents, the mistake is on our side. Upon closer examination and a little reflection we shall discover that these contradictions are only apparent, like the so-called *antilogies* of Holy Writ. In 1878 Rome declared that the investigation is *not a judicial* proceeding; in 1880 she calls it a *judicial* function. Not only Rome's honor but common sense likewise must suggest the obvious conclusion, that the word "judicial" is not to be taken in the same sense in both places. It is clear that in one passage it must be construed loosely, *laxiori sensu*; in the other it must be taken in the full rigor of the term. How are we to decide where to apply the strict and where the loose construction? The context or other circumstances will invariably help us out of the difficulty. The "Responsio ad Dubia" was intended to explain doubts that had arisen concerning the "Instructio." But (omitting the fact that no doubt was raised on this special point) we make the general remark that into the elucidation of obscure phrases by lawful authority there cannot possibly enter an absolute denial or contradiction of what was distinctly uttered a short time before by the same authority. This may be the fashion of your Cavours, Sellas, and Mancinis. It is not the style of Rome and her Congregations. Again, in the "Responsio ad Dubia" the judicial office of the Commission is merely stated *nudis verbis*. It is not made the basis of argument, nor a ground of exhortation or of threat. But in the "Instructio" the non-existence of this judicial character is made by command of Rome a subject of solemn warning to the Commission before undertaking its office. It is evident, therefore, from all legal rules of interpretation that, since the passage of the "Instruction," which contains the word *judicial*, is on the face of it both didactic and comminatory, the term admits only of strict technical interpretation, and that consequently in the "Responsio ad Dubia" it must necessarily be construed *laxiori sensu*.

But it will be suggested, perhaps, by some persistent believer in the judicial powers of the Commission that the document of 1880, being not only later but explanatory and supplementary of the document of 1878, may have enlarged the power of the Commission and made it judicial in the strict sense. We answer that Rome is not in the habit of conferring new powers by the mere use of a casual word. She would specify very carefully the power conferred and its limits. Above all she would recall peremptorily the solemn warning to be given by the bishop at the opening of the Commission's sittings. The document might have done all this, had Rome and the Sacred Congregation so willed it. But evidently it has done nothing of the kind. On the contrary, she (Responsio, Num. III.) takes good care to recall and inculcate the teaching of the "Instructio," viz., that the Commission is meant solely to help the bishop, but to have nothing to do with "*deciding*," "*Consiliarios auxilium præbere Episcopo, MINIME vero ipsos decidere.*" He who is not empowered to decide is no judge, and his functions, whatever they may be, can never be called judicial *stricto sensu*.

What, then, is the loose sense of *judicial*, as applied to the Commission? It is this: Though its members take no part in the opening of

the court and summoning the accused party, nor in pronouncing the decision, viz., in the first and third stages of a trial, yet they enter necessarily into the second or intermediate stage, which is the hearing of the witnesses. By examining and discussing the testimony brought forward, they are enabled to form an opinion as to the truth of the facts, which opinion each member, individually, must put down in writing. These written opinions are collected and handed over to the Bishop's official, and must be inserted, *inter acta*. In other words, they form an essential part of the court's record or judicial proceedings. And this is what led the Sacred Congregation to use the term judicial office (or duty). It nowhere styles the Commission a judicial body, but designates their office as judicial. The "Responsio," in the second part of paragraph number iii, begins thus: "Ex quibus patet officium Consiliorum judiciale quidem esse, etc." "From which things it is plain that the Counsellor's office is judicial." Now, what are the "quibus rebus," the "things" that show why and how far their office has a judicial character? These "things" are enumerated in the paragraph immediately preceding, of which this is the substance: 1. The Commission's opinions are only consultative, that is, merely of advice; 2. The definitive sentence is reserved to the Bishop; 3. This is evident from the sacred Canons (we omit the example adduced); 4. Hence the "Instructio" properly says that the Counsellor's office is not to decide, but to aid the Bishop in coming to a decision; 5. The minutes of the investigation and the written opinion of each counsellor must be inserted in the process of every cause. These, then, are the reasons (*ex quibus patet*) why the office may be called and is *judicial*, i. e., related to, subsidiary to, or in any way concurrent to the official action of the Judge. Indeed, if we but for a moment forget the Canonists and their casuistry, and fall back on correct Latin usage, we need not discuss either the strict or loose sense of *judicialis*. Applied even to an individual or body, it no more invests him with the power of Judge, than would the term *Augustalis* entitle a Roman of old to a share in the imperial dignity. Yet, the "Instructio," when styling the Commission judicial, thought it more prudent to throw in a qualifying word "*Consilium quoddam judiciale*."

There are many other points ingeniously, but we fear unsuccessfully argued by Dr. Smith in this volume, for the discussion of which we have neither time nor space, but they may be examined in a future number.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. By John T. Morse, Jr. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1882.

This work forms one of a series designed, under the general title of *American Statesmen*, to sketch in a way suitable for general reading the lives and characters of the distinguished men whose public careers are most closely connected with the history of our country. Mr. Morse has been at no loss for materials from which to compose the volume before us. John Quincy Adams was a writer of letters at an age when many boys are only learning the alphabet, and many of these letters have been carefully preserved and were accessible to his biographer. From early youth, too, on to the last day of his long life, he held so many important positions, and was so actively and conspicuously connected with important public measures and events in the history of the United States, that the difficulty of sketching his life and character lies not in the scarcity of materials within easy reach, but rather in their superabundance. The author of the work before us has relied chiefly and

almost entirely upon the diary of the subject of his biography, supplementing it with copies and extracts from his youthful letters. This diary is really a marvellous work. Its first beginnings date back to June, 1777, when John Quincy Adams was less than ten years of age, and when, according to a letter, dated June 2d of that year, written to his father, he had "but just entered the third volume of *Smollett*," a highly judicious and edifying work to be put into his hands by a "pious" tutor, and approved by an equally pious father, as his biographer evidently regards them. With more or less frequent intermissions and omissions of time this diary was continued until 1795, from which year it was regularly kept up until a few days before the death of Mr. Adams in 1848.

In this diary, or journal, John Quincy Adams, with a marvellous persistency of purpose, amid all the demands upon his time by public duties and labors and engagements of an exceptionally busy life, has put down at length his personal impressions and thoughts respecting all the public measures and men that attracted his attention day by day during a period of more than fifty years. He has done this, too, with a fulness of details and a positiveness of judgment explainable only by his natural prolixity of style and the egotistic importance he attached throughout his whole life, from earliest boyhood onwards, to his own personal opinions. The result has been a journal or diary of immense voluminousness, ranking among the half-dozen longest diaries to be found in any library of the world, ponderous and often extremely tedious from the length at which the writer's personal impressions and reflections, usually clear and distinct, but usually also superficial, frequently incorrect, and very often uncharitable and invidious, are set forth. Yet as an account from the writer's own point of view of occurrences and transactions closely connected with the history of our country, and as a gallery of portraits painted by an unfriendly hand, of the persons who were most prominently instrumental in shaping our history, the diary of John Quincy Adams is of inestimable value, furnishing as it does materials for forming sounder judgments respecting public men and measures than the author himself has expressed.

We have characterized his sketches of his contemporaries as made by an unfriendly hand. The expression is not too strong, scarcely strong enough. Mr. Adams, in the course of his long life, was brought into close and intimate contact with nearly every prominent public man in the United States, and many of those of England, France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia. Yet he seems to have formed warm friendships with none of them; to have esteemed none; and even his respectful references to any of them (which are seldom and exceptional), are mingled with opposing qualifications and criticisms.

Even his biographer and eulogist is constrained to say, "There was always a superfluity of gall in the diarist's ink. Sooner or later every man of any note in the United States was mentioned in his pages, and there is scarcely one of them who, if he could have read what was said of him, would not have preferred the ignominy of omission. As one turns the leaves he feels as though he were walking through a graveyard of slaughtered reputations wherein not many headstones show a few words of even measured commendation. . . . The reader who wishes to retain any comfortable degree of belief in his fellow-men will turn to the wall all the portraits in the gallery except only the illimitable one of the writer himself."

From the disagreeable feelings thus produced by a perusal of the diary Mr. Adams's eulogist finds relief, however, in the statement that, "It is

only the greatness and *goodness* of Mr. Adams himself which relieves the universal atmosphere of sadness [why not call it egotistic cynicism and ill nature?] far more depressing than the melancholy which pervades the novels of George Eliot."

It might naturally be supposed that these unamiable characteristics were the outgrowth of years of angry controversy, of unpleasant collisions with political opponents, and of repeated disappointments at the defeat of warmly cherished projects and ambitious hopes. Not so, however. In the case of John Quincy Adams it is emphatically true that "the child was the father of the man." What he was in mature life and advanced age he was also as a boy. In fact, it may be said with truth that he never was a boy except in years and knowledge and physical strength. He never had the trustfulness, the warmth of feeling, the sense of reverence and respect for his superiors in age and experience, the frank impulsiveness and generosity commonly associated with childhood and youth. Referring to this in connection with letters written during his childhood, his biographer says: "If a lad of seven, or nine, or eleven years of age should write such solemn effusions amid the surroundings and influences of the present day, he would probably be set down as an offensive young prig, or a prematurely developed hypocrite. But the precocious young Adams had only a little of the prig and nothing of the hypocrite in his nature"—opinions which may be taken for what they are worth. His biographer then continues: "Being the outcome of many generations of simple, devout, intelligent Puritans . . . all inherited and all present influences served to make him, as it may be put in a single word, sensible. He had inevitably a mental boyhood and youth, but morally he was never either a child or a lad; all his leading traits of character were as strongly marked when he was seven as when he was seventy."

It would be out of place in a book notice to point out how entirely at variance with the wise intentions of Providence was the youthful character of Mr. Adams, partly the result of inherited traits and partly of the narrowing, crushing influences of his Puritan environment. The passions and the generous impulses of youth never manifested themselves in him, not because they were controlled and held in subordination to the higher principles of Christian duty, but because they were crushed in the very germ and emasculated. Consequently as boy and as man he was cold, self-contained, wrapped up in self, unconsciously set, conspicuously egotistical, intensely ambitious, yet obstinate in maintaining his own opinions and defending his own measures in defiance of public opinion, and repulsive even to those who from time to time, from principle or regard for expediency, were inclined to side with him.

His biographer, in sketching his traits of personal character in a way intended to be highly eulogistic, unconsciously confirms the remarks we have just made. He describes him as having "one of the most honest and independent natures that was ever given to man . . . courageous as if a fanatic [which he emphatically was in persisting in his own opinions]; indeed, for a long part of his life to maintain a single-handed fight in support of a despised or unpopular opinion seemed his natural function and almost exclusive calling; . . . he was thoroughly conscientious, and never knowingly did wrong [because conscience with him was simply his own personal opinion, and right, in his mind, was always that which accorded with that opinion]. Never did a man of pure life and just purposes have fewer friends or more enemies than John Quincy Adams. His nature, said to have been very affectionate in his family relations, was in its aspect outside of that small circle, singularly cold and repellent. If he

could ever have had even a small personal following, his character and abilities would have insured him a brilliant and prolonged success; but for a man of his calibre and influence we shall see him as one of the most lonely and desolate of the great men of history; instinct led all the public men of his time to range themselves against him rather than with him, and we shall find them fighting beside him only when irresistibly compelled to do so by policy or strong convictions."

Nor did the lapse of time and advancing years, which commonly smooth the asperities of judgment, soften unpleasant reminiscences and induce more kindly feelings and more charitable judgments respecting former opponents have any such effect on John Quincy Adams. Towards the close of 1835, when he was in his sixty-ninth year, he writes in his diary as follows: "Among the dark spots in human nature which in the course of my life I have observed, the devices of my rivals to ruin me have been sorry pictures of the heart of man. . . . H. G. Otis, Theophilus Parsons, Timothy Pickering, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, William H. Crawford, John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, and John Davis, W. B. Giles, and John Randolph have used up their faculties in base and dirty tricks to thwart my progress and destroy my character."

A man of wider and deeper judgment, of more amiable temperament, and less supremely wrapped up in self, would have suspected that, if the leading men of all the different sections, parties, and interests of the country were thus universally opposed to him, a part at least of the fault must be in himself. But not so with John Quincy Adams. He was wholly blameless, in his own opinion, all others were entirely wrong. Though he kept up a show of entire indifference to this, he was in reality keenly sensitive to it. In his diary he writes, "All around me is cold and discouraging, and my own feelings are wound up to a pitch that my reason can scarcely endure." Even during the last years of his life, and when he was over seventy years of age, his supreme self-confidence and asperity in judging others continue to find expression. "The best actions of my life," he says, "make me nothing but enemies." He represents himself as submitting in silence to "the foulest calumnies," at the very time that he was hurling the bitterest invectives not only upon his foes, but also upon his would-be friends. His diary is thickly besprinkled with remarks about ——— having "emitted half an hour of his rotten breath;" ——— having "uttered a motley compound of eloquence and folly, of braggart impudence and childish vanity, of self-laudation and Virginian narrow-mindedness;" of ——— having "poured forth his black bile;" of ——— "grunting against the tariff;" of ——— "moodyly bothering his trickster invention to get over a rule of the House, and snapping like a mackerel at a red rag;" of ——— "as a cross-grained numbskull," etc., etc. Where we have written dashes the diary gives the full names. While thus freely indulging in expressions of contempt and hatred for public men as able and some of them far abler than himself, Mr. Adams complains and predicts that "my public life will terminate by the alienation from me of all mankind," and then endeavors to console himself with the reflection, that "it is the experience of all ages that the people grow weary of old men. I cannot flatter myself that I shall escape the common law of our nature."

It is an unpleasant task to thus exhibit the portrait which Mr. Adams has painted of himself. Yet truth requires it, and all the more so, in order that the people of the United States may realize who and what he really was, whom a large number of them have attempted to set up as a

model to be patterned after, or rather as an idol for worship. He is held up to admiration as a typical New Englander, a true representative of the stern and unbending character which Puritanism produces. The claim is not without foundation. But what a narrow, repulsive, unlovable character, is it not?

But we gladly pass from this to other topics. Incidentally the work throws light upon many almost forgotten, yet interesting chapters in our political history and our relations with other countries. The author describes at length and with details we have seen nowhere else the incessant wranglings of the American Peace Commissioners at Ghent, in 1814, among themselves as well as with the British Commissioners. He gives a graphic and interesting sketch of eight persons at cross purposes all the time, and seemingly resolved never to agree, yet who suddenly reached an agreement—an agreement arrived at too because the points of controversy which really caused the war were left unadjusted (though since then they have adjusted themselves, while other points of momentous importance to the growth and destiny of our country, but then not generally so regarded) were insisted on chiefly by Henry Clay, and were conceded by the British Commissioners, because they were considered by the English Commissioners as of small account.

The terms of peace at first proposed by the English Commissioners are interesting now, as showing the arrogance of the government they represented and its feeling of contemptuous superiority over the United States. The terms were: That part of Maine be ceded by the United States so that the English might have a direct road over their own territory from Halifax to Quebec; that a neutral belt of Indian territory should be established between the dominions of Great Britain and of the United States; that the United States should keep no naval force upon Lake Champlain, Lake Ontario, or the four upper great lakes; that the southern shore of Lake Ontario and of the other great lakes should be the northern boundary of the United States; that the United States should not build nor maintain any forts along their northern frontier, and that those they had already built should be dismantled; that the United States should make peace with all the Indian tribes (which had been excited to hostility by British intrigues), and that they should be regarded as allies of the British Government and under its protection; that British subjects and their vessels should have a perpetual right to free navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to its mouth.

These were terms which victors only could impose on the vanquished. Henry Clay indignantly refused to even consider them; and his defiant refusal, declaring he was prepared to fight to the last extremity rather than concede even one of these outrageous demands, conjoined with John Quincy Adams's obstinacy in giving force to the calmer and more measured terms of refusal of their colleagues. The negotiations dragged along for months, neither party seemingly expecting to reach an amicable arrangement, and, according to Mr. Adams's diary, the American Commissioners constantly wrangling among themselves, and at greater variance mutually than they were collectively with the British Commission. According to the diary, Mr. Adams was displeased with all his colleagues, and found constant fault with each of them for one reason or another. He complains of Henry Clay as constantly "losing his temper," "peevish and fractious;" of Mr. Gallatin as insisting on striking out from Mr. Adams's drafts of notes to be sent to the British Commissioners every expression that "might be offensive;" of Messrs. Russell and Bayard on various other grounds. In short, Mr. Adams appears to have been in a constant state of irritation at his colleagues,

and complains continually of their "exasperating actions and temper." At first, Mr. Adams was intrusted with making the first drafts of the notes to be sent to the British Commissioners, but he soon threw up the task, dissatisfied with the numerous alterations made by his colleagues. After that, Mr. Gallatin chiefly performed the work which Mr. Adams had declined.

Mr. Adams creditably filled successively the positions of United States Minister to Belgium, Russia, Germany, and England, but at times when there was little for a United States Minister to do in those countries. As Secretary of State the most important of his acts was that of negotiating a treaty with Spain, settling the southeastern boundary of the United States. For his concession in that treaty of what now forms the vast State of Texas, making the Sabine River, instead of the Rio Grande, the boundary between the dominions of the United States and of Spain, he was severely censured. The merits of the case on either side have become, through our subsequent acquisition of the doubtful or disputed territory, a matter merely of historic interest.

The contest between himself and Jackson, Clay and Crawford, for the Presidential chair, was personal rather than partisan. Previous party issues and party lines were wellnigh effaced. The old Federal party had fulfilled its mission, and no longer existed in compact organized form. It was a question of men rather than of principle or political policy. No one of the candidates received a majority over all the others, and the House of Representatives, mainly through the preponderating influence of Henry Clay, chose John Quincy Adams to be President, and John Quincy Adams, after he was inaugurated, appointed Mr. Clay Secretary of State.

The charges of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay which were based on this action show very clearly the intensity of personal rather than of political rancor that then existed between leading public men ; and the part that Andrew Jackson took in giving them publicity and importance, by the credence he seemingly attached to them while he knew they were false, are an indelible stigma upon his character. According to the measure of personal and political purity prevalent now, the charge would be regarded as trivial and ridiculous. The public would expect, as a matter of course, that when several candidates were before the House of Representatives, the two most nearly allied, either by personal or political affinity, or by agreement in opposition to others, would unite their influence to secure the election of one or the other, and the consequent defeat of the one to whom both were hostile. But this was not the public feeling at that time. Public men were held to and judged by a higher standard of morality and honesty than they are now ; and consequently Mr. Clay, whom Jackson especially hated and feared, and whose open chivalrous character made him most sensible to such imputations, was made the target against whom venomous slander directed its poisonous arrows. Mr. Adams's biographer shows how the very efforts of Henry Clay's enemies to entangle him in the net of suspicion woven from circumstances giving plausibility to the charge brought his triumphant vindication. But truth, though sure to overtake falsehood in the end, travels at slower pace, and the slanderous imputation embittered Mr. Clay's whole life. The truth is, Mr. Clay was shut up to the throwing of his influence in favor of Mr. Adams. There was no prospect of himself being elected, and Crawford, whom he probably preferred over both Adams and Jackson, had become paralytic to an extent that made him incapable of discharging the duties of the Presidential office. The only alternative, therefore, was Adams or Jackson.

The latter it was impossible for Mr. Clay to support, both from personal and political reasons. His influence, therefore, went where necessity and personal consistency compelled it.

The account of Mr. Adams's Presidency is brief. Mr. Adams's supporters were in the minority both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives. No questions of primary importance claimed attention and no important measures were adopted. At the close of Mr. Adams's Presidential term, in 1829, Andrew Jackson, who was elected by an overwhelming majority, succeeded him in office, and Mr. Adams quietly retired to his home at Quincy. In the fall of 1830 he was elected by the voters of his Congressional district to a seat in the House of Representatives, which, by successive re-elections, he occupied until, on February 21st, 1848, he fell over insensible in the House, and, continuing unconscious, expired on the 23d.

The latter part of the volume will, probably, be read with greatest interest. It is largely occupied with an account of Mr. Adams's course in Congress, from 1831 to 1848, in connection with the anti-slavery agitation, petitions to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and kindred subjects. The space our notice already occupies prevents our entering on this subject, nor is it perhaps expedient to do so under existing circumstances. Suffice it to say that the statements of Mr. Adams's biographer, based upon Mr. Adams's own diary, in which he records at length his feelings and ideas, and those of his supporters, plainly show that Mr. Adams—and in this he was the representative of a large and influential part of the citizens of New England—intended and endeavored to drive the Southern States out of the Union. The idea of abolishing slavery within their limits and coercing them to continue in the Union had not then obtained existence. The alternative course proposed was to compel them either to abolish slavery or to abandon the Union. Coercion to retain them came afterwards, when the dire consequences of a divided country, and the necessity of maintaining its unity, confronted the people of the Northern States at the outbreak of the late civil war.

HISTORY OF THE WORLD FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.
For Schools and Colleges. By *John MacCarthy*. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Co. 1882.

WE welcome this work as a valuable contribution to Catholic school-book literature. In its general plan, arrangement, and treatment of the subjects it comprises, it is one of the best works of the kind that has come under our notice. The number of compendiums of general history that can be used with even comparative safety as textbooks in Catholic schools is very small. And few as these are most of them are seriously defective in one way or another.

For this reason we have examined the work before us all the more carefully; and also because there is scarcely any other subject falling within the ordinary range of secular studies in which a textbook, according to its character, can work more good, or more harm. For there is scarcely any other subject in the study of which truthful or false ideas of religion, its origin and basis, its objects and end, its principles, and the nature and extent of its influence upon mankind can be so easily insinuated and so thoroughly inculcated; ideas which follow the pupil in all after-life, and interweave themselves with his views and opinions respecting social relations, civil polity, morality, art, science, literature, and, in fact, all the interests and concerns comprehended in the general

progress of mankind. And to the study or reading of works in which historical events, their causes, relations, and consequences, have been untruthfully represented, we attribute much of the prevailing *Liberalism* of the age, and much, too, of the confusion and contradiction of ideas in the minds of many earnest practical Catholics, on important subjects not strictly nor explicitly comprised in the dogmas of faith, yet very closely related to them.

Hence we regard it as exceedingly important that textbooks on history, especially, intended for use in Catholic schools, should be subjected to severest scrutiny, with a view not only to the exclusion of those which are positively pernicious or positively defective, but also to the improvement of those which are positively meritorious.

This is all the more important because, as written by non-Catholics, history for the last three hundred years has been a vast conspiracy against the truth. This remark, strong and sweeping as it may seem, holds good not only as to Protestant and avowedly anti-Catholic historians, but also as to those of the purely secular humanitarian school. The Protestant and confessedly anti-Catholic historians, in order to justify the great rebellion of the sixteenth century against authority, have systematically suppressed many important facts, have dwarfed or exaggerated, distorted and discolored others, and invented still others which never had actual existence; and facts which were too strong and stubborn to be so treated they have represented in wrong relations and connections. The other (purely secular and humanitarian) school of modern historians have done equal or greater harm in another way. They generally accept and recognize the truth that religion has been and is a factor of immense power in the production of historical events and the march of human progress. But some of them look upon and represent it as the product merely of human thought and reflection, and still others of them regard it as an intruding element of great power but pernicious influence; as having its origin and basis in falsehood and superstition, which the development of human reason will eventually sweep away. Both these classes of humanitarian skeptical historians (like Hume and Gibbon) give large space in their works to religious events and movements, their causes, concomitant circumstances and consequences, but they exhibit these movements in wrong relations, they assign wrong reasons for their occurrence, misrepresent their real influence and effects, and attribute to them consequences which not they but other causes produced. The influence of these last-mentioned historians is more pernicious because more subtle than that of any others. The harmful influence of their writings is not so much in suppression of facts, invention of positive falsehoods, or gross misrepresentation, but in the skilful arrangement of facts, the shading and coloring they give them, and the wrong connections and relations in which they exhibit them.

There is still another class of historians, though it is rapidly diminishing in number, whose writings fail to present a truthful view of history, not through an error of intention, but of judgment. They endeavor to entirely separate religion from secular history. They make a broad but in reality purely imaginary line between sacred and "profane" or secular history. They endeavor to exhibit the secular movements of nations and of the world without reference to and as unconnected with religious movements. But in this way they really, though unintentionally, misrepresent Christianity, which is not only truly divine but also truly and intensely human, and which, therefore, for both these reasons, is concerned with and related to all the movements of man-

kind in every sphere of thought and action. In like manner these writers misrepresent secular history by excluding from it the religious element which interpenetrates it at every point, causes directly or indirectly many of its external events, and gives to them all their deepest importance and meaning. To one who has a really intelligent idea of what history comprehends, and still more to one who has a correct idea of the object and end of human existence, and of the relation of man to God, religion stands forth prominently not only as an immense fact extending through all nations and ages, but as a most potential factor in forming and shaping the characters, ideas, and movements of all races of mankind. He recognizes this in the times antecedent to the nativity of our divine Lord, and he perceives it shining forth still more clearly since His nativity.

It is, therefore, impossible to truthfully exhibit the history of any age or nation, and still more of the world, without giving a prominent place to the movements of religion; nor a history of the world since the nativity of our Divine Redeemer without bringing conspicuously into view the action of His Church in fulfilling her mission, and the nature, far-reaching power, and permanence of the influence, she has exerted and exerts in developing the characters, habits, ideas, civil polity, philosophy, literature, art, and science of the peoples she has evangelized.

We are glad to see that the author of the work before us recognizes this truth, and that he has, accordingly, exhibited more fully than most writers of general history (though still not so fully as we could desire), the influence which the Church in mediæval times exerted in giving form and shape to the civilization she recreated in Europe, and to fostering and promoting all the interests which we comprehend under the word, civilization.

Were the subject of the work one of less importance we would stop here and refrain from pointing out some omissions and deficiencies which have resulted, we presume, from the necessity of constant condensation to keep the volume down to a convenient size. They are of minor importance, and do not destroy the usefulness and decided merits of the work, inasmuch as they may be readily supplied by the oral comments of teachers.

We would have been glad had the author given a page or two more to his chapter on the history of the Hebrews, so as to have included a more distinct recognition of the fact that Moses's return to Egypt from Madian was in obedience to divine command, and that the plagues sent upon the Egyptians and the deliverance of the Israelites from Pharaoh's pursuing army were special divine interpositions; and also so as to have included a brief account of the events that occurred during the wanderings of the Israelites in the desert, the institution of their tabernacle worship, of their peculiar code of civil and religious law, their habits and customs in Palestine and their religious literature; also a brief account of the nativity of our Divine Lord, His public ministry, death, resurrection, and ascension; the commissioning and sending forth of His Apostles, and the institution of His Church. The author gives two brief paragraphs to these last-named subjects in his account of the reigns of Augustus Cæsar and Tiberius Cæsar, but we think a more distinct treatment of them would be in place in his history of the Hebrews, which occupies only five pages of the volume. In like manner we would be glad to see in a subsequent edition of the work a page or two given to an account of the missionary labors of the Apostles and their successors,

and the action of the Church in evangelizing the nations between the time of the Apostles going forth from Jerusalem and the age of Constantine; also a somewhat fuller treatment of the action of the Church during the Middle Ages in recreating civilization; her influence upon morals, civil polity, industrial progress, art, literature, philosophy, and science, and of the real issues and true significance of her struggles with the civil powers of England, France, and Germany, in behalf both of civil and religious rights and for the reform of morals. The part of a chapter given to the history of Ireland strikes us as being too little—only two pages. It is postponed also too, we think, too far towards the middle of the volume. The early history of Ireland, its literature, and the distinguished part its monks and missionaries took in diffusing the light both of religion and of secular learning require in our opinion a few more pages.

We have made these minute criticisms because the decided merits of the work make it worthy of careful examination and notice. To prevent possibility of misunderstanding our meaning we add that all the subjects we have mentioned the author has touched upon. The only question is that of greater fulness of treatment. To accomplish this would require no change of plan or method in the work, but would enlarge it by some pages. Perhaps, too, most of these might be gained by condensation of the earlier periods of ancient Roman and Grecian history and of the spread of Mohammedanism, though the author's accounts of these are so clear and judicious that we should be sorry to see them shortened. We do not think that the few additional pages suggested would make the volume too large.

The brevity of treatment of the subjects we have pointed out we regard not as positive but negative defects. They doubtless, as we have already said, result from the necessity of the author having to constantly aim at condensing the immense amount of matter his subject comprises. As the work is, and in its present edition, we look upon it as one of the best compendiums of general history, from the Catholic point of view, that we are acquainted with, and warmly commend it to the favorable consideration of directors and teachers of Catholic schools.

JOHN INGLESANT. *A Romance*. Fourth edition. New York: Macmillan & Co. 1882.

This book, which is stated by the author, J. Henry Shorthouse, to be an attempt at a philosophical romance, is the most important and insidiously pernicious work of fiction which has appeared in English since *Daniel Deronda*. The extraordinary favor with which it has been received is not due to its accuracy as a historical narrative, nor the depth of its philosophy. In the former aspect it does not rise much above the level of Muhlbach, while nearly all shades of religious and irreligious views are treated of in such fashion as to leave the reader in doubt as to the bias of the author. We say nearly all, for, curiously enough, although the book deals, for much the greater part, with Catholics and their opinions and doings, it contains no statement of Catholic doctrine. Indeed, so little importance is attached to consistency where Catholic belief is concerned, that, although Inglesant is represented on more than one occasion as receiving Holy Communion from the hands of priests, it is nowhere stated that he had left the English Church, or made a formal profession of faith as a Catholic. It would be breaking a butterfly to complain of inconsistency and inaccuracy in a mere work of fiction, did not the author declare that

he has written nothing which he would not equally have set down in an historical or controversial work. There is a great deal of rather gushing piety of the High Church pattern expressed by the hero and others, and much dilettante theology scattered through the book, but even the most conscientious of the many ecclesiastics introduced are far from being life studies. The work, however, is one of a sustained dignity of style, which places it immeasurably above the average of English fiction, and in harmony with the design of the author, which he declares to be "an endeavor to trace some distinct threads,—the conflict between Culture and Fanaticism,—the analysis and character of sin,—the subjective influence of the Christian myths." We have said that the dignity of the style is in harmony with such a design,—certainly an ambitious one,—but not in any satisfactory degree carried out. Many of the episodes in the book are of a striking character; their improbability being excusable on the score that it is confessedly a romance, while the descriptions of scenery have all the vividness and realism of Black, without his cloying sweetness and wearisome repetition. The work has passed through four editions in two years, and it has been so discussed and commented upon among reading people in England, that it is said that anti John Inglesant clubs have been formed to suppress that particular form of boredom. It furnishes, therefore, hopeful evidence that a work of fiction may achieve success without containing any of the indigestible "spice" upon which the popularity of most recent novels depends.

The story deals with certain incidents supposed to have occurred in England during the latter part of the reign of Charles I., and after his death, on the Continent, and more particularly in Italy. The hero belongs to a family which, although it nominally adheres to the Church of England, has not entirely lost its Catholic traditions and sympathies. The laws against Catholics, which had been so stringently administered during the reign of James I., had been much relaxed after the marriage of Charles I. to Henrietta Maria of France. Whereas formerly no priest could be found in England without incurring the death penalty in its most ignominious form, now the Queen openly attended mass, and ecclesiastics frequently officiated in the houses of the nobility, where those who retained the faith were ministered to with rapidly increasing freedom. Encouraged by this state of affairs to believe that the Catholic ascendancy was near at hand, the father of our hero placed him under the guidance of a Jesuit, Father St. Clair, who attends with anxious care to his education. Inglesant is found by the priest to be a most apt and satisfactory pupil, and he furnishes him with all the mental and physical accomplishments necessary to his outfit as a trusted and efficient agent of the Society.

Father St. Clair is represented as a brave, able, accomplished, and, where questions of church advancement are concerned, an unscrupulous man. In fact, a traditional Jesuit, so often found in fiction but never in real life, who could equally well take the part of an accomplished courtier or a Thames boatman, and who, to retain for his pupil the confidence of the Protestants, and thus to increase his efficiency as an agent, endeavors to prevent him from embracing Catholicity by subjecting him to the influence of the atheist Hobbes.

A strong effort is evident throughout the book to invest Inglesant with all the qualities of a hero of romance, but, we think, without success. He remains at the close, a very inconsequent and unsatisfactory character, some of his aberrations being accounted for by the influence of the Jesuits, and others by a wound on the head received while fighting

for the King. The most poetic portion of the book is the description of the ideally beautiful life led by the inhabitants of Nicholas Ferrar's Protestant Nunnery, at Little Giddings, and the most forcible description of the plague at Naples. We know of nothing, in its way, more powerful than this, except the account given of the same horrors in Manzoni's *I Promessi Sposi*.

After an eventful career, all the incidents of which we cannot even allude to for lack of space, but which include his attendance, as an agent of the Jesuits, upon the conclave which elected Cardinal Fabio Chigi as Pope, under the title of Alexander VII., we find him mixed up with the Molinists, and devoted to their quietest heresy. He attends a meeting of this faction, and makes an eloquent speech in favor of obtaining for the rich and intellectual the right to receive holy communion without recourse to the sacrament of penance, for, he acknowledges, "this allowance to the lower masses of the people, so prone to run to extremes, and to err in excess, would seem unwise." While formulating these demands before his aristocratic auditors, "he wore a cassock of silk, and the gown of a Benedictine monk, of the finest cloth. His head was tonsured, and his hair cut short. He had round his neck a band of fine cambric, and he wore on his hand a diamond of great value. He had, indeed, to those who saw his dress and not his face, entirely the look of a *petit-maitre*, and even what is more contemptible still, of a *petit-maitre* priest."

Shortly after the meeting Molinos is arrested and condemned to prison for heresy, and Inglesant himself only escapes the Castle of St. Angelo through the favor of the Jesuits. The condemnation of Molinos and his works was in reality pronounced by the saintly Innocent XI., during the third reign after Alexander VII., but this little departure from history is of no consequence, as far as the story is concerned, the conclave and the condemnation had both to be worked in.

During a parting interview with Inglesant, the Director of the Jesuits thus places the situation squarely before him: "The question is between individual license and obedience to authority; and upon the choice, though you may not think it, depends the very existence of Christianity in the world. Between unquestioning obedience to authority and absolute unbelief there is not a single permanent resting-place, though many temporary halts may be made." Inglesant is assured that every facility shall be given him for transporting his property to England, and it is plainly hinted that he will probably be more comfortable elsewhere than in Rome. In taking his leave, Inglesant assures the Father that he has nothing to say of the Society but what is good. It had ever been tender and parental to him. He would go away with nothing but sadness and affection in his heart,—with nothing but gratitude to the Director,—with nothing but reverence towards the city,—the Mother of the World.

Did the book end here it would be a much more complete work of art than we find it, for alas the end is a sad anti-climax to the career of one who had been mistaken for St. George himself, and who had attended at the election of a Pope. The concluding pages inform us that shortly after Inglesant returned to England, his friend, Father St. Clair, died. Relieved from the controlling influence of his master, he seems to have drifted in with that portion of his countrymen who worship God according to act of Parliament, and we leave him dividing his attention, still in the *petit-maitre* manner, between his fiddle and "the pleasanter parts of Christianity."

THE LIFE OF ST. PHILIP NERI, APOSTLE OF ROME. By *Alphonso Capecehatro*, some time Superior of the Oratory of Naples, Archbishop of Capua, and Domestic Prelate to his Holiness, Pope Leo XIII. Translated by Thomas Alder Pope, M.A., of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates. 1882.

Intelligent, thoughtful, and devout study of the lives of Saints cannot fail to be highly profitable, for instruction, for increase of faith, and for intensifying devotion. Raised up as they are in the Providence of God, and specially guided and led by Him along the paths they tread, they always have a direct relation to some special work or object, as divinely chosen instruments for its accomplishment. And, as in the war between truth and error, obedience to the divine law and disobedience, holiness and impiety, there are continual changes in the secondary issues of the conflict, so, too, there are corresponding differences in the personal characteristics, in the spiritual gifts, the Christian virtues, and also the Christian work of the Saints of different ages, and also of those, even, of the same age. These differences give an endless variety to the aspects under which the faith, devotion, and holiness of the Saints exhibit themselves in their lives. They resemble a garden of flowers, all of entrancing beauty and pleasant odors, yet each differing from the others in form, color, and fragrance.

Not to lengthen the illustration of this truth by comparing the Saints of different ages of the Church, it is sufficient to refer to that of St. Philip Neri. It was the sixteenth century, almost the whole of which was covered by his life, he having been born in 1515 and died in 1595. It was, we need scarcely say, an age of confusion and contradictions, of destruction and reconstruction. The Middle Ages had fulfilled their special purpose, and were passing away, and along with them what was special and temporary in their civilization was also passing away. The germs of a new age and new civilization, which were planted and had struck their roots far and deep during the latter part of the Mediæval period, in the sixteenth century, took possession of the whole intellectual and moral soil of Europe, and now that they appeared above the surface it was visibly evident that among the good seed the Church had planted there was springing up an immense crop of tares which "the great enemy of mankind had thickly sowed." As regards the Church, it was at once the stormiest and the most languid century of the Church's history. There was a widespread corruption of morals, a mournful relaxation of discipline, and a disposition on the part of a few Catholic prelates even to transfuse Christianity with the forms and spirit of Paganism. There were multitudes who, though Christians in belief, were practically Pagans in their lives, and others who were Pagans and even Atheists in philosophy, yet Christians in religion; Pagans in literature and art, while professing, in regard to Religion, the very principles which contradict all Paganism; persons, who taught and held that one and the same thing might be true in theology and false in philosophy.

Thus, though the Church herself remained fair, holy, and immaculate, multitudes of her children became corrupt and perverse. In the name of liberty, the spirit of lawlessness and rebellion was cherished and followed. The independence of human thought in the natural order was sacrilegiously transferred into the supernatural. The powers of reason were no longer confined to discovering new relations between the objective truth and the mind which gazed upon it, but boldly employed in criticising the truth itself, paring it down to the capacity of the thinker, and shaping it to please his preconceived notions, his passions, or his whims.

It is no wonder that from this confusion of liberty with license, of truth

with men's own subjective ideas of it, conjoined with a widespread corruption of morals and relaxation of discipline, a tempest of heresy and rebellion should burst forth, the effects of which are still felt. Yet in this emergency God was not wanting to His Church. He raised up a host of mighty Saints, of different natural characters and different spiritual gifts, who, in different ways, yet all united by a common purpose, resisted the torrent of heresy and irreligion, refuted error, exhibited the truth in clearer light, made reparation by their own self-denials, mortifications, and superhuman devotion for the sacrileges of the age, compelled God, as it were, by the holy importunity of their prayers, to stay the desolating scourge, won back into the communion of the Church thousands who had been deluded and seduced into schism, and converted other thousands of lukewarm, worldly-minded, and inconsistent Christians, into zealous, devout, consistent followers of Christ.

The names merely of the holy men and women who gave themselves with entire self-abnegation to this work would fill pages. Prominent among them were Saints Teresa, Catharine of Genoa, Ignatius Loyola, Cajetan, Pius V., Philip Neri, Charles Borromeo, Camillus, Francis Xavier, John of God, John of the Cross, Peter of Alcantara, Lewis Bertrand, Thomas of Villanova, Francis Borgia, Aloysius Gonzaga, Stanislaus Kostka, Francis de Sales, and Vincent de Paul, various in their special missions, labors, Christian graces, as in their natural gifts, characters, and dispositions.

Among these St. Philip Neri is conspicuous, as well for the special character of the work he performed and the special method he employed, as for the extent and permanence of the work itself. He occupied a special and peculiar relation to the Protestant (so-called) Reformation, and also to the true and holy reformation of the Church by the Church herself; a relation, which brings the work and methods of St. Philip into strong contrast with those of most of the other Saints of that period, and especially with those of Saints Ignatius Loyola, Pius V., and Charles Borromeo. Yet, with the Saints just named St. Philip was intimate and labored in perfect harmony. His special work was the complement of theirs. It supplied what without it would have been incomplete. And St. Philip's natural character and peculiar spiritual gifts corresponded entirely with the peculiarity of his work. His work and method of accomplishing it were so quiet, so unobtrusive, so free from the noise of controversy, from direct opposition and denunciation, that, when looked at carelessly and superficially, there seems to be nothing remarkable about them. It was not as a fierce fire, clearing the ground of thorns and briars, nor as a mighty wind sweeping away noxious vapors. It was rather like the dew coming down from heaven, gently, imperceptibly, upon the earth, and refreshing and revivifying its verdure. And long did this work of St. Philip in Rome, the centre of Christendom, continue to be personally carried on and supervised by himself. For fifteen Popes, with all of whom he had more or less intimate relations, reigned and passed away during his life.

The work before us brings these facts and truths prominently to view. It clearly traces and exhibits the gradual, gentle unfolding of St. Philip's lovely character, the first humble and unobtrusive beginnings of his special work, its quiet growth, its gradual yet steady accessions of strength, its constant advance through the midst of opposing elements without exciting antagonism, its blessed fruits, its deep importance and intimate relation to the general mission of the Church and the progress of true Religion; the last illness and death of St. Philip, his numerous wonderful miracles; his beatification and canonization.

zation. In addition to these topics, St. Philip's biographer explains at length the peculiar character and spirit of the society which St. Philip founded—the Oratory—its rule, and the work it accomplishes.

The book throughout is replete with profound thoughts, intermingled with the warm and deep feelings of a heart glowing with intense devotion, expressing themselves in luminous words.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. Translated from the French of the Abbé Orsiné by the *Very Reverend F. C. Husenbeth, D.D., V. G.*, Provost of Northampton. A New Edition. With Illustrations. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, 1882.

The holy Evangelist, St. Matthew, in narrating the successful end of the search of the Magi for our Divine Lord, says that they "found the child *with His mother, Mary;*" and the Council of Ephesus, in defending the mystery of the Incarnation against the Nestorian heresy, and teaching the union, in one Person without confusion, of the divine and human natures of Christ, solemnly declared and promulgated as an article of faith, that Mary was truly and really "*Theotokos,*"—THE MOTHER OF GOD. Thus the express words of sacred Scripture unite with the uniform action of the Church in teaching the intimate, inseparable connection of Mary with our Divine Lord, not only in time and by the ties of nature, but also in the supernatural truths and mysteries of our holy religion.

Hence every attempt, prudently and devoutly made, and in submission to the faith, to search into and bring to light the hidden life of the blessed Virgin is not only, not to be discouraged but commended. And while the references to that hidden life in the narratives of the Holy Evangelists are few and brief, as they are also to our Divine Lord previous to His entrance on his public ministry, yet sacred tradition supplies many facts respecting the life of Mary which it is not only interesting to know, but also highly edifying to reflect and meditate upon.

The volume before us is such an attempt. The writer brings to his undertaking a rare combination of qualifications,—great learning, careful and laborious research into all available sources of information, keen discrimination, calmness of judgment united with a spirit of deep devotion and unswerving faith. Along with all this he possesses an active and powerful imagination and rare command of language, which enables him, where the immediate subject permits or requires it, to state incidents and describe scenes in words that glow and burn with the fire of a holy inspiration.

The author, in the first part of his work, traces the universal expectation of the Blessed Virgin and the Messiah, as it is found in the earliest traditions of ancient nations; which traditions universally contain fragments of the primitive revelation, which fragments, though more or less distorted, yet testify both to the existence of that revelation and the truths it comprised. This chapter, which has the marks throughout of immense research and profound study, is of great value, showing clearly the universality and the strength of the testimony in the traditions of ancient peoples to the knowledge by them in more or less shadowy form of the divine promise that the Virgin Mother of the Most High God should bruise the serpent's head.

In the second chapter the author, in like manner, traces up the belief that she who was destined from all eternity to conceive in her chaste womb and bring forth into the world as very man Him "whose tabernacle is the sun and who bows the heaven beneath His feet," can be "no ordinary creature and must have prerogatives superior to humanity."

He shows that the belief in the immaculate conception of Mary flows from this feeling of reverence, and that, foreshadowed in the ancient traditions of even heathen nations, it has always been implied in the Christian faith, and has grown in expressed clearness and strength from age to age. In the closing paragraph of this chapter occurs the following declaration, remarkable as having been written before the promulgation, in 1854, as a Dogma of Faith, of the Immaculate Conception :

"If the tradition of the Apostles, the favorable disposition of the Church, the authority of Councils, the adherence of universities and religious orders, the assent of kings and nations, the dedication of temples and altars, the foundations of offices, the institution of confraternities and of royal orders, may be taken into account in a controversy which has astonished the very pagans,¹ the cause of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, so long before the tribunal of Catholic opinion, appears to us to be won."

In subsequent chapters the learned and devout writer treats of the Birth of Mary, her Presentation, her Life in the Temple, her Life as an Orphan, her Marriage, of the Annunciation and Visitation, her Virginal Pregnancy, of the Birth of the Messiah, the Adoration of the Magi, the Purification, the Flight into Egypt, and the Return from Egypt, of Mary at the Preaching of Jesus, Mary on Calvary, her subsequent life, her death and assumption into heaven. In treating these subjects the writer has interwoven as directly pertinent to and illustrative of his statements many beautiful descriptions of the manners, and customs, and ideas of the ancient Jews and Egyptians, and of the scenery of those countries, and also a vast amount of historical erudition.

The value of the work is greatly enhanced by numerous footnotes mentioning (with page and date) the historical sources from which he has derived his information, and which support his conclusions.

An appendix contains an admirable paper on the Immaculate Conception and a vivid description of the incidents and scenes on the memorable eighth of December when it was promulgated and defined as a Dogma of Faith; also the Letters Apostolic of Pius IX. containing the definition; and a sermon of St. Bernard on the "Twelve Prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin Mary."

THE GROUNDWORK OF THE CHRISTIAN VIRTUES. A Course of Lectures, by *Bishop Ullathorne*. London: Burns & Oates. 1882.

This truly admirable work is dedicated to "the Reverend Mothers and Sisters of the English Dominican Congregation of St. Catharine of Sienna," and took its beginning from instructions directed to the formation of the first members of that Religious Order.

Its evident purpose is to guide and aid devout souls to attain Christian perfection by exhibiting the true nature of the receptive virtue of humility, the relations it bears to the other Christian virtues, its qualities as their essential groundwork, and as the preparation, sustaining power, and protection of them all. For, as the author remarks, the foundation of the Christian virtues is itself a strong and a most comprehensive virtue, and a virtue, without which there is no Christian virtue. It is the moral groundwork of God's building in the soul, securing firmness and solidity to the whole magnificent structure of the Christian virtues, by which the soul ascends to God. For, as the soul is destined

¹ "What then!" exclaimed Julian, the Pelagian, addressing himself to a bishop who maintained the universality of original sin, "what then! do you subject the birth of Mary to the empire of the devil?"

for a good unspeakably higher than her nature, as God himself is the supreme object of the soul, she cannot receive what is necessary for her union with God and her perfection, without the free subjection of her will and the voluntary dependence of her hope on God. So far is this willing subjection from debasing the soul, that it brings her to the majesty and submits her to the loving condescension of God, which gives honor to her nature and dignity to her character. Nor is the freedom of our nature lessened by this subjection; it is wonderfully increased. We are set free in mind by the possession of greater truth, and free in heart by the possession of greater good. Our subjection to God is not a descent but an ascent; not a subjection to things lower than ourselves, but a movement towards what is incomparably higher than we are.

In the fulfilment of his plan, the author, in three separate chapters, profoundly expounds the Divine law of Probation, its fundamental reason and ground, nature, purposes and objects; the Nature of Christian Virtue; and the Difficulties of Virtue. He then treats of the Nature of Humility. He points out its relations to faith, purity, and charity, and its opposition to the fundamental idea or standard of the world's virtue, which is the supremacy of the natural man. He then cites a number of definitions and expositions of humility by eminent Christian writers and Saints, employing them in farther illustration of his subject, and then passes on to the farther consideration of humility, *subjectively* and *objectively*; or, in other words, "the virtue, as it exists in the powers of the soul and is exercised by them, and the object and end for which the virtue is exercised, and the reasons and motives upon which it is exercised." He further shows how heresy, and especially the Pelagian heresy, is in deadly hostility to the virtue of humility, and concludes this exceedingly important chapter by an exposition of the truth that "humility is the just and truthful expression in our thought, sense, and conduct, of our nature, our position, and our dependence, as the subjects of God."

In subsequent, separate chapters, the learned author profoundly treats on "The Grounds of Humility," "Humility towards our Neighbor," "How Humility Responds to the Benignity of God," "The Divine Master of Humility," "Humility as the Receptive Foundation of the Divine Gifts and Virtues," "The Magnanimous Character of Humility," "The Detestable Vice of Pride," "The World without Humility," "The Foolish Vice of Vanity," "The Schools of Humility," "Humility as the Counterpart of Virtue."

Although the work treats thoroughly and profoundly the deep and important topics it embraces within its scope, yet the method is so happy in its simplicity and directness, and the author is so lucid and distinct in thought and language, that he can be followed and understood, without weariness of mind or difficulty, by any person of ordinary powers of mind. He doubtless intends his work primarily for the guidance of religious and their spiritual directors, but its perusal and study will also be useful to devout persons in secular life. We have seldom met with a work at once so profound, and yet so easy to understand; so interesting, as well as edifying.

THE FORAY OF QUEEN MEAVE, AND OTHER LEGENDS OF IRELAND'S HEROIC AGE.
By *Aubrey de Vere*. London: Kegan, Paul, French & Co. 1882.

The literary remains of ancient Ireland have never, as yet, obtained the consideration they merit. Of late years attention has been directed to them, but scarcely a beginning has been made towards opening the vast

quarry of rich materials which these remains form. Their greatness and value are scarcely suspected even, except by a very few persons. Notwithstanding the destruction of countless works, which were known to have existed as late as the sixteenth century, and the yet larger number that existed in the eleventh century, and notwithstanding the vast collections that perished during the Danish invasions, it is said that the Irish books, preserved, yet in a measure buried, in the Trinity College, Dublin, and in the Royal Irish Library, would fill 30,000 quarto pages.

The volume before us is a contribution towards illustrating Ireland's "Heroic Age." It contains poetic reproductions of three of the legendary tales of that period. The "Foray of Queen Meave," the longest of the three, is founded on and designed to substantially represent the famous "Train to Cuailgne," which is regarded by some Irish scholars as the great Irish epic of ancient times, by others, as part only of a larger epic of which numerous portions remain.

The other two tales which make up the volume—"The Children of Lir," and "The Sons of Usnach,"—are poetic reproductions of two of the tales known in Ireland as the "Three Sorrows of Song." These tales are interesting, not only on account of the poetic merits which they possess in a high degree, but also for the light they throw on early Irish ideas and customs, and on the mutual relations of Ireland's different kingdoms. They show, too, the distinctive characteristics of ancient Irish Paganism, and contain many incidental proofs that it was of higher and purer character, and loftier in its ideas, than the Paganism, either of Scandinavia or of ancient Greece and Rome.

THE TRUTHS OF SALVATION. By Rev. J. Pergmayer, S. J. Translated from the German by a Father of the same Society. (With the permission of Superiors.) Benziger Brothers, Printers to the Apostolic See: New York, Cincinnati, and St. Louis: 1882.

This little volume consists of exercises intended to aid persons in profitably making a retreat. The impelling reason which led to its translation into English, and doubtless, too, to its composition by its author, is the fact that very many persons fail to reap permanent fruit from a retreat. First, because they do not engage with sufficient seriousness in a thorough consideration of eternal truths, and these truths being only superficially reflected on, exert, consequently, but little influence on their lives; and secondly, because such persons do not fully examine the state of their souls, and, therefore, not knowing their defects, leave them uncorrected. The heart recoils from nothing so much as a search and scrutiny which makes it see and feel its own miseries.

The work before us is, therefore, translated in the hope that it will aid those who earnestly desire to consider the truths of salvation and to acquire self-knowledge. It is primarily intended for the use of religious, but it may be very profitably employed by others. In outward form the meditations and exercises comprised in the book are limited to eight days, but it contains the four weeks of the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius in an abridged form.

It is a work of great merit. Its author was a native of Bavaria, who in 1733 entered the Society of Jesus, and lived a very holy life in Munich, preaching there for many years and guiding several religious communities in the path of perfection. Though palsied in his hands so that he was obliged to use them both in holding the pen, he wrote a number of excellent works full of unction, and died a holy death, on the 23d of March, 1765.

The work, as translated, is published with the *imprimatur* of His Eminence, Cardinal McCloskey, and with the approval and recommendation of Right Rev. W. M. Wiggar, Bishop of Newark.

LEXIQUE DE LA LANGUE IROQUOISE, avec Notes et Appendices, par J. A. Cuoq, Prêtre de Saint Sulpice. Montreal: J. Chapleau & Fils, Imprimeurs-Editeurs. 1882. 8vo, pp. 215.

This is a contribution to the language of the Iroquois or Five Nations, particularly as now spoken in the Catholic villages in Canada. The author is one of the most distinguished linguists in this country, being thoroughly versed in the Iroquois and Algonquin, the two great families of languages spoken from Carolina and Tennessee to the Arctic Ocean, and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. The Abbé Cuoq was long missionary at the Lake of the Two Mountains, with a congregation partly Iroquois and partly Algonquin, and had to address each part in its own language. He has studied each language thoroughly, and has already given proof of his sound learning. He exploded theories of the brilliant infidel, Renan, in his *Jugement erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les langues sauvages*, and gave an outline of the grammatical structure of both languages in his *Etudes Philologiques*. Like Sulpitians generally, he has habitually concealed his name, the two former works bearing merely the initials N. O., which stood really for Nijkwenatc-anibic (the double beautiful leaf), his Algonquin name, and Orakwanentakon (the fixed star), his Iroquois name. The present work, under his own name, contains radical words of the Iroquois language, 74 pp.; derivatives and compounds, 78 pp.; supplementary notes and appendix. Radicals of the Mohawk language, by Father Bruyas, and an Onondaga Dictionary, by an unknown French missionary, printed in Shea's *American Linguistics*, were all that students previously possessed. In fact, all material for the study of the language of the Iroquois nations of New York has been contributed by Catholics.

The Abbé Cuoq is familiar with the linguistic studies of the time, and his work will aid the historical scholar in solving many difficulties, as well as prove a great aid to all interested in linguistic investigations.

STUDIES IN SCIENCE AND RELIGION. By G. Frederick Wright, author of "The Logic of Christian Evidences." Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1882.

This work consists of a number of essays, in the form of successive chapters, each in a measure independent of the others, yet all related to the author's purpose of showing that there is no real opposition between the Bible and science.

In the first chapter "the ground of confidence in inductive reasoning" is considered, and the ideas of Sir William Hamilton and John Stuart Mill are discussed, the author finally arriving at the conclusion that "*induction* is only another word for *interpretation*"—interpretation of the ideas of God as they are revealed in creation through the phenomena of mind and matter.

The next two chapters are occupied with a consideration of "Darwinism as a Scientific Method," and of "Objections to Darwinism and the Rejoinders of its Advocates." In the following chapter the author examines the "True Doctrine of Final Cause or Design in Nature," concluding that "Paley did not reason within a circle," that "the Doctrine of Second Causes involves difficulties analogous to those in the doctrine of Final Causes," and that "the Revelation of God is the highest end of Nature." The three next chapters are occupied respectively with pointing out "Some Analogies between Calvinism and Darwinism," "An Essay on Prehistoric Man," and "The Relation of the Bible to Science."

To persons engaged in noting and studying the progress of the controversy between Protestant defenders of the inspiration of the Bible and those who maintain that it is disproved by the actual results of real scientific investigations, the work is both interesting and valuable.

THE WONDERS OF THE HEART OF SAINT TERESA OF JESUS; Those First Observed, and also Those of More Recent Date. Originally published in Italian by Mgr. Vaccari, President of the Committee upon the Celebration of the Tercentenary of St. Teresa. Baltimore: Published by John B. Piet & Co. 1882.

This book gives an account of the many wonderful things that have been observed at different times connected with the Heart of Saint Teresa. This holy relic is preserved at Alba de Tormes, Spain, in the monastery where Saint Teresa died, and where it has been venerated for three centuries. It is inclosed in a crystal urn, through which may be plainly seen the wound made by the Seraph when he transpierced Saint Teresa's heart with a flaming dart. Many other wonderful things have been observed, such as a notable increase in the size of the heart on various occasions, marvellous apparitions in it; and in the year 1836 two *thorns* were discovered growing out of the heart, and up to the present time at least fifteen have made their appearance. Still other wonderful phenomena have been observed.

The volume before us gives us an account of these, and also of the result of investigations made in 1875 by M. Cordellach, a Spanish priest, of the Congregation of the Mission. The work is published with the *Imprimatur* of the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore.

THE LAND OF EIRE: The Irish Land League; Its Origin, Progress, and Consequences. Preceded by a concise history of the various movements which have culminated in the last great agitation. By *John Devoy*. With a descriptive and historical account of Ireland from the earliest period to the present day, comprising portraits of the popular leaders and views of the most interesting scenery and antiquities of the country. New York: Patterson & Neilson, 12 Dey Street.

The title-page of this work clearly indicates its scope and contents. To persons who desire a succinct account of the origin and operations of the Irish Land League, its prominent leaders, concise history of Ireland, and descriptions of its most interesting antiquities, its most highly venerated shrines, its churches and famous castles, and charming scenery, this volume cannot fail to be attractive. It is further enriched with a very large number of admirably executed engravings, consisting of portraits of distinguished Irishmen, pictures of the most famous edifices of Ireland, both of past ages and of the present time, and of the most romantic and beautiful landscape scenery of different parts of Ireland.

NOVENA IN HONOR OF SAINT TERESA; with instructions, etc. By *St. Alphonsus Mary Signori*, Founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. Translated from the Italian. With a Preface by the Most Reverend James Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore. Baltimore: Published by John B. Piet & Co.

A Novena, with instructions and meditations, composed by one saint in honor of another saint, surely needs no recommendation. Its publication now is peculiarly timely, in view of the approaching Tercentenary Festival, which will be celebrated in honor of Saint Teresa throughout the whole Catholic world.

As introductory to the Novena, the volume contains a preface by the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore, letters from the General of Discalced Carmelites, and Letters Apostolic of Leo XIII. At the close of the volume will be found the "Cantic of Saint Teresa after Communion," translated by the Reverend Father Caswell, of the Birmingham Oratory.

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